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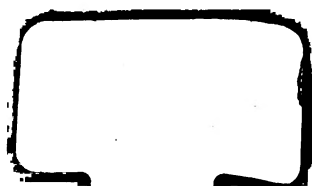
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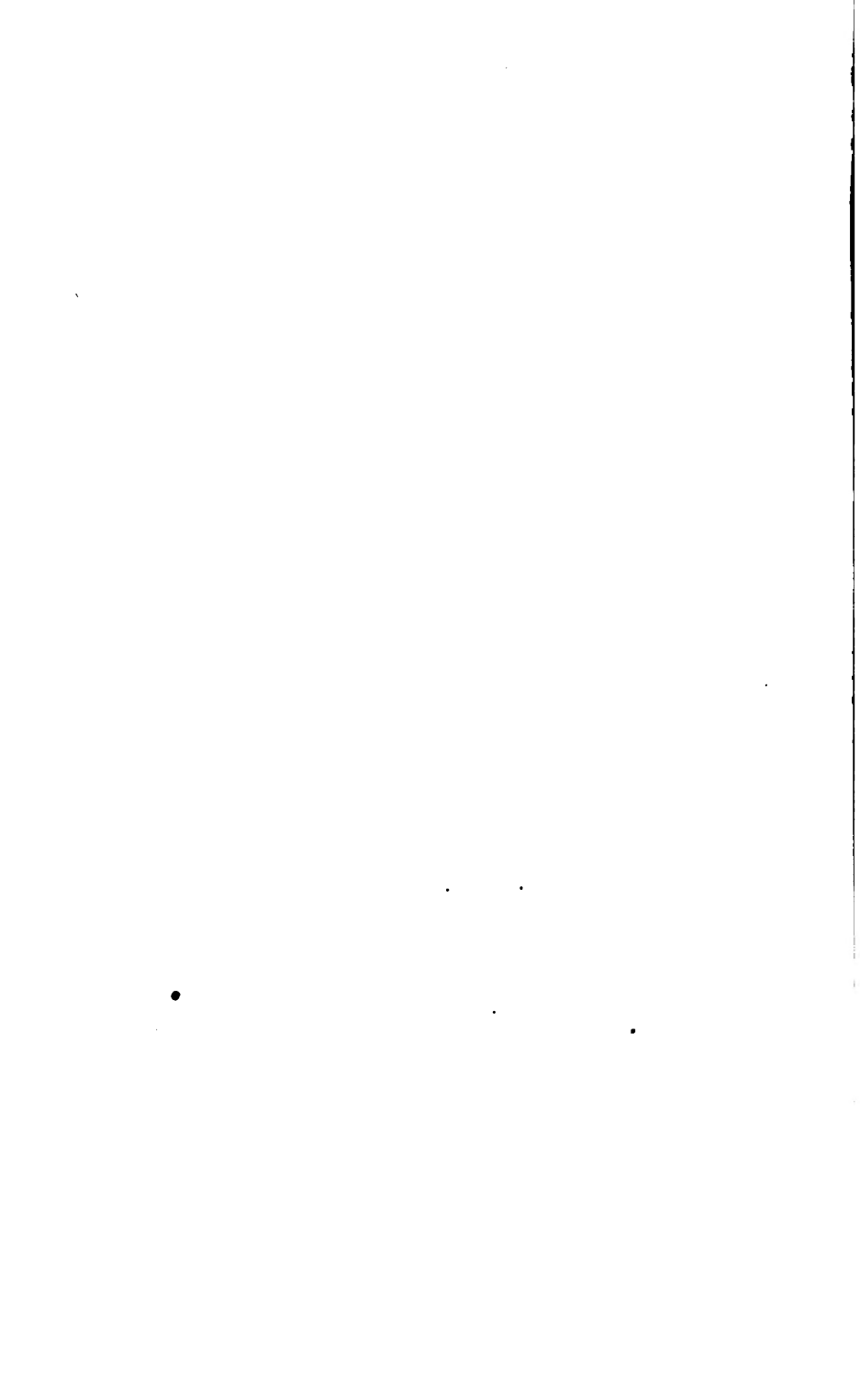


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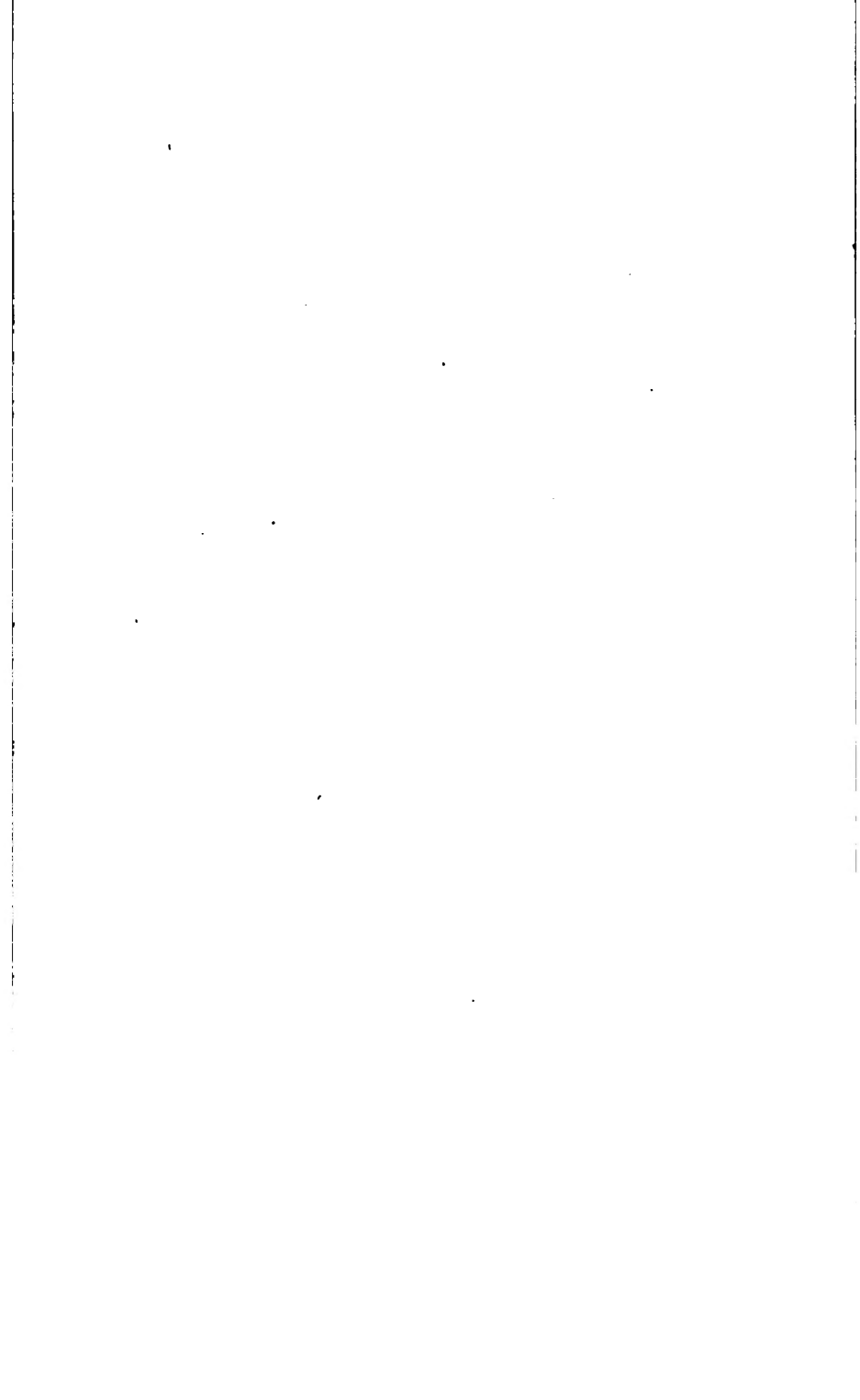




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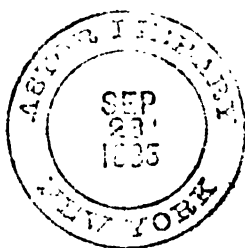
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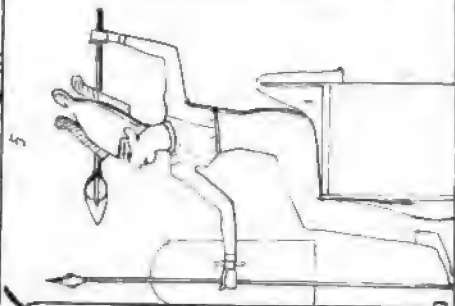
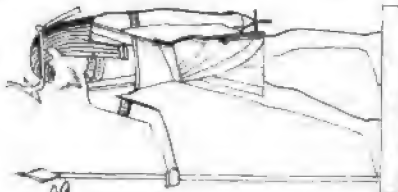
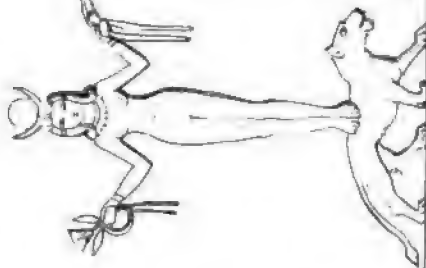
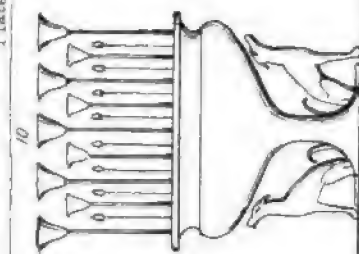
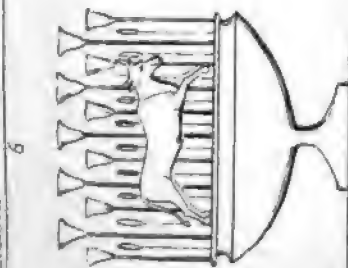
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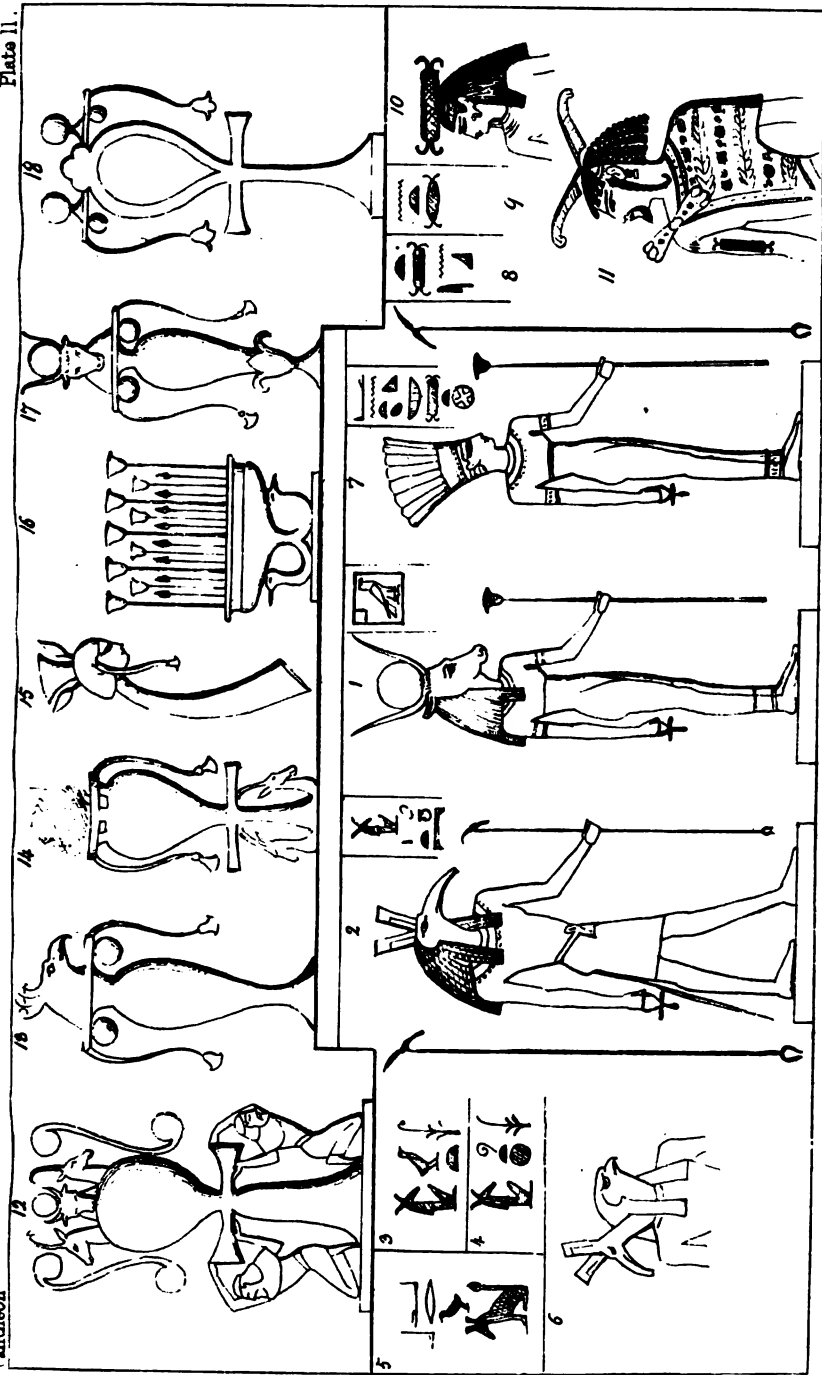
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ROY WIL
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THE REPHAIM.



PANTHEON OF THE REPHAIM.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

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ROMANISM AS IT IS.

1. *Catechismus Romanus ex Decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini ad Parochos.* Pii V. Jussu editus. Editio stereotypa. Lipsiæ: 1840.
2. *Dichiarazione pui Copiosa della Dottrina Cristiana.* Roma: 1838.
3. *Catechismo della Dottrina Cristiana e de' doveri sociali.* Napoli: 1816.
4. *Breve Compendio della Dottrina Cristiana.* Ristampata per ordine dell Card. Spinelli. Napoli: 1846.
5. *Dottrina Crist. ad uso delle scuole pie.* Firenze: 1842.
6. *Dottrina Crist. da insegnarsi nella città e Diocesi di Venezia, etc.* Venezia: 1840.
7. *Dottrina Crist.; data alle stampe da M. Saporiti ad uso della città e Dioc. di Genova.* Genova: 1840.
8. *Compendio della Dottrina Crist.; rived, etc., d' ordine dell M. M. Casati, ad uso della sua diocesi.* Torino: 1840.
9. *Explications des premières Verités de la Religion; à l'usage des écoles Chrétiennes, on Catechism de Namur.* Lüttich: 1843.
10. *Bellarmini Disputationes de Controversiis Christ. Fidei adversus Hereticos.* Romæ: 1838-42.

11. Wiseman (Cardinal), *Lectures delivered at St. Mary's, Moorfields, in London, during Lent, 1836.*
12. *Römischer Katholicismus*, in der Papststadt und anderen Metropolen Italiens, Von F. W. Carové. Leipzig: 1851.

WE confess to have been among those who took an active part in what is commonly termed Catholic Emancipation; and still retain a vivid recollection of the convictions by which we were actuated, and the results which we fondly and fully anticipated. In both convictions and results we now find that we were in error. We are not about to recommend the revocation of the measure of intended conciliation, to which we have adverted. That measure has indeed changed the relations of catholicism and protestantism in Great Britain far more and far differently than was expected. But in the change there is one advantage which we are by no means disposed to part with. British catholics no longer appear an aggrieved party contending for alleged civil rights. In all essential particulars they stand on a level with the rest of her Majesty's subjects. Equal in civil and religious privileges, they possess full liberty for the exercise of their worship and the propagation of their opinions. If therefore they seek to suppress protestantism and to gain exclusive prevalence or ascendancy for themselves, they in their efforts derive no benefit from assumed disqualifications, nor can they plead social grievances in recommendation of their claims. If theirs is the better cause, they are as little prejudiced as they are advantaged by their legal position; and if, as we believe, theirs is the worse cause, they must in time give way and retire before the combined forces of historical facts, sound reasoning, and scriptural authority. The attitude of protestantism in the conflict is improved and strengthened by being disburdened of extraneous encumbrances, and by being in consequence enabled to concentrate its intrinsic powers on the great and essential points at issue.

For this purpose, a correct knowledge of those points is indispensable. False conceptions of them prevailed on the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act. By the prevalence of false conceptions of them was the passing of that act much facilitated. It would scarcely be too much to affirm, that in virtue of such false conceptions that act was carried through the legislature. Erroneous views of catholicism were put forth and industriously circulated by the highest catholic authorities in Great Britain. These erroneous views were eagerly seized and readily believed by advocates of catholic emancipation, actuated by strong sympathy toward persons who were labouring under social dis-

abilities. In a word, we believed, and those with whom we acted believed, that catholicism had partaken of the liberalizing and softening tendencies of the age; that it appeared in the world in a mitigated form; that its absurdities of doctrine, if not softened down, were put in the back ground, and in reality were all but disowned by men of superior intelligence; that its high and exclusive pretensions were in a measure abated, and would, if left to themselves, gradually sink before the spirit of a new and better era: and that its persecuting principles had almost become mere matters of history, to which reference should the less be made in these modern days, because the impartial would thereby be reminded that protestantism is not historically free from the blame of shedding blood for the promotion of its opinions. "Yes," we declared and we believed, "catholicism is changed, and it becomes not Christian brethren to visit the sins of the fathers ruthlessly on their children."

Alas! we were in error; we grievously erred. We now *know* that we erred. We owe the painful assurance in part to a more thorough study of catholicism in its principles and in its history. We owe the painful assurance chiefly to the conduct of catholics themselves. It is they who have dissipated our pleasing illusion. It is by their hand that our eyes have been opened. Catholicism is in essentials unchanged and unchangeable. What it was in the days of Gregory VII. and of Leo X., that it is now; in claims equally exclusive, in spirit equally despotic, in doctrine equally corrupt: the system more fully developed in theory, and in practice only restrained by overruling and irresistible circumstances. We by no means assert that "as it was in the beginning, so it is now, and so it ever will be, world without end." Catholicism is a growth, and every growth has its epochs of change and decay. These epochs of growth, change and decay, we may on some other occasion describe. But for now a thousand years popery has had one great object, and pursued one great end, namely, its own aggrandisement, its own exclusive sway; the will of the pope has been matched against the will of the world; as of old did imperial Rome, so papal Rome has striven to give law to the whole earth; and that law is found in its own ecclesiastical pretensions, dogmas, determinations, and decrees. These, the expressions of its will and the declarations of its purposes, have now for a thousand years remained the same in essence, and only received such expressions, developments, and outward restrictions as opportunity or exigency might suggest, allow or require. At any rate, whether the darker features of Romanism were in reality subdued, or only dexterously veiled for the occasion, now beyond a question

has the papacy reappeared in its pristine vigour. And it is rather with what it is than what it was, that we who live on God's earth and have God's commands lying on us, have chiefly to do. This is the reason why here we ask the reader's attention to some sketches of Romanism in its actual condition.

But where shall we find the proper type? Catholicism is no less various than it is the same. One in substance and in intent, it assumes for its purposes a thousand forms. Its power of self-adaptation is not less wonderful than its power of self-perpetuation. It knows how to humour our changeable human nature, in virtue of whose identity it retains its own; for it panders to passions which it cannot otherwise employ, and gives the reins to impulses which it intends to guide and control. Earthly in its origin, essence, progress and aims, it enters into any earthly form which may serve its present purpose, and conduce to its final object, its own unshared supremacy. Thus every country has a catholicism of its own. In England catholicism keeps its more offensive qualities from the public eye, works in retirement and in secrecy; or, coming into public, puts on a modest exterior, speaks with bated breath, and protesting unqualified allegiance to the sovereign, silently reserves all the rights of that other and higher power, the pope. In a country so near our own as Ireland, catholicism passes from the suppressed gentleness of a saint into the strut, show, and clamour of a bully; defies the hierarchy, threatens the crown, agitates the people, and vows that it will transfer the island to a foreigner, or make the pope the real master therein. This diversity of outward form is accompanied by a corresponding diversity of belief, usages, and operation. Here the propounding of belief in the annual liquefaction of St. Januarius' blood makes even catholics shake their head in token of the disapproval which they venture not to utter with their lips. In Ireland, miraculous legends are as greedily devoured as they are profusely supplied. The literature of the two branches of the church is different, especially such as is provided for the populace; and if you want to see the catholic mythology in its full bloom, you must make your purchases from the catalogues of Dublin booksellers. So is it also with monkish orders and secret societies. In England they work with the utmost silence and under several garbs. In Ireland they come forth from their lairs, and pursue their prey in the open light of day. Turn to France. There catholicism is erect and proud. There it is the open abettor of despotism, while in the United States it keeps on good terms with republican institutions. There in its representatives, the bishop and his clergy, it walks in public procession to the poll, and holds

aloft in the air the vote it means to deposit in the ballot-box for the information of all true believers; thus seeking to serve itself while it serves a cause which on other occasions it has denounced as an arch device of Satan. But whatever may be its political servility, and whatever its subserviency to Rome, it nevertheless restrains the power of Rome by the fundamental arrangements which are termed the liberties of the Gallican church; which ages ago it extorted from the hands of its spiritual liege lord, and which it has had no little difficulty to preserve. How diverse too the commercial catholicism of Belgium from the aristocratical catholicism of Austria, and the profoundly learned catholicism of Germany. Even in Sardinia and Naples the evil is less intense than it is in the papal states. And only in Rome is Romanism seen in its own essence and freely-chosen form. In strictness of speech, popery is the system of the popes; popery is that which the popes have engendered; that which the popes have put forth, declared, sanctioned, and owned. If it is a just principle to take of a power or a government the description which it has given of itself, then for a knowledge of popery we must study the representations put forth on papal authority. If it is a fair and an English maxim to hear an accused party in his own defence, then equally for our arraignment must we have recourse to the papal archives, the papal manuals, and the papal history. And this course must we take the rather because we wish to see clearly whither all these new efforts for the furtherance of popery are tending. No wise man enters on a voyage unless he knows where will be his landing-place. Many in these days seem to be smitten with a sort of semi-popery. Others are taking popery in infinitesimal doses. But these half measures, this ecclesiastical homœopathy, are mere delusions. In its very nature popery is jealous and exclusive. "All or none," is its maxim. If it persuades you to go with it one mile, it will soon make you go with it twain; and having conducted you to the "altar," or the monastery, it will not cease its efforts until it has brought you to the foot of the papal throne, that in token of full surrender and unqualified homage you may kiss the foot of its occupant.

In order to be acquainted with Romanism, you must know its doctrines. Its doctrines are the hinges on which Romanism turns. Its practice is the expression and the image of its doctrines. And in its practice it dexterously admits outward modifications suitable to the constantly varying form of peculiar emergencies, so as to become least Romish in some lands and most Romish in others. Hence its practice may be studied in order to gain a knowledge of its character, but for the essential

features of that character we must look to its doctrines. Both sources of information have been employed in collecting the materials of this essay: and for authorities we have taken only such as are held in the highest estimation in the papal church. Let it also be premised, that it is in the doctrines and the practice by which Romanism is contradistinguished from protestantism that we proceed to offer a brief outline of the actual character of popery. In so doing, we shall lay before the reader the Romish doctrines as they are taught in Rome itself, following as our chief instructor the second work enumerated in the list which stands at the head of this essay.*

Romanism is a closely concatenated system of dogmas, of which the one involves and necessitates the other. Those dogmas we shall endeavour to set forth in their assumed logical sequence in order that they may be the better understood in themselves and in their consequences, and in order that our protestant readers may be instructed and prepared both what to avoid in their own opinions, and what to assail in their evangelical hostility against the papacy. The fundamentals of the system are five, namely,—

I. In consequence of the fall of Adam, all men are born sinners and enemies of God, and as such are condemned to everlasting woe.

II. The sole way of deliverance from that woe is found in

* In addition to those authorities, which are to be preferred the rather because for the most part they are the manuals from which Romanism is taught to the young in Rome and the other capital cities of Italy, we may refer those who wish to study our subject thoroughly to the following works:—

Manuel à l'usage des Membres de l'Archiconfrérie du très saint et immaculé cœur de Marie.

Le Mois d'Août consacré au saint cœur de Marie.

Visites au S. Sacrement et à la S. Vierge.

Manuel du Rosaire Vivant.

Pèlerinage à Notre Dame de Chevreumont.

Le Mois de Juillet consacré à Saint Ignace de Loyola.

The Pope considered in his Relations with the Church, Temporal Sovereignities, etc. By De Maistre. Translated by Dawson.

Abridgment of the Christian Doctrine for the use of the Faithful. Dublin: Duffy.

Butler's Catechisms. Dublin: Duffy.

Carmelite Manual: containing all the approved Devotions to the Ever-glorious and Blessed Virgin Mary. Compiled by Spratt. Dublin: Duffy.

Devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. Dublin: Duffy.

Garden of the Soul, etc. Dublin: Duffy.

Imitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Dublin: Duffy.

The Jesuit's Book of Catholic Prayers and Pious Exercises. Dublin: Duffy.

Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God. By Power. Dublin: Duffy.

Liguori's Glories of Mary. All Liguori's works should be consulted by such as would form a complete and exact idea of what Romanism is in its relation to the lower classes.

the only true church, and in the means of salvation with which that church is entrusted.

III. The only true church is that which Jesus Christ founded on St. Peter, and on his rightful successors at Rome, namely, the Roman Catholic church.

IV. Baptism is the way into that church; in order to remain in which, and enjoy the salvation it has to bestow, you must believe what the church enjoins in virtue of the right to teach conferred on it by Christ; and you must continue in faithful obedience under the authority of its head—the pope, as the successor and vicar of Christ.

V. The pope, as the successor and vicar, or representative of Christ, is the head of all churches, the father and teacher of all Christians. In virtue of the divine instructions which he receives from the Holy Spirit in his capacity of head of the church and vicegerent of God, the pope is an infallible teacher, and the church over which he presides is an infallible, and as an infallible so an “irreformable,” church. In virtue also of the same endowments and functions, the pope has the power and the right to decide, and infallibly does decide, all controversies in faith and morals, and lays down and determines all things necessary to be believed and done for the retention of church fellowship, and the attainment of everlasting life.

These doctrines contain the kernel of the whole papal system. They are distinctly and emphatically taught by Rome. They are required as the way, and the only way, of salvation. Unmodified, unqualified, unredeemed, and unrestrained, they are set forth and enforced in every possible manner. If true, they make the salvation of protestants, equally with the salvation of the heathen, a literal and absolute impossibility; they involve and exact religious persecution; they inhibit and proscribe all diversities of opinion; they render free inquiry a mockery; they disown, disallow, and forbid the right and duty of individual judgment; they hand over Christendom, bound hand and foot, into the power of the holy see; and they make that power predominant in all temporal and eternal things—in all eternal things directly and *ex vi terminorum*; and in all temporal things by inference, inasmuch as temporal things are only the outer forms and shadows of spiritual and eternal realities.

These are the fundamental positions, and these the inevitable doctrines and deductions of Roman Catholicism. Nor have we set down a single item but may be found in express terms in some of the authorities placed at the commencement of this Essay. It may be well, however, to enter into some particulars, and in so doing, to employ the very words of our originals.

"Christ has made satisfaction for the sins of all men. Of this satisfaction each one may make a personal application by means of faith, the sacraments, and good works; especially by means of penance. Only thus can damnation be avoided. So many perish—such as Jews, Turks, and heretics—because they neglect these means."—*Dichiar.*, p. 33.

"There is but one true church; out of that church there is no salvation. That church consists of such as are baptized therein, and confess the faith of Christ in obedience to the *summus pontifex*—the pope of Rome. The teacher of that church is the Holy Ghost; hence there is no danger of its being misled or of its doing wrong.

"And as we believe in one God and three persons, so we believe that the church is one, and that it has three chief gifts:—the first in the soul, which is the forgiveness of sins; the second in the body, which is the resurrection of the flesh; and the third in both soul and body, which is eternal life. This, the only and the holy church, is the catholic or universal church, so called because it exists in all ages, and extends over all places."—*Id.*, pp. 51, 54, 108.

"Baptism is the door into the church. Once entered there, you must believe as the shepherds of the church teach, and specially you must obey its head, and pay *blind obedience* to him, as representing in the world the person of Christ."—*Id.*, pp. 49, 52; *Turin Catechism*, p. 181.

"He who does not obey the church is regarded as a heathen; he is a slave of Satan and a child of hell. Whosoever has not the church for his mother, has not God for his father. Heretics and schismatics belong not to the church, but are set under the power of the church: hence they may be brought before the tribunals of the church, be punished, and laid under excommunication. It is the duty of the church to compel such to return by various needful methods of coercion. In order to have the church for your mother, and by her to be saved, you must learn the Christian doctrines: of these the most important are the Credo (the Apostles' Creed), the Pater Noster (the Lord's Prayer), the Ten Commandments,^b and the seven sacraments. The first of virtues is faith. Faith requires belief—belief in all the articles of the Apostles' Creed; besides this you must be ready to believe all that is declared by the holy church.^c We must believe what the church teaches, because it is impossible that God should speak falsely; 'therefore (the catechumen is instructed to say), I believe those things with more confidence than those which I see with my eyes and handle with my hands.'"—*Dichiar.*, pp. 50, 55, 57, 151; *Venice Cat.*, p. 23; *Namur Cat.*, p. 200; *Florence Cat.* (1842), p. 18.

"Sin is nothing else than a voluntary omission or commission against the law of God. By the law of God is meant, not only the ten commandments, but also that which has been given by means of the pope and of the other heads both temporal and spiritual, for they all are ministers of God, and have authority from him."—*Dichiar.*, pp. 211, 212.

^b To which are added the six commandments of the church. Of these the fifth enjoin the payment of tithes to the church.

^c To the question, "By what sin does a person lose faith?" the *Turin Catechism* answers (p. 125), "When he inwardly denies or willingly doubts even one single article of what is set forth for our belief."

"The fourth commandment directs us to honour our elders, and to respect all other authorities temporal as well as spiritual. The spiritual authorities are our holy father—the pope, with the bishops and the priests; the temporal are the sovereigns, the judges, and the police."—*Namur Cat.*, p. 147.

Still more full and, if possible, more explicit on the point of obedience to the magistrate is the *Catechismo*,^d which in 1816 was printed at Naples for use in schools, (pp. 63 *seq.*) These are its words:—

"We ought to reverence the king since he is the person who governs the people unlimitedly with the power which he has received immediately from God, and acknowledges no other superiority on earth. We ought to obey him since he is God's vicerent on earth, and since he is the living image of God, possesses in himself the inviolable right of maintaining good order, &c. We are under the obligation of offering up our property and our lives for the life and the support of the king. To this obligation belongs the duty of executing everything which is commanded by him against those who strive to diminish his authority. He who dares to lessen his sacred rights shall be regarded as a criminal and sacrilegious man."

Here let us pause one moment in our exposition to indulge in one or two reflections: but how sad must those reflections be when we find religion thus degraded into a pander to political despotism. *Sin is disobedience to human authorities!* Observe how in this and in several other points, religion and religious things are lowered to an earthly level by being presented in a mere earthly relation. Properly and scripturally sin is a breach of God's law. So regarded it has an awful aspect. But that aspect is lost, when sin is exhibited as disobedience to a tyrant or a policeman. You thus materialize the spiritual, and make the celestial earthly. The Divine itself loses its attributes in being identified with repulsive human forms. One touch of ridicule strips the sublime of all its sublimity. And painfully ridiculous it is to equalize disobedience to God with disobedience to a pope, a monk, a gendarme! It is, however, chiefly in its relation to civil and spiritual despotism that we wish to fix the reader's attention on this false doctrine. Sin is disobedience to authorities. Then all disobedience to authorities is sin. But sin entails the curse of the church which is the curse of God. Consequently all who disobey authorities are under the curse of God. But you disobey authorities when you attempt to lessen

^d The slavish teachings here given are repeated and even surpassed in the *Catechismo Filosofico*, cited by Mr. Gladstone in his *Two Letters to the Earl of Aberdeen on the State Prosecutions of the Neapolitan Government*, which should be read by all who wish to understand the actual workings of the abominable system of combined spiritual and temporal tyranny which the text sets forth in the very words of its originators and patrons.

their power or fail to execute their behests against the refractory. Therefore what is commonly called patriotism is sin ; to withstand despotism is sin ; to give shelter to the oppressed is sin ; to refuse the dagger which a higher power puts into your hands to employ against a Henry IV. or an Elizabeth. Gracious God ! that a monstrous organization, which teaches and enforces doctrines so slavish, so irreligious, so ruinous to religion and to society, should dare emphatically to call itself thy church and the church of thy son ! No wonder that at the present moment the despots of the world are offering incense to the weak misguided man that sits in the pseudo-chair of St. Peter, and employ the resources he puts at their disposal, either to subjugate their people, or to rivet their chains. And is this a doctrine and this an influence which the people of England, famed for their love of civil and religious liberty, will consent to receive ? God forbid !

In the formal documents put forth by the present pope, repeated attempts are made to join in a league, or to ratify existing leagues, offensive and defensive, with continental tyrants. These underhand efforts have been only too successful. We subjoin some extracts, in which these efforts are manifest, and from which it will appear who they are that Pius IX. regards as his own enemies, the enemies of catholic monarchs, and the enemies of God and Christ.

"Hostile to the catholic religion, the divine authority of the church, and the rights of both temporal and spiritual rulers are—1. The reckless attacks on the Roman see of St. Peter, etc. ; 2. The secret societies instituted to destroy and lay waste the church and the state ; 3. Those crafty Bible Societies which renew the old arts of the heretics ; 4. The most frightful system of indifferentism by which those deceivers put forth the delusion that men may attain eternal life in any religious society ; 5. Those most restless conspiracies against the most sacred celibacy of the clergy ; 6. The so-called communism."—*Encyclical Letter of Nov. 9, 1846.*

"Among the snares in which the most cunning foes of the church and of human society endeavour to entrap the people, one of the chief is the misuse of printing, and with the aid of the Bible Societies, the diffusion of the sacred Scriptures in translations which have not received the sanction of the church. You, beloved brethren, will have to watch most carefully that the faithful may with horror fly from those poisoned books, and remember that no one, relying on his own wisdom, can assume the right, nor dares love the darkness so as to expound the holy Scriptures differently from the way in which the holy church, our mother, has expounded and does expound them."—*Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1849.

"We cherish the hope that our very dear sons in Jesus Christ, that all princes of Italy, will with their mighty power afford aid to your brotherhood, and that they will be desirous of protecting the church and all its

temporal as well as spiritual rights. It cannot be hidden to their wisdom that the prime cause of all the evils with which we are burdened, is no other than the wrongs done to the catholic religion and churches in former times, specially in the period when the protestants appeared. They (the princes of Italy) see, for example, that the growing contempt of the authority of the most holy high priest (the pope), that the daily spreading and unpunished violations of the divine and the ecclesiastical ordinations in the same degree diminish the respect of the people for the civil power, and have opened for the present enemies of the public peace a broader road for disturbances and insurrections.

"Finally, they see that in the midst of the calamities with which we are oppressed, it is impossible to find a means of speedier efficacy than that which consists in this, namely, that the catholic religion and church shall revive in all Italy, and regain its wonted splendour."—*Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1849.

The whole letter, as well as other recent papal publications, is full of intimations that the pope sorely fears protestantism, protestant "conventicles," protestant "Bible Societies," protestant books of all kinds, especially the sacred Scriptures; and that his hope is fixed on the restoration and final establishment of civil despotism as the only sufficient means for the recovery of his own usurped and baneful power. Woe! woe is it! that his hope has to a large extent been converted into a reality, and that now for any of his own selfish and wicked purposes, he can reckon on the aid of congenial tyranny extending, with here and there a narrow interval, from the desert of Siberia to the straits of Gibraltar. Still, so long as England remains protestant as well as free, we will not allow ourselves to despond. To resume our exposition;—

"The grace of God has three operations in the soul; it extinguishes sin; it adorns the soul with gifts and virtues; it gives power to perform works, meritorious and well-pleasing to God. In regard to the spiritual life it is necessary that grace should be born within us by baptism, should grow and be strengthened by confirmation, should be nourished and sustained by the eucharist, and be regained, when lost, by penance; also that a man in the moment of death should be armed against the fiend of hell, who fights then more than ever; and this takes place by means of extreme unction."

"All the seven (we omit 'orders' and 'marriage' as peculiar) sacraments were devised and instituted by Christ, and are certain channels through which the virtues of Christ's passion are conveyed to us, so that no one can obtain the treasure of that passion except in that way, and through those means which Christ has appointed."—*Dichiar.*, pp. 93, 158, 159.

In reference to the grace conveyed by the sacraments, the *Catechism of Genoa* (p. 59) declares, "A soul without grace resembles the devil, and when it goes into the other world it be-

comes a brand of hell." And according to the *Catechism of Turin*, "the merits of Christ are of no avail to those who do not receive the sacraments or receive them badly."

"The sacrament of penance removes all sins committed after baptism, how enormous soever they are. It is unconditionally necessary to every one, who after baptism has fallen into a deadly sin. If any one dies without confession he can obtain forgiveness only by a special favour, and that only when he was perfectly contrite and wished to confess."

"As there is no other means for their eternal salvation than the sacrament of baptism, the parents grievously sin who allow their children to die without baptism, since thereby they themselves rob their children of everlasting life."—*Dichiar.*, p. 161; *Turin Cat.*, p. 93.

"The operations of baptism are;—1. It perfectly renews the person, seeing that it communicates to him the grace of God; whereby he who was a child of the devil becomes a child of God, and instead of being a sinner is just; and not only does it wash from the soul every spot of guilt, but delivers it also from all the punishments of hell and purgatory: 2. It leaves in the soul an indelible spiritual token, as by the brand thereon you know to whom slaves or beasts belong: 3. By baptism you enter the church, partake of all its benefits, and make a vow to be a Christian and to obey those who govern the church in Christ's stead."—*Id.*, p. 162, 163.

"The sacrament of penance consists in this, that the sinner outwardly confesses his sins, and the priest outwardly pronounces absolution. For Christ has appointed the priests judges of sins committed after baptism.* God through those absolving words of the priest looses the soul from the bands of sin by which it was bound, restores to it his grace, and exempts it from the necessity of being cast into hell. For the reception of this sacrament satisfaction is necessary. Satisfaction consists in this, that the sinner is willing to do penance, and therefore readily takes on himself the punishments which the confessor imposes, and as soon as possible performs them, considering that God shews him the greatest favour in remitting the eternal pains of hell, and is satisfied with a temporal punishment which is much less than the sin deserved."—*Id.*, p. 180, 182.

The extent to which the sacerdotal power of judging and punishing goes, may be inferred from the *Ritual for the absolution of a person who died in a state of excommunication*†

"If an excommunicated person in departing from this life gives signs of contrition, in order that he may not be without Christian burial but on the contrary, so far as is possible, may receive aid by the intercessions of the church, he may be absolved in the following manner. If the body is not yet interred, it shall be beaten and then absolved, as follows. If he has been interred in unconsecrated ground, he must when it can be done conveniently be disinterred, and then in the same manner be beaten, and after absolution be interred in some consecrated place; if he cannot be

* According to the *Rituale Romanum* (1816, p. 1842), the priests have not the power (*non licet*) to bury unbaptized children.

† *Rituale Romanum*, 1816, p. 66.

conveniently disinterred, the place of his burial must be beaten. If, however, he has been interred in consecrated ground, he is not to be disinterred but the tomb to be beaten. While the priest beats the body or the grave, he pronounces the antiphone, 'The humiliated body shall sing jubiles to the Lord.' Psalm: 'Have pity on me, O God, etc.' Whereupon he shall be absolved with the words: 'In virtue of the authority which I have received, I declare thee free from the bonds of the church-ban which thou didst incur, and I restore thee to the communion of the faithful, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.'"—*Rituale Rom.* (1816), p. 66.

"The good works which are acceptable to God as a satisfaction for sins are; 1. Prayers, such as hearing mass, reciting psalms, etc. 2. Fasts, to which belong all bodily mortifications, as the Cilicium (hair shirt), the whip, sleeping on the bare ground, pilgrimage, and alms."

"The fruits of the sacrament are; 1. That God commutes the eternal pains of hell into a temporal punishment, to be endured either in this life or in purgatory. 2. That the good works which we had lost through sin are restored to us. 3. That we are freed from the penalties of excommunication, if we had incurred them. 4. That we are made fit to receive the treasure of the indulgences which the Pope often bestows."

"Indulgence is a free gift (*liberalità*) which by means of his representative God gives to believers in wholly or in part remitting their temporal punishments. By means of indulgences you satisfy only the law which demands your punishment. By good works you make satisfaction, and at the same time merit eternal life."—*Dichiar.*, pp. 185, 186.

"The sacrament of extreme unction has three operations; 1. It forgives sins; 2. It encourages and strengthens the dying; 3. It restores health, should such restoration be serviceable to eternal salvation."—*Id.*, p. 187; comp. *Rit. Rom.*, p. 101.

"He who dies in deadly sin,⁹ goes forthwith to hell; he who dies in the grace of God, goes forthwith into purgatory or into paradise."—*Id.*, p. 45.

"The most holy sacrament of the altar is heavenly and divine bread, which in a wonderful manner nourishes the life of the soul. As soon as the priest has pronounced the words of consecration, then is the host the true body of the Lord—the body, the blood, the soul and the Godhead; also after the consecration of the wine and water in the chalice, there is the true blood and with it the body, the soul and the Godhead of Christ. Jesus Christ instituted this most excellent sacrament as the food of souls, the sacrifice of the new covenant, and a continual memorial of his passion, and a very precious pledge of his love towards us. As a sacrifice it placates God towards the world, and obtains many benefits not only for the living but for the dead in purgatory."—*Id.*, pp. 79, 80, 169, 175.

The *Turin Catechism* recommends the following "act of faith," as a means of a worthy communion:—

⁹ The *Neapolitan Catechism* of 1846, gives as examples of deadly sins, "to murder, to steal something considerable (*qualche cose considerabile*), not to hear mass on Sundays and holidays." In the *Catechism de Namur*, it is taught that absence from mass entails the guilt of deadly sin.—p. 62.

“My Lord Jesus Christ, I firmly believe that thou art really present in this the highest sacrament, with thy body and blood, and with thy soul and Godhead; I worship thee in this sacrament, and acknowledge thee as my Creator, Redeemer, and chiefest protector, and as my very high and only God; Lord, thou art my Father, my Saviour, my God,” etc.—p. 103.

“The chief means by which you may the more perfectly observe God’s commands are these three,—voluntary poverty, celibacy and obedience. If by poverty you offer to God your goods, if you offer to him your body by celibacy, and if you offer your soul by obedience, you lay on his altar all you have to give. Marriage is good, virginity better; that is a human, this an angelic thing; that according to nature, this above nature. Widowhood also is better than marriage. Obedience consists in the renunciation of your own judgment and your own will, and the surrender of yourself to the higher powers in every thing that is not against God.”—*Dichiar.*, pp. 152, 153, 191.

In the exposition of Romanism which we have now given, there is scarcely a single point which does not invite comment and deserve condemnation. The whole is a system of unscriptural and antiscritptural falsehood, cunningly devised and iniquitously worked for the mental, moral, and social enslavement of the world. There by the intrusion of the most enormous and concentrated earthly selfishness and devilish pride, delusion and deceit, the holiest things are made unholy, the divinest things are stripped of their divinity, the loveliest things become foul, and the most venerable things assume a grotesque or a frightful aspect. On one or two points we shall dwell with some little detail.

Morally devastating is the Romish doctrine of indulgences. That doctrine and the practice thereof vary with time and place. Now it is concealed; now it is veiled; now it is qualified; in all cases that is done which for the nonce appears most likely to benefit priestcraft and sustain the papacy. We will shew what it is in practice when it dares appear in its own fully developed form. The power of the church to impart indulgences depends on the treasure of “the boundless merits of Jesus Christ, the most holy Virgin, and of the Saints.”^a These merits accumulate in the papal exchequer, and are dispensed at the good pleasure of its master. In the year 1846, the Archbishop of Naples, published for the encouragement of the faithful under his charge, what he called *The Treasury of Indulgences (Tesoro d’Indulgenze)*. The document is so extraordinary that we shall transfer the substance of it to these pages.

“In order to obtain holy indulgences we must take pains with the necessary preparations, to make a good confession and a good communion.

^a *Breve Compendio della Dottrina Crist.* p. 19, A.D. 1846.

Without this we shall not only not obtain them, but place ourselves in peril of casting ourselves into everlasting ruin."

These are the indulgences, and these the conditions of *The Treasury*.

"1. Eighty thousand years of indulgence, guaranteed by Benedict XI., will be gained when on your knees you say:—'O Lord, my God, who wast willing for the redemption of the world, to be born, to be circumcised, and to be rejected by the Jews; do thou, my Lord Jesus Christ, in virtue of these thy holy sufferings, and of the merits of thy sacred cross, free me from the punishments of hell.'

"2. Eighty thousand years of indulgence, as you read on a marble in the church of St. John, at the Lateran in Rome, will be gained when you say:—'My Lord Jesus Christ, sweetest Father, from love of the joy which thy most beloved mother had in that hour, when thou didst appear to her on the most sacred day of Easter, and on account of the joy when she saw thee glorified with the splendour of the Godhead; I entreat thee most graciously to enlighten me with the gift of the Holy Ghost, that I may fulfil thy will in all the circumstances of my life.'

"3. Fifteen souls will be delivered out of purgatory (an indulgence granted by Clement III.), when together with the most holy Virgin you address the dead Jesus in these terms:—'O inexhaustible fountain of truth, how art thou dried up; O most high divinity, how dost thou permit thyself to be seen by me in such poverty; have pity on every creature. Also, a Pater Noster, an Ave Maria, a Gloria on behalf of the person whom this indulgence is to regard.'

"4. Complete indulgence is obtained and a soul is delivered from purgatory, when before the image of the Crucified One you pronounce the ensuing prayer and implore God on behalf of the ministers of the church (granted by Clement III.): 'O my beloved and kind Jesus, look on me who have cast myself before thy most sacred presence: I entreat thee with the most fervid prayer, to imprint on my heart the sentiments of faith, hope and charity.'

"5. Complete indulgence was bestowed by Pope Innocent VIII., at the intercession of Elizabeth, queen of Spain, to all those who utter the ensuing supplication:—

'The heavens salute thee, O limitless Virgin!
Star brighter than the sun!
Pitiful mother of God!
Far sweeter than choice honey,
More crimson than the rose,
Whiter than the lily,
Thou, the bloom of all virtue,
Honoured by all saints,
The loftiest in heaven!'

Also a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria.

"7. The benefit of a hundred masses for the year will be enjoyed by every one who every day piously says the following prayer as well as an Ave Maria for the person who puts the prayer in print:—'Virgin, the

ever undefiled mother of God and my mother of mercy, Mary, with thy powerful intercession do thou cause that I and all creatures, that we all may ever know and love Jesus Christ, thy most beloved Son. *Salve Regina.*'

"8. On the sabbath after his death, he will be delivered out of purgatory who wears the cloak (*abitino*) of the Madonna del Carmine (the Carmelite Virgin), and exactly observes the fasts of the church. O with what exactitude and self-annihilation did the first Christians keep the vigils and the quadragesimal fasts. Now is there only a quadragesimal fast left for us, and no one keeps it. But let us remember that in order to go to heaven one way lies open to us; that way is penance: without penance is hell. In order to obtain the offered deliverance, you must further abstain from flesh on Wednesdays, and according to your condition guard your chastity. But the first duty is to get your cloak blessed; the second, to have your name inscribed by a Carmelite father; the third, to wear the cloak—which must be of wool—night and day: otherwise you gain nothing. These privileges and obligations have their source in the appearances made by most holy Mary to St. Simon Stochio and Pope John XXII.; and have been approved by twenty-two popes.

"9. Moreover the indulgences which are promised in this way among those Carmelites, as well as among other cloakers, of the pains of Mary[†] della Mercede, and especially of Mary of the Conception, are innumerable, daily and complete, in life and in the hour of death. With the cloak of the unpolluted Conception, which has been blessed by the Theatine fathers, all indulgences are connected which have belonged to any religious order, sacred place, or sacred person. Especially when you recite six Pater Nosters, Ave Marias, and Glorias in honour of the most holy Trinity, and of the unpolluted Mother, you gain *toties quoties* all the indulgences of Rome, Portiuncula, Jerusalem, and Galizia; which amount to 533 complete indulgences, besides the temporal, which are numberless. The best of all is to wear at once all those four cloaks, since they are so united as to form but one; you may have them blessed by the fathers of the Holy Alphonsus *Sopra Tarsia*. These four united cloaks may be purchased in Archbishop's Street, No. 63.

"10. The richest indulgences moreover for him who piously performs the exercise of the *Via Crucis*, since by visiting the stations you gain all the Jerusalem indulgences just as if you went to the holy places themselves.

"11. Continual indulgences for 300 days every time that with contrite heart you say:—'Jesus, Joseph and Mary, I give you my soul together with my heart. Jesus, Joseph and Mary, stand by me in the last

[†] In the manual *Divote Preci solite recitarsi Dei*, P. P. de "*Servi di Maria*," printed at Florence, and sold at the gates of the *Annunziata*, there is (p. 22 seq.) a list of all the indulgences which have been granted by several popes to those who recite the chaplet of Mary's seven pains, as well as the favours gained by the brothers and sisters who wear the cloak of the afflicted (*addolorata*) Virgin Mary; also a list of the eighteen days in the year on which you may deliver a soul from the punishments of purgatory.

deadly conflict. Jesus, Joseph and Mary, inspire my soul with peace in communion with you.

"12. Two hundred thousand years of sacred indulgence to the person who utters three Pater Nosters, Ave Marias and Glorias to the three bare bones of the suffering Christ.

"13. Thirty thousand years of indulgence were granted by Alexander VI. to the person who thrice utters the Ave Maria before the image of the holy Anna, and prays:—'Hail to thee, O Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with thee: thy grace be with me. Blessed art thou among women; and blessed by thy mother, the holy Anna. Of her, without spot and without sin, wert thou born, O Virgin Mary! Of thee was born Jesus, the true Son of God! Amen.'

"14. Ten thousand years of holy indulgence to the person who utters three Pater Nosters to the sufferings of Jesus Christ, and to the pains of the holiest Mary.

"15. Three thousand eight hundred years of holy indulgence to the person who piously and attentively hears mass.

"16. Seven hundred years of holy indulgence to the person who falling on his knees at the sound of the knell, utters the *De Profundis* for the departed.

"17. One hundred years of holy indulgence to the person who says: 'Known and beloved by all are the Holy Trinity with the most holy sacraments; blessed be the holiest, purest, unspotted conception of the blessed Virgin Mary.'

"18. One hundred years of holy indulgence to the person who says: 'Praised, blessed, and glorified by all creatures for ever be the most pure and unspotted conception of the blessed Virgin Mary. Amen.'

"19. One hundred years of holy indulgence to the person who says: 'Blessed be the holy, all-pure, and unspotted conception of the blessed Mary, always a virgin. Amen.'

"20. Seven years of holy indulgence to the person who accompanies the *Viatikum* without a taper, and six years to him who accompanies it with a taper.

"21. Seven years of holy indulgence to the person who recites piously the exercises of Christian faith.

"22. Five years to him who kisses the monk's cloak; and one year and forty days to him who kisses the cross.

"23. Many indulgences to him who says: 'Soul of Jesus Christ, sanctify us! Body of Jesus Christ, redeem us! Blood of Jesus Christ, wash us pure from all sins! Water of the side of Jesus Christ, purify us! Sufferings of Jesus Christ, strengthen us! O good Jesus, hear us! Hide us in thy wounds! Never let us separate from thee! Defend us against the fiend of hell! At the hour of our death, call us to thyself into holy paradise, that we may praise thee to all eternity together with the angels and the saints. Amen.'

"24. Many indulgences to him who says: 'God, blessed be thou for ever; blessed be his holy name! Blessed be Jesus Christ, true God and true man! Blessed be the holy name of Jesus! Blessed be Jesus in the most holy sacrament of the altar! Blessed be the all-precious blood of

Jesus Christ ! Blessed be the great mother of God, Mary, the most holy ! Blessed be the name of the virgin and mother, Mary ! Blessed be God in his angels, his saints, and by all his creatures for ever ! *In te, Domine, speravi, non confundar in aeternum.*

" 25. He will be freed from all danger who with lively faith (*chiunque portera in dosso*) wears the benediction of the Holy Francis.

" 26. Seventy thousand years of indulgence to him who recites the third of the rosary ; and complete indulgence to him who says the rosary on all the chief feasts of the year. These are gained by all those who are inscribed in the book of the rosary, if they wear the chaplets blessed by the Dominican fathers, and meditate on the mysteries with attention. Further, the most holy Virgin said to Saint Eulalia, that she had more pleasure in five lines recited calmly and piously than in fifteen spoken hastily and with less solemnity. Therefore it is desirable to pray through the rosary on your knees and before an image of the most holy Virgin ; and observe that it aids you more to repeat the rosary at the same time with others than to repeat it alone.

" 27. Seven years indulgence every time to him who engages in silent prayer half an hour a day ; and complete indulgence to him who performs it at the beginning of each month.

" 28. Complete indulgence, *toties quoties*, to every one who visits one of the Pii P. P. Operarii ; and in the same way, complete indulgence for seven years and seven quarantes to him who pronounces a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria, and supplicates God for the elevation of the holy church : this is read on a tablet of those same churches of the P. P. Pii Operarii.

" 29. Innumerable are the indulgences for visiting the chapel of the treasury of Saint Januarius, especially during the festivals of the church, as is read in the treasury of Saint Januarius.

" Wherefore let us in our devotions, especially when we are in the churches, so direct our efforts as to gain all the indulgences in life and in death that we are able ; and for that purpose always keep ourselves in such a way as to be aided in confessing well and in properly communicating. Then let us pray God for the elevation of the church, for the uprooting of heresies, for the conversion of unbelievers, heretics and all sinners, and for the relief of the souls in purgatory. [Say] a Pater Noster, Ave Maria, and Gloria, agreeably to the intention of the popes who have established these holy indulgences. Let every one take pains that this most precious and very rich collection of indulgences may be known to all. The same is sold in Archbishop's Street, No. 68 or 67. At Rafael Miranda's, with permission of the Revisor of the Police."

What a specimen have we here of papal superstition ! How degraded the populace with whom such trumpery can have any value ! How degraded the priests who deal therein ! Can any one wish to see England brought down to so low a degree of spiritual imbecility and moral perversion ?

Most curious is this document : most curious and most pain-

ful. What is this but to make religion into a system of charms and magic, the absurdity of which is not surpassed by any delusion or practice of the darkest of the dark ages, and the most corrupt times of paganism? The utterance of a few words absolves from penalties in this life and the life to come! What matter how many ecclesiastical censures you incur? In five minutes you are free from them all, by uttering a prescribed form of prayer. Sin you may, but confession puts all right, and sin you must, else you have nothing to confess; and it seems almost worth while to sin, when for a short confession and a shorter invocation, you can have absolution to be spread over *seventy thousand years*! Certainly here are indulgences enough to sin, and if men do not sin it is not from want of indulgences. In serious earnestness, however, what a miserable, what a deplorable, what a blasphemous perversion have we in these nine and twenty sets of indulgences, of the holiest of all truths, the most sacred of all realities, the most awful of all issues! How are the terms sin, holiness, and duty here travestied and desecrated! Such a list of human traditions, such a list of human perversions is enough to make the angels weep, and must make all good men mourn and wail. O God, how long? How long, O God, shall these "scribes and pharisees, hypocrites," pollute thy temple and mislead thy people? How long wilt thou tolerate those who traffic in false treasures, and trade in spiritual frippery, barely making clean the outside of the platter, while inwardly they are full of all uncleanness?

Let not the reader suppose that the list of indulgences that he has now perused is in any way singular or exceptional. Several specimens of the kind are before us. The wonder is how all these indulgences are needed; why, when by the utterance of a few words you can obtain innumerable complete indulgences, why should you trouble yourself about the matter? The day of darkness will come, and when it comes it will bring sorrow and contrition. Then in the mournful hour, one invocation of the Virgin will blot out all your church debts, and give you still the run of thirty thousand years, minus some threescore and ten. Nay, you may even get out of purgatory for ever the very next Sunday after your death, by attiring yourself in the *abitino der Madonna del Carmine*. Destructive system! loosening every moral bond, undermining every moral principle, altering, and in its very essence perverting, the nature of moral good and ill, and substituting the mere traditions of men for the eternal laws of right and wrong, and the infeasible commandments of God.

The vile system of indulgences may exist in grosser forms in

Italy; but in sufficient repulsiveness is it known in our own land. Out of several examples which we have under our hands we chose one, because it presents itself in the very centre of the most active thought and practical good sense to be found in England. We allude to what in a copy of the rules which lies before us is called "*The Purgatorian Society of St. Chad's, MANCHESTER.*" This society, which is incorporated with the parent society in the city of Dublin, under the direct patronage of St. John the Evangelist, and the approbation of "his Holiness Pope Pius VII.," the president of which is a priest of St. Chad's church, the Rev. W. J. Sheehan, is a sort of spiritual club, or mutual assurance association, the members of which, by paying monthly contributions of one penny or more, get their departed friends out of purgatory, or shorten their stay in that uncomfortable place; and when they themselves, somehow, in spite of all indulgences, are found therein, give each other aid under the impulse of what Kossuth might term "the solidarity of souls and conditions." Witness these rules:—

"III. That every well disposed Catholic, wishing to become a member of this society, and thus contribute to the relief of the poor suffering souls in purgatory, shall pay one penny per month, to procure masses to be said for the repose of the souls of the deceased members."

"VIII. That the benefits of this society shall be applied in the following manner, viz., all the acting members shall be entitled to three masses, and every subscriber without distinction to two masses, at the time of their death, provided they die in the communion of the church, also that they be members for six months, and *clear on the books* at the time of their death."

"X. That each subscriber, at the time of his or her death, shall be entitled to three offices in the following order; viz., one at the time of their death, another at the expiration of a month, and one at the end of twelve months."

"XI. That two masses be offered every month for the suffering souls in purgatory, and especially for the deceased members, their parents, relations, and friends."

"XII. That when the funds of the society permit, one mass be offered every month for the spiritual and temporal welfare of all the living members of the society."

Those words, "when the funds of the society will permit," contain the concentrated essence, and present the real object of the whole affair; for there we learn that the prayers of the priests are limited by the contributions of the priests' dupes. "No penny, no mass;" such is the maxim of this clergy, to whom go all the pence which the poor ignorant Irish serfs who mumble their prayers in St. Chad's church can spare from their miserable pittance, in order to fight against purgatory on their

own behalf, and on behalf of their deceased relatives and friends. And very obdurate we hear those priests are in enforcing their commercial policy. Pity is it that the deluded people do not take a leaf out of their own book, and going on the good old principle which requires goods to be delivered before they are paid for, or even adopting the sharp practice of "no cure no pay," see that they possess sure guarantees of having their money's worth.

In order, however, to make the clubs work the more effectively for the extraction of their pence from the Irish hodmen and street-sweepers who vegetate in Manchester, certain additional advantages are tendered to its members in the shape of indulgences granted and confirmed by "his Holiness Pope Pius VII., June 4th, 1820;" for instance, "A plenary indulgence on the day of being received into this society;" "a plenary indulgence on the Monday after the first Sunday of each month;" "a plenary indulgence on the day appointed for the quarterly office;" "an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines, to each of the members as often as they faithfully perform any of the duties prescribed by the rules of the society," etc., etc.

This last rule does indeed make easy work of such salvation as Romanism has to offer. A member doing his duty once in seven years has plenary indulgence, and need not therefore, ecclesiastically speaking, trouble himself with anything more! An awkward rule this in relation to the payments; for it overrides all the other rules, and makes all right for one penny in every seven years. To our simple mind, the clergy of St. Chad's are not so sharp-sighted as some of their brethren, else would they scarcely have added to the money payments indulgences which are almost gratuitous, and which may reduce the pecuniary contributions to a merely nominal sum—one penny, for instance, in "seven years and seven quarantines"!

Of great effect, however, are in general these indulgences for filling the sacerdotal coffers, since they are employed by the *Société de Propaganda Fide* in order to quicken the benevolence of the faithful, and procure pecuniary resources for making war on protestants, and other heretics and unbelievers. Accordingly on the 10th of September, 1850, the present pope, Pío Nono, granted "plenary indulgence, once a-year, to all the members of the pious association for the day on which shall be celebrated in any place whatever, the solemn commemoration of the deceased contributors."* Previously (on the 17th of October,

* Urbis et Orbis Decretum. Ex audientia Sanctissimi, die x. Septemb. 1850.

1847,' the same pope, after confirming all previous indulgences and privileges conferred on the proselyting society, bestowed on every one who by paying a penny a-week for the furtherance of the work, became a member thereof, and recited, no matter in what tongue, a Pater and an Ave, together with this invocation, "Saint François Xavier, pray for us," the following privileges and indulgences, applicable also in the way of suffrage, to the souls detained in purgatory, namely :—

"Plenary indulgence on the third day of May, the anniversary of the foundation of the society; the plenary indulgence already mentioned, which was explained and confirmed in 1850; plenary indulgence also to be gained twice a month by confession and receiving the sacrament; further plenary indulgence in the article of death to be enjoyed by all contributors, if properly disposed, and if they invoke silently or with their lips the holy name of Jesus; finally, an indulgence of one hundred days to all members every time they, with at least a contrite heart, shall recite the prescribed prayers, that is to say the Pater and the Ave, with the invocation 'Saint François Xavier, pray for us;' or they bestow for the same purpose some alms in addition to the weekly penny, or shall perform some other work of piety or of charity.

Here too this arithmetical religion seems to have overshot the mark; for the recital of three very short prayers three times, and about a half (on the average) per annum, keeps every member ecclesiastically "all right." This surely is religion made easy. But observe, the members may substitute their prayers for their pence, for the indulgence wipes out all old scores. Nine prayers or three acts of charity (or thereabouts) every year, keep each member "clear on the books" of the church, who in the supposed case is bound, in virtue of her office and by undertakings no less express than solemn, to open to every believer the gates of paradise. Verily, with indulgences so various and so profuse, the good catholic is more likely to want sins to obliterate, than sin-offerings: his embarrassment will be the embarrassment of superfluity, so bounteous, not to say lavish, is Mother Church. However she does expect a return. The return gained by these penny and other contributions in the year 1850, amounted to 3,383,659 francs (a franc is about tenpence sterling). Of this sum, the British Isles gave 126,572 francs; received 141,000 francs, including 3000 "to aid in the construction of a church in London for the Italians."

Here it appears, that besides all her other exactions, Rome—by means of her system of spiritual delusion, tyranny, terror, and cajolery—extracts from the world for her own wicked pur-

¹ Urbis et orbis Decretum, &c.

pees, no less a sum annually than 8,388,659 francs: in other words about £150,000 sterling are obtained and spent by the pope in promoting Romanism. This is a large sum to be expended in forging chains for the world. But it is a small sum when compared with the munificent liberality of protestant England, given as a free-will offering for the conversion of the world to "none but Christ, none but Christ."

And now, the better to understand "Romanism as it is," let us look at the way in which it expends its pecuniary resources in places where it is free from the control of protestantism and the restraints of the general spirit of the age. In the Chinese missions, Perrocheau, vicar apostolic of Su-tchuen, under date Sept. 4th, 1848, writes to the conductors of the society for the propagation of the faith at Rome, in the following terms:—

"In spite of the obstacles which the mandarins throw in the way of the conversion of the infidels, we have received as catechumens 1,280 neophytes, and baptized 888 adults in the year. God be praised. But our angelical society it is which gives us the greatest consolation. The number of the children of the infidels baptized in danger of death continues constantly to increase; this year it amounts to 84,416, about two-thirds of whom, already in possession of unutterable felicity, will love and praise God eternally. The more we receive aid from Europe, the more will this work extend its benefits. We have opened in several cities small shops where Christian (catholic) physicians gratuitously *distribute pills* for young persons who are sick, and generously give attentions of all kinds to the children brought to them. This work produces marvellous effects, causes a very large number of children to be baptized, and singularly pleases the heathens. In order to explain the prodigious success of our angelical work, you must be informed that all China is covered with poor persons, reduced to the last degree of wretchedness and burdened with numerous families. Their children lack everything; no food, no clothes, almost no shelter. The mothers die of hunger and cold; the infants they support perish with them. It is these nurses which give an abundant harvest to our baptizers, who seek these poor wretches in preference to others, accost them with kind words, testify a warm interest in their young families, *give pills*, and sometimes add alms; they are therefore regarded as angels descended from heaven, and *are easily allowed to baptize the perishing little ones*. Some of our physicians have often effected wonderful cures, and though their skill is small, enjoy extraordinary repute. Hippocrates was not lauded so much. Sponges are here unknown. We fell on the idea of getting some from Macao, as more convenient than cotton for baptizing. The pagans *admire these sponges, and regard them as an infallible remedy*. They are delighted at seeing the foreheads of their sick children laved with so marvellous an instrument. We hope that next year the number of our baptized infants will reach a hundred thousand; by-and-bye it may amount to two hundred thousand a year, if you send us good support. In no other part of the world *can your money achieve*

the salvation of so many souls. After the conversion of China, which contains more than three hundred millions of inhabitants, you may compute *the multitude of little Chinese which will every year ascend to heaven.* In Europe perhaps surprise will be felt at so great a *disposal of pills in China.* But the astonishment will cease as soon as it is known that the Chinese have a taste for medicine just as Europeans have for tea and coffee."^m

Lamentable superstition! Children sent direct to heaven by baptism procured by pills! Such is sacramentalism in its full growth. Such maudlin and degrading formalism to be represented as the religion of the Saviour of the world: and to be substituted here and in all protestant lands for the vital practical faith of Cranmer, Leighton, Jeremy Taylor, Barrow, Locke and Howard! How little do these Romish fatuities differ from fetishism! A venerated pill and a miraculous sponge, as means of effecting Christian conversions! Other resources of the same unworthy kind are employed. Thus in missions of Tong-King, the Romish bishop and vicar apostolic, Retord, after reporting the baptism, during the year 1849, of 9,649 infants of the infidels, states as among the causes of this success the following:—

"A collection is made, and a small capital acquired. This capital is employed in trade, or laid out in the purchase of a piece of land. With the income we purchase boards to make coffins, and religious and funereal tokens; then when the children of the pagans die, the society gives them a solemn interment, with music and a drum and a troop of little children of both sexes who follow the procession. The heathens are ravished with this pomp; so that when one of their children falls sick, they of their own accord intreat us to go and baptize it. There is in the mission at present a great zeal for this work; but to sustain this ardour, I must get many books, images, and chaplets made. All the objects of the kind you have sent me are used for the purpose. But they are not enough. I am getting made here many chaplets for this purpose. Nevertheless we shall never reach the number of baptisms in China, for the people here are very fond of their children."ⁿ

The dumb show of a funeral parade a means of conversion! A drum and fife beating up for infant recruits in the army of Christ! Images in place of the primer! Chaplets over a tomb instead of the word of the living God in the heart! Yet only comparative success; for the parents "love their children," and hence, it would seem, are anxious to save them from this parade and mummery. And in China the saved souls are so numerous because parents do not love their children! In other words, they care not what becomes of them, and therefore let them fall

^m *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, March, 1850, p. 127 seq.

ⁿ *Annales de la Propag.*, 1851, p. 273.

into the hands of the Romanists. No matter; being in those hands, and being baptized by those hands, they pass at once from earth to heaven! This is sacramentalism in all its destructiveness. No! there is no qualification in the absurdity. Witness the words which follow, and which proceeded from another missionary bishop and another vicar apostolic, "Miche, bishop of Dansare:"—

"When on the point of separating from these savages, I perceived a woman carelessly stretched on a mat, and near her lay an infant which was at her breast. This poor creature, about a year old, was nothing but skin and bone. A part of its body, devoured by scrofula, was a prey to putrefaction, and exhaled a fetid odour. I told the mother that I could do her child good, and begged her to take it into her arms. Then I baptized that poor little one, of its tribe the first born for heaven. May that child, predestined for celestial bliss, when once in possession of eternal happiness, intercede with Jesus Christ in favour of his countrymen, and become the guardian angel of his nation!"^o

This poor wretched dying child "the guardian angel of his nation!" Well, he might be as fit and render services as good as many others who hold the same post in the Romish hierarchy of heaven. St. George, the guardian angel of England, should be worshipped blindfold, if worshippers he is to have at all. In this particular of guardian angels we find that pagan element which so largely enters into Romanism, and both pervades and pollutes the whole system. Repeatedly does it present itself in the instructions offered to the people by the works which lie before us. In the catechism, entitled *Dottrina Cristiana breve*, originally composed by Bellarmin at the command of Clement VIII., and in 1839 newly edited and published at Rome, in answer to the question, "Do you not fly for refuge to the other saints (besides Mary)?" this reply is given by the scholar, "I fly for aid to all the saints, and especially to the saints of my own name and to my guardian angel."

We cannot know the papacy unless we well know what within the last few years has been done by the highest papal authorities for the encouragement and propagation of the Marian idolatry. The religion of Italy may with far greater propriety be termed the religion of Mary than the religion of Jesus Christ. The Mother has overshadowed if she has not superseded the Son. In every part of the country you behold tokens of the prevalence of Marianism; and those tokens become at once the more numerous and the more offensive in the degree in which the papal sacerdotalism obtains the predominance. Indeed the sen-

^o *Annales de la Propag.*, 1851, p. 141.

suousness of the worship of Mary suits the sensualism of the Italian character. Of this the pope and his court of cardinals are well aware, and consequently they give every scope to the development of this form of their multiform superstition, in order the more effectually first to entangle Italy in their web, and then to employ their captives for the extirpation of protestantism and the subjugation of the world. Hence is it that of late so much has been done toward the ecclesiastical recognition and establishment of "the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary." Ridiculous would such nonsense be in the year 1852, were it not most baneful. However, by the papal determinations another article of faith has been (at least almost) added to the infallible church. And so that church is not changeless after all! No! it may change for evil as much as it will, but it never changes for good. Any amount of development in the way of rank corruption it not only tolerates, but encourages. Nevertheless it is "irreformable;" it revises nothing, improves nothing, recalls nothing, but only goes on adding to its huge mass of corrupt and abominable things, pouring forth from its immense ecclesiastical *cloaca* the drainage and offscourings of very many dark centuries, and still more vile principles and black deeds.

Not long after he had been enthroned, pope Pius IX. put forth what his cabinet called "a Sacred Invitation" (*Invito Sacro*), his object in which was to forward the worship of the holy Virgin. In that document the most extraordinary powers are ascribed to Mary, "the true mother of God;" who besides being a sure refuge and firm defence to all who fly to her, is described as the exterminator of all heresies in the whole world. Having in this invitation called on all his satellites to hasten to the altars with their rosaries in their hands in order to pay their glowing homage to the great protectress of the church, the same pontiff five weeks later (Nov. 5, 1846) published an Encyclical Letter, at the end of which he used these words: "In order that the most gracious one may the more readily grant our requests and perform our wishes, let us constantly implore the intercessor with Jesus, the most holy God-bearer, the immaculate Virgin Mary, who is our most sweet mother, our mediatrix, and surest hope and greatest refuge; whose patronage with God is the most instant and the most powerful." In a

^p "Irreformable!" Such is the declaration of Pio Nono, who in his Encyclic of Dec. 8, 1849, declares, "In fact, men cannot rise against the catholic faith without rejecting the authority of the Roman church, in which resides the *irreformabile* source of teaching the faith which was instituted by the Redeemer," 1850, p. 127 seq.

^q "Gaude, Virgo Maria, cunctas hæreses," 1853.

similar manner it is said in a papal proclamation of May 1, 1848 : " We with the greater activity apply ourselves to implore the aid of God through the mediation of his holy mother and of the holy apostles, the protectors of Rome," etc. On the 2nd of August in the same year, Pius IX., in order to tranquillize troubled minds, issued a declaration, which ends with the assurance, " But God watches over Italy for its protection, as well as over the state of the church and this city ; he has confided their defence to the immediate care of the great patroness of Rome, the most holy Mary, and of the apostolic princes." The previous year the Jesuit Perrone had dedicated to the pope a treatise on the question, " Whether the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin could be established by a dogmatical decree?" Pius answered him with thanks in a document dated Oct. 25, 1847, in which he said : " Certainly we desire nothing more than that the due worship and devotion of the most loving mother should daily increase everywhere ;" " as soon as the occupations of our office permit, we will not fail to enter on the subject of your essay with the greatest pleasure." While the pope remained in exile at Gaeta, he addressed (Feb. 2, 1849) to all the chief shepherds of the church a circular, in the introduction of which he remarked :—

" From the time when we took our seat in the apostolic chair, it has been a great comfort to us to know that under Gregory XVI. (his predecessor), a strong desire had become active in the whole catholic world that at length it might be determined by a solemn declaration from the apostolical see, that the holy God-bearer, our most beloved mother, was begotten without the stain of original sin."

Farther on he gives the assurance that—

" From our earliest youth we accounted nothing so worthy and so dear as with special childlike devotion and with our whole heart to honour the blessed Virgin Mary, and to promote everything which tended to her praise and glory, and by which her worship might be more and more spread abroad."

On that account from the beginning of his pontificate he had prayed to God for light in order that he might know what in the circumstance he ought to do.

" We," he proceeds, " specially relied on the hope that the most

* The *Turin Catechism* teaches (p. 171) : " The church has certainly not laid it down that the conception of Mary was immaculate : yet such is for the most part the common opinion of theologians and believers ; since, as they say, it corresponds to the holiness and majesty of Jesus Christ that the Virgin, who was appointed to be the mother of the Son of God, should not for an instant be the slave of the devil." Farther on it says " she was committed even a venial sin," and that " she from her tenderest years *S. Annales de la Propriété*."

blessed Virgin, who by the greatness of her merits had been raised above all the choirs of angels to the throne of God (St. Gregory); who with the foot of virtue had bruised the head of the old serpent, and who, placed between Christ and the church (St. Bernard), had at all times rescued the Christian world out of the most threatening dangers, snatched them from the snares and assaults of all their foes, and delivered them from destruction, would bestow on us also her maternal cares, and, by her ceaseless and most powerful intercession with God, bring it to pass that he would calm the fearful storms which everywhere rise against the church, causing us the greatest pain, and would turn our grief into joy. For you know well, honoured brethren, that all our confidence is fixed on the holy Virgin; since in Mary God has placed the fulness of all good, so that if hope, grace, and salvation are prepared for us, we may know that the blessings are given only through Mary; for such is the will of him who wills that we should receive everything through Mary (St. Bernard)."

At the end a most earnest wish is expressed that the honoured brethren "would at the earliest period supply information of the devotion with which the clergy and the faithful cleaved to the immaculate conception of the Virgin, and how the desire found utterance that the holy see might come to a final determination." In October of the same year (1849), Pius IX. replied to a communication addressed to him by the bishops assembled at Imola, that "his first care in the assembly was to acknowledge that to the protection of the unpolluted Virgin Mary he was indebted for the maintenance of the temporal power of the papal chair in the midst of so many political revolutions, and the restoration of his legitimate authority in all the provinces of the papal states." Near the end of a circular addressed from Naples (Dec. 8, 1849) to all the bishops of Italy, the pope directed them "to invoke the most holy mother of God, the immaculate Virgin, since through her all-prevailing intercession with God she obtains whatever she desires, and asks nothing in vain." When at length Pius IX. returned to Rome by the aid of Neapolitan, Austrian, and French arms, he in an allocation to the cardinals declared (May 20, 1850): "We have no more holy duty than most deeply to thank Almighty God for benefits so great, and to bestow praise on the nations and princes who, led by God himself, have succoured and defended the temporal sovereignty of the apostolic see by their might, their counsel, and their arms;" and further on, "Since now through the goodness of God we have returned to this apostolic chair, it cannot be otherwise than our holiest duty continually to thank the most gracious God, who has shewn us his mercy, and in the same way to offer gratitude to the most holy God-bearer, to whose mighty protection we are indebted for our deliverance." After describing the contest in which he

had been engaged as one "between light and darkness, truth and error, sin and virtue, Christ and Belial," he requests them "to address prayers to God, that he through the merits of his only-begotten Son and of his most holy mother, and of the apostles Peter and Paul, and all the celestial inhabitants, would vouchsafe to deliver his holy church from all opposition, and to procure for it greater and more resplendent triumphs among all nations and in all lands." On the third of the same month the pope commanded a *Decretum Urbis et Orbis* to be made known. It was not published however before July 31. It begins with the words:—

"Pope Pius IX. from the commencement of his pontificate has experienced the most potent and effectual protection from the holy Virgin Mary. Specially was this the case when the ship of Peter was lately tossed hither and thither on the raging waves." . . . "And since the holy Father remembers how, on the 2nd of July in the last year, when the church solemnly commemorates the visitation of God's mother, the yoke of oppression was removed out of Rome, so has he signified to the prefect of the congregation of holy rites, Cardinal Lambruschini, his wish that the day of her visitation should through the whole world be in future celebrated by a twofold ceremony of the second class (*ritu duplici secundæ classis*), in order to give a grateful proof of a grateful mind toward the most praiseworthy Virgin, who, contrary to hope, came to his succour and the succour of the faithful."

Finally, in the apostolical letter issued to restore the Roman hierarchy in this country (Sept. 24, 1850) we read:—

"While we were allowing this plan to ripen, we have not failed to entreat the aid of God; we have also sought assistance from the most holy Virgin Mary, the mother of God, and from the saints, who have made England glorious by their virtues, that they, by their mediation with God, would condescend to obtain for us the successful issue of this undertaking."

The appeal thus made in Rome for the spiritual subjugation of this protestant land by the special aid of the Virgin, was taken up and repeated here. In a pastoral issued by the Bishop of Melipotamus, "on the pope's encyclical letter on the mystery of the immaculate conception," Cardinal Wiseman among others makes these statements;—

"To no part of the catholic church can this announcement be more welcome than to us, dearly beloved, whose fathers so particularly held and promoted belief in this mystery of Mary's immaculate conception, and gave to the church the feast in which it is commemorated. Who then shall feel more anxious than we to learn the decision of so great a point, the sure holding of which has been already a source of so many blessings to the church? It is in truth a solemn and most moving occurrence, when

the church of God, not aroused from without by the assaults of heresy, nor alarmed within by the creeping spread of baneful error, but moved and uplifted by the heaving and swelling piety of her own best children, rises up to declare a dogma of faith. The month of May, sacred in the church to the most blessed mother of God, comes most opportunely to favour the discharge of this most pleasing duty—the prayers of the faithful for guidance in the matter; we trust that in every church or chapel in our district some devotion will be performed and instruction will be given with reference to the peculiar dedication of the month to Mary, the immaculate virgin Mother of God.”

“Anxious, therefore, to unite the particular object of prayer enjoined by the holy father with the annual and more general devotion of the season, the bishops, vicars apostolic of all England, assembled according to their wont in London, have unanimously resolved to address their flocks, that so there may be a uniform and joint supplication sent up to the throne of grace.”

The flocks were addressed. Specific services were appointed throughout the British Isles. As a consequence, the Marian idolatry flourishes in full observance. Cardinal Wiseman sustains it in England: Primate Cullen sustains it in Ireland. It is recognized and enjoined in the recent formal publication of the determinations of the synod of Thurles, which have received the express sanction of the pope. How rampant and how gross that idolatry is may be learnt from the language in which it is spoken of by the highest papal authorities; but its full iniquity and abomination can be known only to those who are familiar with the degrading and licentious superstitions of the Italian populace.

Now let the reader remark how adroitly politics and superstition are here mingled together. At a time when Romanism seemed on all sides pressed down by the superincumbent weight of general displeasure, a new spring was devised and set in action to enable it to recover its erect posture and resume its wonted attitude of defiance and assault. That spring was a new dogma. That dogma was specially fitted to work on the mystic credulity of the lowest classes of the social world. The device met with some success. The prayers and mental excitement caused by the several steps taken for the establishment of the dogma, not only kept the catholic nations alive to the dangers of their mother church, but specially centered their ideas and feelings on the one point of its defence and means for its defence. But while their minds received this direction, they were at the same time carried on to heresies, the chief source of its actual perils. Mary is not only the sure defence of the faithful, but also the bane and the ruin of all unbelievers. The prevalence then of her worship is the prevalence of hatred and active hos-

tility toward protestantism. By encouraging that worship, the pope in an hour of need has recovered strength. He has done more: he has raised a feeling of bitter and active opposition against all recusants. This feeling has been extended to England, where, having been fostered by the Romish hierarchy, it has led to a grand simultaneous effort for the reconversion of this realm to popery. In general the spirit of propagandism has, throughout the catholic church, received a new impulse and acquired concentration. A Romish conspiracy has been formed, with the Virgin Mary as its patroness. The objects of that conspiracy are twofold—general and special. The conspiracy employs all the forces it can command for the subjugation of the world, and in particular for the subjugation of England. The special is its primary aim; for well does the pope know that England being converted, protestantism would have received its death blow. At no time since the days of Luther, has Romanism assumed a more threatening or a more formidable aspect than it now wears. Rescued from imminent destruction by the arms of despotism, and once again seated in the chair of combined temporal and ecclesiastical power, the pope, with invocations to “Mary, Mother of God,” and with superstitious drivellings about a topic which makes decency blush and theology frown, has with most congenial sympathies allied himself with men who deserve no better titles than political tyrants, reckless usurpers, or civil marauders, in order to make a combined and ruinous attack on civil and religious liberty, and specially on the faith and the freedom of Great Britain, so that on the ruins of their overthrow, he may firmly and securely set up and establish his throne of darkness and servitude. And if in this great enterprize and fearful struggle a second armada should be thought desirable, Pius IX. would probably have no difficulty in finding a leader of its forces in the reckless usurper, who, not long since, hung on the unclean skirts of the refuse of the English aristocracy, and now leads the van of Romanism in France, holding aloft with gory hand the united banner of the imperial eagle and the papal keys. And whether or not the usurpations of Louis Napoleon shall, in their foreign relations, take the form of a sacred war, the present aspect of the political and ecclesiastical world certainly suggests the fear, that should there come the war of principle, which Canning foretold would in this century devastate Europe, it will be a war in which religion will add the vials of its sevenfold wrath to the raging violence of civil conflict. Nevertheless we trust in God; we trust in God with full and undoubting confidence. Once more is Apollyon unchained. But his liberty will be his over-

throw. Did we not believe in divine providence, we should now be afraid. This darkness, this thick darkness, this darkness of united extremes—Romanism on the one side, socialism on the other side, both in their essence despotic,—the actual and impending darkness, we should dread to enter, were not God at our right hand, were not the sword of the spirit in the hand of his Son, our leader and champion. Under such protection we defy the papal Goliath, and doubt not of achieving a triumph all the more complete, signal, and enduring, because of the great array and proud confidence of the foe.

In one feature of this ever recurring battle between the gospel and its corrupters, we do rejoice, yea, and we will rejoice. The conflict now is an open conflict. Many a cloak has been removed: many a delusion has been scattered. There is no longer any possibility of mistake. Romanism still is what it has for centuries been. Romanism admits of no modification. Romanism has taken to itself "seven other spirits" as blind and as despotic as itself, and appears in the field of the world, panting to destroy God's truth and man's highest privilege. Therefore trimming on the part of protestants is no longer possible. All men must take sides. You cannot halt between two opinions. You cannot be safe in the space which intervenes between the two armies. You must go over to that camp, or return into this; and when once more here, you must arm yourselves *cap-a-pie*, and take your post, and fight to the last for God, for Christ, and for your country. Glad are we that this has become the sole practical alternative. To this issue are all protestants driven by the usurpations, the claims, the alliances of the pope. Henceforth there will be less popery in protestantism. Notions which have existed and yet linger amongst us, notions of an accommodation with popery, will find no countenance, and perish for want of sympathy. All positive support of Romanism will be discontinued. At any rate, the protestantism of England has a right to demand that favour to its active and deadly foe shall cease forthwith and for ever. Rome must no longer be subsidised. Neither for university, college, nor school, must one penny of protestant money be hereafter expended. What! shall we, out of our own armoury, furnish weapons to an assailant that has sworn our destruction? Let there be a sharp and clear separation between ourselves and our adversaries: let them go there, while we stand here. Only in our ranks are they dangerous: only when we give them encouragement are we in peril. This side and that side; and then, with our good claymore and "God and our Right" for our motto, let us to the fray in a truly English manner; the issue we calmly leave with the God

of battles—the author, giver, and supporter of truth. The very persistence of Rome in her corruptions, which in the eyes of the weak-sighted has given her the appearance and the recommendations of consistency, will serve only to ensure and accelerate her defeat; as of old, the continued employment against the skill of pagan Rome of arms which the northern barbarians had found effective on their remote plains and in their dark forests, proved a source of weakness to their invading hordes, and gave an easy victory to the long, keen-edged, and well-managed weapons of the defenders of civilization.

The obstinate retention of error is the high road to ruin. The necessity for reformation is impressed by the hand of God himself on all mundane things; if he has exempted the outer edifice of the church from this universal law, he has contradicted himself. Rejecting such a position as alike unphilosophical and irreligious, we declare that any ecclesiastical communion which proclaims itself “irreformable,” thereby announces its own certain downfall. “Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly!”

O P

GREGORY OF NAZIANZUM: THE CHURCH IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

Gregory of Nazianzum: a Contribution to the Ecclesiastical History of the Fourth Century. By Dr. CARL ULLMANN, Professor Extraordinary of Theology at Heidelberg. Translated by G. F. Cox, M.A. Oxon. London: J. W. Parker. 1851.

IN no department of theological science have the labours of the Germans been more fruitful or more valuable than in that of church history. Their exegetical works, portentous and varied and eminently able as in some respects they are, bear yet almost all of them the taint of Rationalism. With some noble recent exceptions, they are characterized either by a very cold and defective, or a radically perverted spirit. We wonder often while we read them what could have induced men so obviously devoid of Christian feeling to give themselves so assiduously to the task of scriptural interpretation. Even Hegel himself could not help saying of the old Rationalist critics: “These men treat the New Testament as if they *had no personal interest in it*, but were merely writing-clerks taking an inventory for a merchant who had hired them.” The dogmatic theology of modern Ger-

many, again, struggling as it still only is towards a higher and more adequate expression of Divine Truth, cannot be considered satisfactory. It has, we honestly believe, grasped some points more comprehensively than our own, and attempted a more genuinely philosophic rationale of others; but even in these respects its work is still incomplete, while in others it is as yet only groping after the truth. In the special branches of apologetics and polemics we are not aware that Germany claims any distinguished mention. In church history, however, its pre-eminence is beyond question. Apart indeed from the recent products of German industry, this science can scarcely be said to have any existence. In our own country it is, as it has long been, in a singularly dead and barren state. Mosheim is still the text-book in our Universities; and Neander's great work is just being translated to supply our utter lack of any such work at home.^a Milman gave us some time ago—so far as scholarship and rich gifts as a writer are concerned—the *promise* of a church history which might be ranked without any feeling of shame with those of our German neighbours: but even this promise does not appear, from whatever cause, likely to be fulfilled. With the recent splendid revival of the historical spirit among us in other directions, we are still without any ecclesiastical historian deserving the name. If there is exaggeration, there is yet some truth in the bitter remark of Newman before his transition to Popery, that "the chief, perhaps the only, English writer deserving this name is the infidel Gibbon."

We cannot now pause to enquire into the reasons of this. One reason, however, on the surface is so obvious, that we cannot pass it over. Our religious life has been hitherto too divided and narrowed in its several channels to have admitted of any true and comprehensive insight into the past progress of the church. Each party among us has been content to contemplate this progress through its own "coloured spectacles." A one-sided sectional interest, founded on the most limited and partial views, has prevailed to such an extent as to have left in various quarters even no appreciation of the application of a genuine historical skill to this most interesting phase of the past life of humanity. A better spirit, however, is evidently growing among us. It is beginning to be acknowledged that, as in other

^a Professor Torrey, we are rejoiced to learn (*Bib. Sacra*, No. 3, New Series), has just completed the translation of Neander's history so far as it was published at the author's death. Only seven volumes however have yet been introduced into this country. The task which the American professor has thus accomplished, is an eminently meritorious one, executed with consummate skill, for which he deserves the warmest thanks of all British as well as American students of church history.

departments of history, so in this, it is only from a truly scientific and widely sympathetic point of view that the course of the church's development can be regarded with an intelligent and fruitful insight. Catholicity—a large and embracing spirit of Christian toleration—a free and widely adapting love of Christian interests, however diversified in their exhibition—is beginning to be recognized as the primary and altogether indispensable requisite in a church historian; and we may hope therefore that, with the increase of a right historical appreciation in other relations, we may soon be able to congratulate ourselves on some worthy and adequate attempt to portray the Christian history of our race.

It is above all this pre-eminent impartiality—this breadth of loving sympathy for every true aspect of Christian doctrine and practice, however sometimes disguised by temporary peculiarities—which distinguishes and exalts Neander's history. The reader feels as it were safe in his hands, convinced that he is traversing no merely made-up course, whose features are presented according to a preconceived arbitrary standard in the mind of the writer, but an actual course of historical development with natural and life-like features. The pure spirit of Christian science, which delights in the exhibition of truth for its own sake, *sine ira et studio*, is felt everywhere to pervade the narrative. And it is, we believe, in the main the greater prevalence of such a spirit among the German divines generally which has contributed to the superior value and fruitfulness of their historical enquiries. From Mosheim downwards they have been distinguished for the fair and honest and *thorough* aim with which they have prosecuted the department of historical theology.

The same characteristic in some degree has led them to devote themselves to the careful and accurate exhibition of special points of importance in the past life of the church, whether as presented in the development of some great doctrine or the career of some great teacher. In this way, they have felt, and rightly, that the interests of truth would be best promoted,—by the reproduction in a fresh form of the original sources upon which the main facts of the church's history are based. The modern reader is thus enabled to see these facts in their true light, and to discern their true significance. The theological literature of Germany is richer in such monographs, as they have been called, than that of all other countries together. Neander gave the great stimulus to their composition, although he cannot be said to have originated them. The animating series that appeared from his pen spread widely a new and eager spirit of enquiry into original ecclesiastical resources;

and many younger scholars have given themselves to the task of reproducing them with eminent skill and success.

Among the most distinguished of these is Dr. Ullmann of Heidelberg, whose monographs of Gregory of Nazianzum, and of John Wessel, and especially the more elaborate form which the latter has since assumed as a general history of the "Reformers before the Reformation," entitle him to be placed in the first rank as a church historian. It is some time, we think, since the English public was promised a translation of this latter work; but it has not yet appeared. We hope, however, it soon may: and in the meantime we shall introduce our readers to the less important but highly instructive sketch of Gregory of Nazianzum, a translation of which, just published, stands at the head of our article.

It is right to premise, however, that the translation only presents one half of Dr. Ullmann's volume, although a half sufficiently complete in itself, inasmuch as it comprises all the biographical matter merely separated from the dogmatic (or the statement and examination of Gregory's theological opinions). The translator supposes himself to have thus consulted the interest of the general reader; but we question if he has not injured his version more on the other side than is likely to be compensated by any such doubtful advantage. Such a work can scarcely be said to address itself to the general reader, even in its curtailed form; while those who are most likely to seek its perusal would not have been repelled, we think, but rather the more attracted by the additional portion. What the translator has done, however, he has done well. There are a clearness and finish in his version which but too rarely characterize versions from the German; although, to be sure, Dr. Ullmann writes in a more graceful, easy, and perspicuous style than most of his brother divines, rendering it a comparatively facile task to translate his language into our idiom. There are a flexibility and lightness, especially in his biographical representations, which give a freedom and attraction to his writings we but too often desiderate in German authorship.

As regards the other characteristics of the present volume, we shall allow it to speak very much for itself—our object being rather to present our readers with the portrait of Gregory, as drawn by Dr. Ullmann, than to enter into any criticism of the manner and degree of skill with which this portrait is drawn. We may simply say that Dr. Ullmann appears to us to have entered very successfully into the spirit and bearings of his subject, to have caught and represented the genius of Gregory's age, in many points very graphically, and everywhere with an

acute yet mild judgment to have sketched his principal figure. It will indeed, we doubt not, appear to some that in many cases his judgments are too mild and tolerant in reference especially to the undoubted vacillation and instability of Gregory's character. There are great truth and force however in many of his explanations on this head; and if, after all, we are not led to excuse the inconsistency, we are at least furnished with a very satisfactory key to it in the skilful exhibition of all the influences affecting Gregory's position and conduct.

Gregory was born about the beginning of the fourth century. Both the exact time and place of his birth, however, have been disputed. His father, bearing the same name, became ultimately bishop of the little town of Nazianzum in the south-west of Cappadocia, from which our Gregory derives his surname. Originally he belonged to the somewhat obscure deistic sect known by the name of Hypsisterians, or Worshipers of the Most High. His mother, Nonna, an eminently pious woman, grieved for her husband's unconverted state, spared neither exhortations nor prayers till he was brought to see the beauty of that truth which she herself so worshipped. This Christian woman appears to have exercised a very powerful influence over the opening mind of her son. Like Hannah of old, she had dedicated him to God's service even before he was born, and as soon as was possible after his birth she hastened with him to the church and laid his little hands on the Holy Scriptures in token of this dedication! It is deserving of notice how frequently we are able to trace the signally favourable influence of Christian mothers in the early history of the church. Neander, in his *Denkwürdigkeiten*, etc., has a very pleasant and interesting chapter on this subject, and every student will at once recall besides the case before us, the special examples of maternal influence in the cases of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom.

Brought up under the consciousness of his devotion to the cause of Christ, Gregory very early manifested strongly religious feelings, and from a mere boy is said to have shewn that ascetic tendency which characterized his after years. His father appears to have been possessed of considerable wealth, and the means of the most complete education of the period were thus easily within his reach. Unable to satisfy his powerful impulse towards higher cultivation in the insignificant little town of Nazianzum, he went first of all to Cæsarea, the capital of his native province, and then successively to Cæsarea of Palestine, Alexandria, and finally Athens,—still, amid all its degradation, the centre of the highest culture of the age. Having

embarked for Athens at an unfavourable season of the year, he very nearly perished in a storm. In the expectation of death, he was afflicted with extreme anxiety about the state of his soul, being still, according to the custom of the time, unbaptized. This postponement of the rite of baptism, while its indispensable necessity for future happiness was at the same time so strongly recognized, is, as Dr. Ullmann remarks, something very astonishing. It seems only to be accounted for, he says, "by concluding that the danger of dying unbaptized was considered as less than that of falling away from grace already attained, by reason of an unworthy life or special sins after baptism, when a restoration to a state of acceptance was hardly to be expected."

Athens still presented, at this period, a very interesting picture of intellectual activity and excitement. The eager enthusiasm and keen emulation of earlier and worthier times survived, though of course with even less practical utility, and a much diminished lustre and dignity. Gregory was at first rather repelled than otherwise by the stormy atmosphere of academic conflict into which he was plunged. He derived great comfort and gratification, however, by the arrival of his former acquaintance, Basil of Cæsarea, between whom and himself a warm and devoted friendship sprung up, which no subsequent events of an unpleasant character were able to destroy. Nothing can exceed the glow and tenderness of affection cherished by Gregory towards his friend, which everywhere express themselves in his letters. Even in his old age, and after all that had tended to separate himself and Basil, he could not—

"Think," he says, "of this friendship without tears. A like hope stimulated both of us in the pursuit of an object which is generally wont to excite the most violent jealousy—literary distinction. But envy was far from our hearts while they were filled with a generous emulation. There was a friendly contest between us, not who should carry off the first prize, but which should be allowed to adjudge it to the other, since each cherished the reputation of his friend, as if it were his own. We seemed in fact to be only *one soul* that animated *two bodies*."—p. 35.

"I have taken you," he writes on one occasion to his friend (*Epist.* xxvi., cal. 20), "as the guide of my life, and the teacher of my faith, and whatever else can be called beautiful and great. As such I always consider you; and whenever any one celebrates your praises, he does it either in company with me or in unison with my sentiments, so entirely am I enchained by your mild wisdom; so entirely, in the purity of a devoted heart, am I yours. And no wonder, since the longer the acquaintance, the greater the experience,—the more valuable the testimony that one friend can give of another. If there be anything that gives a value to my life, it is your society, your friendship."

In another letter, of a more playful cast, according to Dr.

Ullmann, and in which the happy reminiscences of Athens are particularly recorded, he concludes in the rhetorical manner so characteristic of the age, and from which Gregory was by no means free:—

“Who has ever admired anything upon earth as I have admired you? There is but one spring in the year’s cycle, one sun among the stars, one heaven which embraces all; so also, if I have any judgment in such things, and if (which I do not believe) that judgment is not blinded by love, there is only one voice among all worth listening to, and that voice is yours.”—pp. 36, 37.

At Athens, Gregory formed acquaintance with another person of a very different character, the prince Julian, destined afterwards to play so prominent a part in the world’s history. This acquaintance has special significance in relation to the future conduct of Gregory. He seems even thus early to have penetrated the true character of Julian, and to have imbibed some of that hostility (for we can scarcely call it by any milder term) towards him, which he afterwards so strongly manifested. He takes credit in having given utterance to the following opinion of him while at Athens:—“How great an evil is the Roman empire here training up:” and adds, that he was thus “led to become a prophet,” regarding him from the restlessness of his behaviour and other reasons that will appear in some respects to us very singular.

“It also appeared to me no good sign that his neck was not firmly set on his shoulders; that those shoulders often moved convulsively; that his eye frequently glanced round timidly, and rolled as if in frenzy; and that his feet were never in a state of repose. As little was I pleased with his nose, which breathed pride and contempt; with the ridiculous distortions of his face, which yet indicated the same pride; his loud immoderate laughter; the nodding and shaking of his head without any reason; his hesitating speech, interrupted by the act of breathing; his abrupt unmeaning questions, and his answers not at all better, but often self-contradictory, and given without any scientific arrangement.”—p. 38.

Gregory remained at Athens for a length of period that serves clearly to indicate his ardent thirst for intellectual acquirement. He entered it while yet in the bloom of youth, and only quitted it when he was about thirty years old. He returned to his father’s house at Nazianzum, and being now for the first time baptized, he renewed on his own part his dedication to the service of religion. His gift of eloquence (for which he had already in Athens become distinguished) he resolved should serve no interests save those of God and the truth.

“These (he says beautifully of his oratorical gifts) these I consecrate to Him, even all that is left to me, and in which alone I am rich. Every-

thing else I have relinquished at the command of the Spirit, in order to get possession of the pearl of price, and to be the merchant who barter the small and the perishable for the great and everlasting. But the *Word* and the art of preaching it I still hold fast as a *minister of the Word*; and this possession I will never deliberately neglect. And as I set little value on all earthly delights, so, after God, all my love is confined to this, or rather, to Him alone; for the spoken Word exalts the soul to God by a sort of insight; through it alone is God rightly apprehended, the knowledge of him preserved, and made to grow in us."

Having thus devoted himself to God's service, he seems to have suffered great perplexity as to the special form in which he should carry out his devotion. Strongly inclined by nature and education to a merely contemplative and ascetic life, he yet at the same time clearly felt the call to active pastoral duty. He was now therefore, and strikingly throughout his whole career, the subject of a conflict between these opposite tendencies. The monastic spirit of his age, which he powerfully shared, never ceased to struggle within him for ascendancy; and it is the perception of this continual struggle in his mind which can alone enable us to understand, if it does not serve to justify, the somewhat veering course of his conduct. Dr. Ullmann would perhaps have added clearness and interest to his narrative, had he more plainly unfolded in the outset this pervading hesitancy in the character of Gregory, and significantly traced it, as it is so obviously to be traced, to the corrupting influences of the age, acting even on a mind such as Gregory's really was, inspired with so much healthy Christian sentiment, and so keenly alive to warm affection and practical claims. At present he concluded to remain at home, that he might be able to render assistance to his no longer active father in the discharge of his duties.

"He lived, however," Dr. Ullmann narrates, "by the strict rule of a solitary ascetic; everything that could only be called indulgent harmless gratification, if it flattered the senses ever so remotely, seemed to him objectionable. He went so far as even to shun music as something that gratifies the senses. His food consisted of bread and salt; his drink, water; his bed, the bare ground; his clothing of coarse and rough materials. Incessant labour filled up the day; prayers, hymns, and holy meditations a great portion of the night. His early life, which had been anything but thoughtless, though not so very strict, now seemed to him objectionable; his former laughter now cost him many tears. Silence and calm reflection were become his law and delight. In a word, Gregory now with all the ardour of youth plunged into an asceticism, which assuredly Christianity (whose object is not bodily mortification, but the spiritual sacrifice of the temper and affections) does not require; but which in those times, even to the best disposed, appeared all but essential, and in Gre-

gory's case at least did not degenerate into a self-satisfied affectation of sanctity."—p. 53.

The ascetic tendency thus so clearly possessing Gregory, was greatly encouraged by correspondence with his friend Basil. The latter having, from his travels in the east, imbibed a strong reverence for a monastic life, had betaken himself to it. He had retired to a solitary asylum in Pontus, and gathered around him several persons of a like disposition. He earnestly invited Gregory to join him, painting in glowing and attractive colours the quiet beauty and peacefulness of his retreat.

"There is (he writes) a lofty chain of mountains covered with a thick forest, well watered on the north side by cool clear brooks; at its foot is an expanse of gently sloping fields, which are always enriched and fertilized by the mountain streams. This meadow land is naturally and so thickly fenced round with trees of the greatest variety that they form almost a regular enclosure, and shut it in, like a solitary island. On two sides descends a deep ravine; on the third side the stream throws itself from a declivity into the depth below, and forms an impassable barrier. And how shall I still further describe the sweet smell of the meadows, the refreshing breezes from the river, or the variety of flowers and the vast number of singing birds. But what makes the spot most pleasing to me is, that in addition to its fruitfulness in all other respects, it affords to me the sweetest fruit of quiet and repose; and this not merely because of its remoteness from the bustle of the city, but because no wanderer ever treads this lonely wilderness unless it be occasionally some hunter who is in pursuit, not of bears or wolves (of which there are none), but of the deer, the roe, the hare, which this track produces in great numbers."—pp. 56, 57.

This vivid picture was not without its effect upon Gregory. At first indeed he excused himself to his friend on the ground of having to care for his aged parents; but, drawn by the entreaty and representations of Basil, we at length find him setting out on a visit to him. This visit he deeply enjoyed. He lived with his friend—

"A life of prayer, spiritual meditation and manual labour. One portion of the day was set apart for the labour of the garden and the management of household matters, the rest to the study of Holy Scriptures and to religious exercises. One fruit of these studies, which were not simply practical but also of a learned character, is said to be the extracts from the exegetic writings of the great Origen, which we possess as the work of the two friends, under the title of *Philokalia*. At a subsequent period, when with earnest longing he thought of the higher life they had lived together, he called to mind with the same child-like pleasure a beautiful plum-tree which he had planted in the vicinity of their abode, and Basil was wont to water. 'Who (he writes to his friend in these later years) will give me back those earlier days in which I revelled in privations

with you? For voluntary absence is indeed far nobler than its enforced practice. Who will restore to me those songs of praise and night-watchings, those upliftings of the soul to God in prayer, that unearthly, incorporeal life, that communion and soul-harmony of the brethren who had been elevated by your precept and example to a godly life? Who will rekindle in me that eager penetration into the Holy Scriptures, and the light which we found therein under the guidance of the Spirit.”—p. 60, *Epist. ix.*, p. 774.

Gregory's residence in Pontus appears to have only been of short duration. Circumstances of an urgent nature required his presence in his father's diocese. The Emperor Constantius, by a course of artful intrigue and intimidation, had succeeded in thrusting an Arian formula upon the western bishops assembled in council at Ariminum in Italy; and he forthwith proceeded to enforce the same formula upon all the bishops even in the east. Among others, the aged bishop of Nazianzum, intimidated either by the imperial threats or from a desire of peace, subscribed the formula, although previously he had been distinguished for his zeal in defence of the Nicene creed. Upon this a violent storm arose among the monks of his diocese, and a regular schism would have probably ensued in the hitherto peaceful community of Nazianzum, had not our Gregory interposed, and from his high authority with the monks—to whom his ascetic leanings were well known—prevailed in restoring harmony.

An important event now occurred in the life of Gregory. On a high festival day (probably, Dr. Ullmann conjectures, at Christmas, A.D. 361) the aged bishop came forward before the assembled congregation, and unexpectedly to his son ordained him to the priesthood. The suddenness of the event, the cordially implied call of the people, and the “joint weight of paternal authority and episcopal influence,” left Gregory without any power of resistance. Such forced ordinations we learn were of common occurrence at that period.

“If worldly-minded men (says Neander in his life of Chrysostom) sought to obtain appointments in the chief cities, by assuming for a time the mask of monastic sanctity, or by bribes and artful practices, so, on the contrary, men of *pious minds* were deterred therefrom by the mixture of the worldly and the spiritual elements in the church, and could not, *without a lengthened struggle*, bring themselves to undertake the episcopal office.”

But while Gregory suffered the gentle violence of his father at the time, he afterwards resented it by withdrawing from the scene of duty to which he had been thus unexpectedly consecrated, and flying again for a season to his friend Basil. It was

only after he had leisure to reflect in retirement on the whole proceeding that he acknowledged the call he had received ; and, returning to Nazianzum, earnestly began his ecclesiastical labours. Even in his own time this part of Gregory's conduct had been very variously judged, and he deemed it necessary to compose an apologetic statement regarding it. There seems little reason to doubt that he was mainly influenced by a conscientious sense of his unworthiness for the office to which he had been so suddenly called. It is at the same time, even from his own confession, impossible to excuse him from a certain mixture of improper feeling in the course he pursued, and we must here obviously mark the working of those conflicting elements which give to his whole career such a character of instability.

It would appear to have been very soon after he began his labours as a presbyter, that he came forth in so conspicuous a manner as the antagonist of Julian. Julian was indeed dead before he sent forth his two *Invectives* against him. In these extraordinary productions, however, he only carried on the conflict with Julian's memory which he had waged with him while living. He expressly says that it was his object to raise a monument whereby the name of Julian in that and every succeeding age should be held up to contempt and reproach.

"He does not conceal his intention," are the words of Dr. Ullmann, "to represent a great prince with whom death might be supposed to have reconciled him, as a dark monster, nor disdain, for this object, to employ the harshest terms. 'The Apostate, the Assyrian, the dragon, the common enemy, the wholesale murderer,' and similar expressions salute our ears in every part of both these orations. The professed object of the first is to place Julian's faults and the tyranny he exercised against the Christians in the strongest light ; in the other (which Gregory thinks must be particularly pleasing and profitable to his readers) he undertakes to shew the infallible judgment of God upon the unrighteous, and brings forward in this relation the example of Julian as his main proof."—pp. 98, 99.

It is impossible not to be painfully struck with the dark spirit of personal enmity towards Julian that breathes in these orations. Some exculpation may indeed be found for Gregory in the character of his age, and the peculiarly insidious and hateful nature of the measures adopted by Julian to undermine Christianity : still we must certainly, with every unprejudiced reader, wish, in the words of Dr. Ullmann, "that the good cause of Christianity had been better defended ; that is, with more judgment and charity, and with less of passion, by the orator who was so earnest in its defence."

We now again find Gregory in active communication with his friend Basil, although the same cordial and unworldly spirit no more characterizes their intercourse. The latter had, a short time before, returned from the scene of his monastic life to Cæsarea, his native city, and while there was unexpectedly (just as had happened to Gregory before) ordained priest by the recently elected bishop Eusebius. This prelate, himself little of a theologian, earnestly desired the assistance of some thoroughly educated presbyter, and adopted this means of securing the services of Basil. Misunderstanding, however, soon sprung up between them; and, it was only after considerable correspondence and negotiation on the part of Gregory, that they were again united in friendly co-operation. On the death of Eusebius, Basil aspired to be his successor, and from his distinguished acquirements was naturally considered by most the best fitted for the position. Considerable difficulties, however, occurred in the way of his promotion. In the emergency he desired that Gregory should come to Cæsarea and lend him his personal aid. In order to induce him to take this step, he appears in some measure to have feigned himself to be dangerously sick, and earnestly longing to see his friend. Gregory, deeply affected, immediately prepared himself to set out on his journey.

"His lively imagination already pictured to him the form of his dying friend, and consoled him by suggesting monumental inscriptions in honour of the deceased. How astonished must he have been on hearing soon after that Basil was by no means seriously unwell! Notwithstanding all his friendly regard, as it were a flash of suspicion shot through the mind of Gregory that Basil wished to decoy him to Cæsarea by a false pretence in order that his election to the bishopric might be furthered by the zealous assistance of his friend. He therefore gave up all thought of the journey, and wrote Basil a letter full of strong reproofs, in which he charged him plainly with dishonesty and folly; and he reminds him that he, Gregory, could not lawfully have taken part in the choice of a bishop. 'This epistle,' adds Dr. Ullmann, 'seems to have been too passionately written, since it is hardly credible that Basil should have entirely feigned an illness. It is probable, however, that he gave an exaggerated description of his almost always sickly condition. But was it really from ambitious views?—certainly the suspicion which even his friend entertained attaches to him.'—pp. 116, 117.

Notwithstanding this, Gregory exerted himself indirectly for his friend by the eloquent letters he wrote in his father's name to the clergy and laity of Cæsarea; and, after Basil's election, he sent him a congratulatory missive—a friendly letter certainly, but somewhat cool compared with former letters. Further ground of offence, however, was found by Gregory in

the efforts made by Basil after his elevation to place him in the bishopric of a small town of the name of Sasima, situated between Nazianzum and Tyana. Besides the poverty and insignificance of the place, and the consciousness Gregory may have had that he deserved something better, there were other powerful reasons why this proposal was unpleasant to him. The right of ecclesiastical control over this small town was a subject of dispute between the new metropolitan and the bishop of Tyana; and Gregory, abhorring contention of every kind, was strongly indisposed to have anything to do with it. Through the joint entreaties of his father and his friend, however, he allowed himself to be nominated bishop of Sasima; but almost immediately thereafter, with that strange vacillation which so marks his career, withdrew again into solitary retirement. No entreaties of his father could prevail on him to return to Sasima; but he could not after a time resist his suppliant importunity that he would at least come to Nazianzum, and share the episcopal duties there, now grown too burdensome to his aged parent. Here accordingly we find him during the remaining period of his father's life.

The conflict between two opposite tendencies to which we have so prominently referred as characteristic of Gregory, must be already so obvious to the reader as scarcely to need any further notice. We cannot however refrain quoting the expressive language in which he reveals his own clear consciousness of this conflict, spoken on the first occasion of his addressing the congregation of Nazianzum after his return.

"Come to my assistance," he says to his audience, "for I am almost torn in pieces by inward longing, struggling with the call of the Spirit. *That longing* urges me to flight, to the solitude of the mountains, to repose of soul and body, to the withdrawal of the mind from all objects of sense, and to retirement into myself in order to converse uninterruptedly with God, and to be thoroughly penetrated by the bright beams of his Spirit. . . . But his Holy Spirit strives to bring me into active life in order to promote the common good, and promote my own interest by promoting that of others; to spread the light of the Gospel, and to bring unto God 'a peculiar people, a holy nation, a royal priesthood,' and to restore in many his image in renovated purity. For as a whole garden is more than a single plant; as the whole heaven with all its beauties is more glorious than one only star; and the whole body is superior to one of its members,—so also before God the whole well-regulated church is better than a well-ordered individual: and we ought always to mind not only our own things, but also the things of others."—p. 130.

Gregory had now "sorrow upon sorrow" in the successive removal of those most dear to him. His only brother and sister, to both of whom he was warmly attached, were first taken

away, the former somewhat suddenly. His aged parents followed them to the grave; and left alone in the retirement, to which he again betook himself after his father's death, a cloud fell upon his spirits, and his character assumed a still more grave and melancholy cast than hitherto. To add to his depression and grief, he received tidings that his friend Basil was no more. The temporary estrangement between the friends had given way before reflection, and a more genuine appreciation of each other's motives in the part they had acted; and Gregory now mourned for his fondly-loved Basil with all the bitterness of a bereaved brother. A short epistle which he addressed at this time to another friend, Eudoxius the rhetorician, reveals his deep dejection following upon these sad events.

"You enquire how I am: I answer, very ill. I no longer have Basil, no longer Cæsareus: the one my spiritual and the other my natural brother. I may say too with David, that my Father and my mother have forsaken me. My body is sickly; age shews itself on my head; my cares grow more complicated; business accumulates upon me; friends prove untrue; the church is without shepherds; good is disappearing; evil is barefaced. We are journeying in the night. There is nowhere a torch to give us light: Christ sleepeth. What then is to be done? Alas! there is only one escape for me from these evils, and that is death! But that *which lies beyond* would also affrighten me were I obliged to judge of it from my feelings *on this side* the grave."—p. 153.

A more important destiny however awaited Gregory before his departure. He was called from his retirement to a higher and more conspicuous scene of duty than he had yet occupied. The small and depressed remnant of the orthodox party in Constantinople sent him an urgent summons to undertake the task of resuscitating the cause of the truth so long persecuted and borne down by the dominant Arians in that capital. With the accession of Theodosius to the imperial throne, the prospect of succour to this cause was opened up, if it could only find some courageous and devoted champion to stand up in its defence. The fame of Gregory pointed him out as such a champion, and he could not resist the appeal made to him, although he takes care to assure us that the step was sorely against his will, and that indeed they were obliged to drag him forcibly from his retreat.

There was little truly in the aspect of affairs at Constantinople that could be inviting to a man like Gregory. Christianity, in its orthodox form, only numbered in it a few despised adherents; in any form it exercised but little practical influence. From being a living power of sanctification in the heart, its doctrines and ordinances had for the most part been perverted

into a source either of vain amusement or disputatious trifling. The restless and luxurious Constantinopolitans sought in religion merely gratification for the senses, or at best the intellect. The church divided with the theatre, and from nearly similar motives, the interest of the multitude. That which belonged to the theatre was introduced into the church, and things that belonged to the church were in return adapted to the theatre. The best feelings of Christianity were not unfrequently submitted in comedies to the scornful laugh of the people.

"We are become (says Gregory) a *new spectacle*, not to men and angels (like St. Paul), but to well nigh all the ungodly, and this in the market-places, at drinking parties, in scenes of enjoyment and even of mourning. We are already brought upon the stage, and (I must say it though almost with tears) are made subjects for vulgar entertainment with the most profligate of men."—pp. 156, 157.

The Christian preacher, on the other hand, was himself too often turned into the actor.

"If he wished to please the many he was obliged to accommodate himself to their taste, and to amuse them in church. They required also in the sermon something to gratify the ear; glittering declamation with a theatrical delivery; and they then applauded with the same sort of pleasure the *actor* (*den komödianten*) in the holy place, and the histrionic performer on the stage. And alas! there were found at that time also too many who sought rather the approbation of men than the good of their souls."—p. 158.

With this craving for religious dissipation was combined a no less ardent craving for religious disputation. If not in laughter, in fierce and wordy debate, the piety of the Constantinopolitans expended itself. Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Apollonarians, (not to speak of the oppressed remnant of the orthodox, who even in their insignificance and oppression were not yet united,) all crossed and struggled with each other in a hopeless and inextricable conflict of technical phraseology, involving the minutest distinctions and subtleties of doctrine.

"It is come to such a pitch (says our Gregory) that the entire market-place resounds with the speeches of heretics; every meal is spoiled by this chattering and nauseum; every festivity is turned thereby into mourning; while every mournful solemnity is almost robbed of its painful character by a still greater evil—this fierce altercation: so that even the woman's apartments and the nurseries of simple childhood are disturbed thereby, and the fair blossoms of modesty are nipped and spoiled by this premature training for disputation."—p. 160.

The sketch of Gregory of Nyssa, the brother of Basil, is perhaps still more piquant, where he describes, in one of his orations referred to by Dr. Ullmann in a note, "how at that

time labouring men, traders, old-clothes men, and runaway slaves set themselves up as teachers of dogmatic religion; and how it was hardly possible to transact money matters, to purchase bread, to bespeak a bath, without being involved in a philosophic discussion, whether the Son was begotten or not begotten, his subordination to the Father, and the like!" (p. 160.)

It may readily be inferred therefore that it was no agreeable or easy part which Gregory now undertook of rallying the scattered remnant of the orthodox amid such a Babel of heresy. His sickly and poverty-stricken appearance was also at first against him even with them. "They wanted a showy orator, full of power and grace, and there came to them instead a man already grown old, bent with infirmity, his eyes downcast, his head bald, his features full of indications of inward struggle and outward privations,—clad moreover in miserable apparel." But Gregory had courage and trust in God, and it soon appeared that a master in Israel had come among the feeble and disunited flock. They met at first in a small private chapel, that they might escape the observation of their heretical enemies. Now however they speedily gathered strength, and the small chapel extended into a vast and celebrated church, which received the significant and appropriate name of Anastasia, or the Church of the Resurrection. It bespeaks the true Christian spirit of Gregory, and his conspicuous elevation so far above his age, that his first object was to awaken among his flock a living Christian spirit, and not merely, as they probably expected, to build up and defend their doctrinal position. This also however he did, and with such powerful success in his five famous discourses in support of the Nicene doctrine of the Trinity, that he received the distinctive appellation of *'Ο Θεολόγος*, "the Divine," associated with his name in church history. His primary and overruling aim, however, was to kindle among the orthodox the living flame of a true Christian piety. They, no less than their opponents, had been too much given to mere empty talking about points of faith.

"He for that reason repeatedly and strongly reminded them that this mischievous and God-forgetting talkativeness about divine things destroyed all genuine fear of God, and desecrated what was holy; and that there was *only one way* of the truly Christian life,—that *of active piety in the fulfilment of God's commandments*. A devoted self-denying life of active charity he recommended as the simple way of faith, to all who wished to attain to true happiness. If (he added) faith were only for the *learned*, (under which term he meant those who were not content merely to receive the truth, and act upon it, but who must also be able to dispute about

it), then none amongst us would be poorer than God. Whenever he had an opportunity, Gregory repeated the weighty truth (which indeed contained within it one of the fundamental thoughts of his whole theology), that the knowledge of God and of his revealed will was only attainable in proportion to the purifying of the soul from sin; that only the pure soul was capable of holding intercourse with the eternally Pure, and that it was *only through a godly life that any one could raise himself to the knowledge and contemplation of the divine nature*. The doing God's will was with him the necessary prelude, and the only way to a true and loving knowledge; in all his dogmatic speculations he never lost sight of this."—p. 170.

The labours of Gregory, eminently and rapidly successful as they were, received continual interruptions not only from the interference of his heretical enemies, but from the obstinately contentious spirit of his own party. All his efforts to diffuse a brotherly spirit of peace were at times baffled. The most trifling and alien causes speedily served to rekindle the old elements of strife. This deeply vexed the spirit of Gregory, and, especially disgusted as is supposed by the attempt of one Maximus, who had ingratiated himself by false pretences into his favour, to supplant him in his ecclesiastical position, he meditated leaving Constantinople. Beset, however, with the most urgent and affectionate entreaties to remain, he yielded, and only withdrew for a while into the neighbouring country to recruit his exhausted strength. It delights us on this occasion to mark his fresh and overflowing love of nature. With all the severity and even gloom of his temperament, there was in Gregory a fount of lively and genial enthusiasm, which, if it can scarcely be called in the highest sense poetic (although it largely expended itself in his later years in the form of poetry), was yet in a real and pure sense allied to the "vision and faculty divine." "The charm of originality," Dr. Ullmann says, "which commands the hearts of all hearers—the ease, the bewitching brightness, which characterize the true poet,"—are not to be sought in Gregory's poetry. But there runs through all their diffusiveness and occasional dulness a vein of rich and figurative, if sometimes exaggerated, sentiment which is not far from the spirit of genuine poetry. Bishop Ken, it is well known, in one of his most pleasing poems, instituted a comparison between himself and Gregory, in this as well as in other respects; both, when forced into retirement by "uncanonic heat," having sought to solace their retreat by "singing hymns;" and we dare say the parallel will be allowed pretty well to hold in respect of their claim to poetic distinction as well as in other more accidental circumstances. The following extract from an oration on the martyr, Mamas, whose festival fell upon the Sunday

after Easter-day—in which Gregory describes the arrival of spring—will reveal his lively appreciation of the beauties of nature, and serve to indicate his pretensions to poetic feeling fully as well perhaps as any specimen from his *carmina*.

“All things (he says) combine and are accumulated for the purpose of doing honour to this festive season. See how beautiful is all that meets the eye! The queen of the seasons is holding a festive pomp for the queen of days, and brings as an offering all that is the most costly and beautiful of her stores. The sky is already brighter—the sun is already higher in the heavens and more golden—the moon’s orbit is already more cheering, and the host of stars more bright. The waves are on more friendly terms with the shore—the clouds with the sun—the wind with the air—the earth with the plants—the plants with the eye. The fountains now flow more transparent; the rivers, loosed from the bands of winter, run in fuller stream; the meadow smells sweetly; the plants swell; the grass is being mowed; and young lambs are frisking on the fresh green plains. The ship now issues forth from the haven with loud and often with holy songs; it is winged with sails; the dolphin swims gaily around her, snuffing up and again blowing forth the water in delight, while it accompanies the course of the mariner. The husbandman now puts his plough in order, and looks up in prayer to the Giver of fruits; he leads the ploughing ox under the yoke, and divides the field with regular furrows, full of joyful hope. The shepherds and herdsmen now play their pipes in harmony; they recommence their pastoral songs, and spend the spring amongst trees and rocks. The gardener tends his plants; the fowler prepares his rods and reeds, and looks up to the boughs to spy out their feathered inhabitants. The fisherman glances through the deep water, prepares his net, and takes his seat upon the rocks. The busy bee now spreads her wings; she leaves her hive, displays her sagacious instinct, and robs the flowers of their sweetness: let her be to you a pattern of industry and wisdom! Now the bird builds its nest—one is sitting thereon—another glides softly into it—a third flits round about, making the wood ring with its note, and flying round the dwellings of men with twittering tongue. All things praise and glorify God with inarticulate voices; for all things, thanks are now offered to God by me; and thus that universal hymn is also ours, even that whose tones of praise I here express.”—pp. 211-12.

On the arrival of Theodosius in the eastern capital, the already prosperous orthodox party were formally installed in their old privileges, and the Arians expelled from the churches of which they had been so long the sole possessors. The necessity of restoring all the former ecclesiastical arrangements of the city was acknowledged, and the voice of the people unanimously pointed to Gregory as the man whom they desired to have elevated to the metropolitan see. Gregory however did not favour their eagerness, and no appointment took place till after the council of bishops, convened by the emperor, had as-

sembled. Then the office would seem in some measure to have been thrust upon him by the combined influence of bishops and people. The aged Meletius, of Antioch, especially interested himself in this event, and would appear to have been chiefly instrumental in removing Gregory's scruples to accept the proffered dignity. This aged peace-maker, however, was soon removed from the scene; while the convention of bishops continued, and was still further augmented by the arrival of the Egyptian prelates, who had not been consulted in the matter of Gregory's promotion. The consequence of this was, that a baneful spirit of discord sprung up in the council, of which Gregory felt himself in no small degree the object; and, more grieved and vexed than ever at the displays of this spirit, and his old longing for retirement coming with renewed force upon him, he resolved to sacrifice himself to the cause of peace. Appearing before the assembled bishops, he exclaimed:—

“Shall we always be divided as irreconcilable, and be animated only by one thing, namely, contention. I will be another Jonas. I will sacrifice myself for the safety of our ship [the church], although I am guiltless as to the storm that has been raised. Let the lot fall upon me, and throw me into the sea; a hospitable whale will receive me in the deep waters. Let this be the beginning of your reconciliation. Unwillingly I ascended the episcopal throne, and willingly I again descend from it. My poor weak body also counsels me to this. Only one debt have I still to pay—the debt of death; but that is God's concern. But, O my beloved Trinity in Unity! only on Thy account am I sorrowful. Wilt Thou indeed have an honest man as my successor, who may defend Thee with courage and a zealous devotedness! But fare ye well! and think, I pray you, of my labours and troubles.”—p. 249.

So spake Gregory, and, immediately leaving the assembly, went straightway to the emperor, and requested to be relieved of his episcopal dignity. His request, in which he was immovably firm, was not to be denied; and in a formal and celebrated *Valedictory Oration* he took leave of his congregation, and once more and finally prepared to withdraw himself into retirement. This address is considered to be among his most distinguished oratorical productions, and the peroration may therefore be given as furnishing a specimen of his warm and energetic, if somewhat inflated, eloquence. A tone and style of exaggeration were common to Gregory with all the ecclesiastical and other orators of the period; but they are at the same time redeemed and purified in him by a living heartiness and practical solemnity of feeling which but rarely desert him. Rhetoric was the all-prevailing study of his age, and Gregory, we have seen, ardently devoted himself to it. Next to his wish to be himself a

good Christian, it was his earnest wish to be an eloquent advocate of the Christian cause. And he attained his wish. "Nothing certainly," says Dr. Ullmann, "was wanting to Gregory in the way of oratorical talent. We find in him fire and strength, rapidity and compactness of thought, heartiness and truth of feeling, frequent instances of clear poetical representation, occasionally even an elevated flight, perfect purity in the use of the Greek language, and for the most part a noble and well-sustained phraseology." That we should also frequently find a false splendour, a too ornate and pompous diction, and a strained and laboured antithesis, was only to be expected, inasmuch as Gregory bore here, as in other respects, the impress of his age. In the oration in question he thus draws to a conclusion.

"Now farewell, my beloved church, Anastasia, thou who bearest so blessed a name. Thou raisedst up again our true faith, which at that time was still despised; thou field of our common victory—thou new Shiloh—where we first set up again the ark of the covenant after it had been carried about during forty years wandering in the wilderness! And thou, too, larger and more celebrated temple, our new poncium, who hast now first received thy true greatness from the true preaching of the everlasting word of God! And all ye houses of God, which come near to it in beauty, and distributed in different quarters of the city, connect the neighbourly relation by a holy chain. Ye folds, which not we in our weakness, but God in his grace working with us, hath filled with sheep that had else been lost! Farewell, ye apostles, who deign to inhabit this temple,—ye types of my struggle! Farewell thou, my episcopal throne, envied but dangerous seat! And thou assemblage of higher priests, and ye other priests, venerable by your age and humble bearing! and what so ever else serveth at the holy table of God, and standeth near to the ever near God! Farewell, ye choruses of the Nazareans, ye harmonies of psalms and hymns, ye nightly prayers, ye chaste virgins, ye modest wives and widows, ye assembled orphans, ye poor, whose eyes looked up to God and me! Farewell, ye hospitable and Christ-loving houses, which have taken a kind interest in my weakness! Farewell, ye friendly listeners to my discourses; ye who have attended on them in crowds, and have even taken them down in writing openly or secretly! Thou, too, my pulpit, so often closely pressed upon by my eager audience, farewell! Farewell, ye princes and ye palaces, and all ye that form the establishment and household of the emperor!—whether ye are loyal to the emperor or not, I do not know; but to God ye are in a great measure untrue. Clap your hands, raise the shout of approbation, extol your preacher to the skies."

^c The translator has here the following note:—"I have with reluctance translated, this (looking to the Greek as well as to the German) *literally*, on the authority of Neander, who, in his *Church History* (vol. iii., p. 427), so applies the passage, and builds on it a charge of vanity against Gregory. From the context both before and after, I am rather inclined to take it ironically, in allusion to some favourite orator." We think there is little doubt that the sentence is to be taken in an ironical sense, even supposing it to allude to Gregory himself. He is obviously

The tongue that has been so troublesome to you will speak to you no more; but it is not entirely speechless—it will still fight the good fight through the hand and the pen—it is only for the present that it will be silent. Farewell, thou best Christ-loving city! for I will bear witness to this truth, even though thy zeal is not always combined with knowledge; approaching separation makes me judge mildly of thee. Keep close to the truth; change at length for the better; honour God more than you have hitherto done: such a change brings no shame with it, but perseverance in evil will bring destruction. Farewell, eastern and western lands, those for which and those by which I am persecuted and opposed! He is my witness, who will establish peace among you, if only some few persons would imitate my act of resignation; for surely they who descend from the episcopal chair, do not thereby lose their connexion with God, but rather receive a heavenly seat far higher and safer than it. But above all I say: Farewell, ye angels, protectors of this church,—my protectors both during my presence here and in my discharge from office! for in God's hands lie all our destinies. And farewell, O Holy Trinity, my sole thought, my only jewel! Mayest Thou be preserved to these, my people, and mayest Thou preserve them! For they are still my people, even when taken charge of by another. And O that I may hear that ye are ever exalted for sound doctrine and holy living! My children, cherish the truth which I have committed to you, and remember my persecutions for its sake. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all! Amen."

Gregory retired to his patrimonial estate near Arianzum; and seems now, in the evening of his days, thoroughly to have enjoyed quietness and repose. Nor did he by any means rest in idleness. He took a lively interest in the general concerns of the church, would seem to have occasionally shared in the active pastoral superintendence of his old congregation at Nazianzum, and above all devoted himself largely to epistolary and poetic composition. We have already spoken of his poetry. His epistles, however, form perhaps his most enduring claim to literary distinction. He seems to have attached great importance to the art of letter-writing, and himself to have thoroughly cultivated it. And some of his remarks on this subject are so pertinent and excellent, that, although our space is already exhausted, we must give one or two of them.

"The proper kind of letter-writing (he says) consists in the happy medium; we must neither write too long a letter if we have not much of importance to say, nor too short a one when our matter for it is great. With respect to clearness or perspicuousness, it is obvious that in letter-writing we should avoid as much as possible the oratorical style, and fall more into the tone of familiar chatting. To express all this briefly, that is the best and most beautiful letter which can carry with it the convictions

not meaning to call forth or commend the practice of which he speaks, but rather to show his contempt and disapproval of it. The Greek, as given by Neander, is—*Κροτήσατε χείρας, ὀξὺ βολήσατε, ἀράτε εἰς ὕψος τὸν ῥήτορα ὑμῶν.*

of the unlearned and learned reader: the former in so far as it is adapted to the comprehension of the many,—the latter, inasmuch as while it is intelligible to all, it speaks a higher language to him. It is certainly a troublesome thing to be obliged to interpret a letter as if we were solving an enigma. The third quality of a good letter is agreeableness. . . . The epistolary style does not exclude similes, proverbs, and pithy aphorisms, nor yet playful wit, or words of double meaning. We must however avoid the abuse of these things. Everything of the kind is to be applied sparingly, like purple in the texture of our clothing. . . . My last rule I will give in the words of an ingenious man, who relates that when the birds disputed among themselves for the mastery, and one presented himself with this ornament and another with that, the eagle was the most beautiful amongst them, simply because it was not remarked that he was beautiful. To this point therefore we should particularly attend in writing letters, viz., to be unadorned and as much as possible natural.”—pp. 288-9.

Gregory died, probably in the place of his birth, A.D. 389 or 390. No particulars of his death have been preserved. His closing years, as his letters indicate, were much marked by sickness, but he found gladness in the strength with which he was enabled to bear it, and so become a teacher of patience to others.

We cannot protract our remarks by any reflection on the life, the main features of which, drawn from the volume before us, we have so rapidly presented to our readers. We may simply say that we see throughout our sketch, if by no means a hero, yet amid whatever imperfection, a strongly faithful and zealous servant of God. If Gregory had none of the onward ardour and unflinching practical courage which make the reformer (which was scarcely possible in his age), he had yet all the self-sacrificing earnestness and devotion which make the confessor or martyr. His theological influence in his strong advocacy of the purity and vitality of Christian virtue as the only key to sound Christian doctrine (pithily expressed in his favourite words, *Ἡράξεις ἐπιβασις σωφίας*), and his unceasing aim to carry out his views by actively promoting peace and practical religion, must have been for the unmixed good of his vexed and contentious generation. The characteristic aspects of that generation—the distracted condition of the church of the fourth century, overrun on the one hand by pietistic, on the other by purely worldly corruptions—labouring under an incubus of barren and formal dogmatism, or an inextricable entanglement of heresy, fast crushing out its life, which yet ever reappears in fresh and vivid forms under all the confusion and darkness,—this is a picture, too, some of the lines of which at least may be traced in our brief and imperfect sketch.

T.

THE REPHAİM, AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH EGYPTIAN HISTORY.^a

CHAPTER IX.

The Emim.

THE Emim—"the terrible people!" Such is the name by which the descendants of Lot designated the powerful, hospitable, and brave, but fearfully depraved nation, in whose land their father had taken up his abode. But they called themselves "the children of Sheth," or, according to the Hebrew form that designates their land, Shittim; and from the perfect correspondence of this form with the SHET'TA of Egyptian monuments, I was led to infer what subsequent research has developed with abundant proof,—the identity of that formidable race with the tribe of Rephaim known in Scripture as the Emim.

The territories of the Emim were to the full as extensive as those of the Zuzim. The hill of *Jeldd* was their northern boundary; the mountains of Aram, and plains of Padan-Aram, and the Horite valley, their eastern. The Jordan and Dead Sea separated them from the Canaanites westward; while the great Wady Arabah, commanded by their ancient metropolis, Sodom, connected the domains of the chief tribe that dwelt in the region of the Arnon, with its junior branches and kindred dependencies—Ken in the mountains of Seir, and Amalek in the desert of Paran.

At the time this people are first introduced to our notice, all the southern bay of the Dead Sea was a fertile valley, "well watered everywhere like the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, before the Lord overthrew Sodom and Gomorrah." (Gen. xiii. 10.) This was the vale of Shaveh, the Royal Valley, otherwise called "the vale of Shiddim," from the people to whom it belonged. Of the five cities it contained, the sites of only two are known,—Bela, called Zoar by the Moabites, and which retains that name in Scripture; and Sodom, the chief city, which must have occupied the southern extremity of the valley, not far from the salt-hill *Usdum*. But not a vestige of the city itself, nor of Gomorrah, Admah, and Zeboim, has ever been found.

It had long been supposed that the eruption, by which the four cities were destroyed, had produced the chasm of the Dead

^a Continued from the January Number of the *J. S. L.*

Sea. Dr. Robinson's researches in that region cast great doubts on this hypothesis; and the results of a more methodical survey, under Lieut. Lynch, have brought out facts which disprove it altogether. The soundings gave an average depth of between 150 and 200 feet along the central line of the sea, till the promontory in front of Zoar. In this part, the lake is usually fordable; and the whole of its southern end is so shallow, that such a volcanic explosion and conflagration as the narrative of Gen. xix. 25 seems to imply, if followed by the not unusually associated phenomenon of subsidence, to the amount of 12 or 15 feet, would suffice to submerge to its present depth a cultivated low tract occupying that site, without sensibly increasing the area of the sea in other parts.

But the rest of the country belonging to the Emim remained unaffected by this catastrophe; and the royal seat appears to have been transferred to Heshbon, in the centre of the chief province, and a remarkably fertile and beautiful tract, abounding in ruins of deserted cities and villages.

After the catastrophe of the cities, Lot and his family dwelt apart in the mountainous region behind Zoar. The first fixed settlement of his descendants is traced to the contiguous city, Rabbah (*the great* or chief city), occasionally alluded to in Scripture by its local name Ar. Its site is well known. The children of Lot grew into a considerable tribe, which separated under two heads; the junior branch, as we have seen before, establishing itself, in like manner, in the mountainous back settlements of the Zuzim.

The hilly tract occupied by the Moabites is called in the itinerary of Moses, "the mounds" or low hills of the Abarim, אֲבָרִים; and the Moabite mountains beyond them, "the mountains of the Abarim." (Nu. xxxiii. 44, 47.) These may be considered as a prolongation of the "mountains of Aram," or of "the East." They doubtless received that name from the native race, because they were the settlement of the Eberite family of Lot; as Abram also, in Gen. xiv. 13, is called "Abram the Eberite." In Balaam's prophecy, the whole race descended from these two patriarchs is included under the patronymic Eber. *Abarim* אֲבָרִים is the same word as *Ibrim* (Hebrews) אִיִּרִים, save that its etymological import has been disguised, through the alteration in the pronunciation caused by the vowel-points.

The original tribe-name of the Emim—"the Shittim"—the name by which they were known among themselves, is not directly recorded, like that of the Zuzim, in the earliest notice of them, Gen. xiv. 5. Nevertheless, we may obtain it by collating several passages in other parts of their history.

When the Israelites had conquered and expelled the Amorite usurpers of the metropolitan province, we learn from the itinerary of Nu. xxxiii. 49, that they encamped in the plains of Moab, by the Jordan of Jericho, from Beth-Jeshimoth (בֵּית יֶשִׁימוֹת the house of Jeshimoth) to Abel-Shittim (אֶבֶל שִׁטִּים Abel of Shittim.) The historian's meaning, here, is evidently to assign the extreme limits of an encampment along the valley of the Jordan, too extensive to be descriptively referable to one particular city. By a reference to Nu. xxv. 1, we further learn that Israel was abiding in Shittim, when, at the instigation of Balaam, an attempt was made to corrupt their religion, which brought on the war against the Midianites. As Israel was still abiding in Shittim, when Joshua sent out the spies into Canaan, and as they only removed from thence to cross the Jordan, the term of their sojourn in the region so called, cannot have fallen much short of two years.

It is obvious from this, that "Shittim" cannot be meant to designate a city. Neither among the lists of Moabite cities in the later historical or prophetic books, nor in Josephus, nor in the ancient classic geographers, is any such name to be found. Yet any single city sufficiently large to contain all the victorious host, their wives, children, cattle and goods, for two years, must have been too considerable to escape subsequent notice, had such a city existed. These considerations go far to shew that the name Shittim, by which the Hebrews designate this locality, was not applied to a mere city, but to a very considerable extent of country.

This will be made still more evident by another circumstance to be taken into consideration. Nu. xxi. 24—32, relates the conquest and first establishment of the Israelites in the plains of Moab, which excited the jealousy of the Moabites, and led them to plan the destruction of Israel through the denunciations of Balaam, as related in the succeeding chapters, xxii—xxiv. Between this incident, and the cause of the Midianite war narrated in ch. xxv., there is an interval of more than a year, since this war was the closing event of the forty years' probation in the wilderness, whereas the conquest of the Transjordanic provinces occurred at the beginning of the thirty-ninth. This narrative follows close upon the preceding chapters, not because it follows them in order of time, but because it relates the continuation of the same series of political machinations. Having thus brought up the history to the eve of the Midianite war, the historian breaks off to relate the occurrences which fill up this intermediate period; after which he resumes the history of the war itself, the last event of his life.

Among these parenthetical chapters, we learn (ch. xxxii. 1—32) that after the destruction of the Amorites, and expulsion of the Rephaim, the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh besought Moses to bestow upon them the conquered territory. The request was granted, and these tribes established themselves in their possession; the rest of the nation, having as yet no lands, continuing to occupy the encampment along the Jordan, described in Nu. xxxiii., as extending from the house of Jeshimoth to Abel of Shittim.” To suppose that this allotment is related in order of time, and consequently as having taken place *after* the seduction of Israel, involves the very improbable supposition that the Israelites, after acquiring by force of arms the mastery over a country stretching across more than a hundred geographical miles, neglected to take possession of their conquest, left all the cities and lands they had acquired, unguarded, unoccupied and deserted for nearly two years, to encamp on the arid bank of the Jordan—and that, too, without any apparent fear or chance of molestation on the part of the nations they had deprived of those lands; while the partisans of those very nations were actively engaged in plotting the destruction of their new conquerors! Such a proceeding would have been so senseless, that its absurdity need only be pointed out, to dismiss the supposition altogether. The allotment of the first-fruits of conquest to the three elder tribes of Reuben, Gad and Manasseh,^b must be allowed to follow close upon the conquest itself; garrisons being placed in the chief cities, both to watch over the newly-acquired possession, and to protect the flocks and goods of the conquerors. These likewise watched over the welfare of their brethren, who had pitched their tents in the plains of the Jordan; supplying them with necessaries till their turn to take possession of their own inheritance should arrive. The Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites certainly did not neglect their possessions, since we are told that before the death of Moses they had repaired the cities which had been devastated in the war. Their departure from the common encampment, though not mentioned in the narrative, must be understood by the subsequent events.

As the line of this encampment is described as extending from the mouth of the Jordan to a place called Abel on the

^b Reuben and Joseph were firstborn sons of Jacob's lawful wives; and Gad, of his concubine Zilpah, handmaid of the senior wife. Dan, the fourth firstborn son in rank, was born (like Ishmael) of Rachel's handmaid, substituted for her childless mistress; consequently, the subsequent birth of Joseph, of the lawful wife, displaced him from the privileges he would otherwise have enjoyed as son of Rachel by adoption, placing him fourth only in rank, instead of second. Had there been a fourth apportionable province, it would doubtless have been given to him.

northern frontier of Shittim, it seems that the Hebrews must have understood by "Shittim" generally, the whole country of which the "plains of Moab," where the tents were pitched, formed only a part; the part extending along the eastern bank of the Jordan, in front of Jericho. As in the case of Canaan, they put the patronymic of the *tribe* for the name of the *land* that tribe occupied; for the people called themselves the Shittim, but the local name of their land, as we have already seen in a former chapter, was Shava or Shaveh.


I apprehend that the "vale of Shiddim" in which the metropolis of this people once lay, is only an orthographic variation of the same name. In this case, the historian appears to have transcribed the form of the name literally, from a more ancient record, perhaps from one embodied in an old and limited alphabet, which, like the Egyptian, did not distinguish such shades of sound as that between *d* and *t*; whereas, in his personal narrative, he wrote the name as he heard it pronounced in the country. Both these orthographies are equally well represented in the Egyptian form of this name, with which Moses was no doubt very well acquainted.

The origin of the tribe-name Shittim, thus applied by the Israelite historian to the land once ruled by the Emim, may be gathered from a remarkable passage in Balaam's concluding prophecy, which is quoted entire at the end of this chapter. The Egyptian records relating to the SHETTA furnish a complete explanation of it, by which the identity of the people is further confirmed.

In this prophecy, the Emim are alluded to as "the children of Sheth," in conjunction with the Moabites, among whom the remnant of the ancient nation had become so intimately blended, since the Amorite invasion, as to be no longer historically distinguished from them, in the sacred annals, either by Moses or by their own prophet. From a treaty of peace concluded by Rameses II. with the SHETTA, in the twenty-first year of his reign,^c we learn that this very name, Sheth ꝓꝓ, was the name of the tutelar and patronymic god of their land. It is written in Egyptian, Suth, and Suth-esh. In this very curious document, not only is the late contest between the Egyptians and SHETTA represented as a personal contest between the patron gods of the two rival nations, but these gods are also introduced as ratifying the treaty in person, by their signature or attestation at the end! And if the reader is curious to know under what style and titles the gods shewed themselves off in such important transactions,

^c Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. cxvi.

it is as follows: "The Suth of the fortress of AR'NA; the Suth of the fortress of ARNA'TA; the Suth-esh of the fortress of PILKA," etc., etc.; the same name being thus repeated in connexion with the fortress under his charge, the chieftain of which probably was proxy for his god on the occasion. That the Suth or the Suth-esh thus introduced is neither the name nor the title of a man, is proved by the determinative hieroglyphic sign following the name; this is neither the figure of a man, nor of a chief, as in that case it would be; it is the figure of the Egyptian god Seth, which Plutarch informs us was the Egyptian name of him whom the Greeks call Typhon. He is represented with the head of a long-snouted and long-eared unknown animal, which they mistook for an ass. This same figure is used to write ideographically the name of the king Seti-Menephthah.

This god's head, with the body of a dog, is also the determinative sign of the name Baro or Baal, , in the historical inscriptions of this period. In the laudatory comparisons with this Baro, so frequently applied by the Egyptian hierogrammatists to their sovereign, we have a sure token that at that time Suth or Baal was a god as highly revered by the Egyptians themselves, as by their foes the SHET'TA.

Suth and Baal are nearly synonymous titles; denoting *a lord* or *master*, the former in Egyptian, the latter in Hebrew. *Sut'n Keb*, "Lord of Egypt," is the usual formula heading the names of Egyptian sovereigns.

In the *Papyrus Sallier*^d there occurs the following remarkable passage:—

"They shall not stand in the land of KHERBU....

Fallen in their blood!

Then shall the revolted chiefs, the fallen of SHET, approach, and glorify the great name of his majesty, saying:

'O thou Ra in thy solar abode, Suthesh the son of Netpe, the great disturber, and Baal who smites his enemies! Thy terror is in the land of SHET behind thee!'"

The Egyptian author of this historical poem seems here to admit openly, in the terms of this address to the king of Egypt, that Seth, Suth, alias Suthesh, alias Baal, being "son of Netpe,"

^d *Select Papyri*; facsimiles published by the British Museum. *Pap. Sall.* 3, pl. xxxii., l. 6—9. The passage is thus translated by Mr. Birch, in the introductory account of these documents. I may as well point out in this place an oversight of my own in a reference, which I have corrected in the present section. The ancient papyrus in this collection which includes the geographical fragment so often alluded to in both sections, is not one of the *Sallier*, but one of the *Anastasi* papyri. As, however, I have given the numbers of the plate, etc., this mistake would not have misled any one wishing to refer to the published facsimile of original document.

was brother to Osiris. The myth of Osiris cruelly persecuted by his brother Typhon or Seth, implies the same; and both involve an equally distinct confession on the part of the Egyptians, of the common origin of the Shethite race with themselves, and of their gods with those of Egypt proper.

It is not until after the final dismemberment of this once dreaded race, that the god Seth was blotted out of the Egyptian pantheon, and his name was consigned to execration as the evil genius who so long favoured the cause of the most inveterate enemies of Egypt. Earlier monuments represent him under various forms and characters, as the teacher of kings,^f—as the patronymic of the dog-star,—as the god to whom one of the five days of the Epact was consecrated, and whose name was borne by several Egyptian monarchs. The assiduity with which the Egyptians erased or defaced his figure, under all its representations, has unfortunately contributed to cast great obscurity over the functions of this god in their mythological system. There is no doubt, however, that his synonym **BARO** is the Baal of Scripture;^g and another of his Egyptian synonyms, **NUBI**, seems to point out his identity with the local god Nebo of Shittim.

The name of **ASTETA**, Ashtaroth or Ashtoreth, (for the points vary the pronunciation of the name, but the Hebrew radicals are exactly equivalent to the Egyptian characters,) is also mentioned in the treaty above referred to, as the great goddess of the **SHETTA**. A chain of connexion singularly consistent and interesting, is thereby established in favour of that people's identity with the race whose metropolis was Heshbon, and whose sway extended to the neck of the Elanitic gulf and over the whole peninsula of Sinai—the Emim, and the cognate Kenite and Amalekite tribes.

In the first place, one of the most noted fortresses of the **SHETTA**, was called **ATESH**. This name is one of the synonyms, or rather local proper names, of Astarte; as is proved by a tablet in the Louvre, described in Prisse's *Monuments de l'Egypte et de le Nubie*, which represents a goddess similar in every respect to the goddess Ken on the tablet of Kaha in the British Museum, save that she bears on her head the cow's horns and globe of Hathor, which are absent in the provincial goddess Ken; and that her name is given as **ATESH**, instead of "Ken." The identity of Ken with the Assyrian Astarte, in every emblem and attribute, has been sufficiently established by Mr. Layard's designs from the Khorsabad sculptures. And that in the form of

^f Burton, *Excerpta Hierog.*, pl. 137.

^g Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, etc., vol. i., pp. 426—429.

Atesh, she is the "two-horned Ashtaroth," patronymic of the metropolis of the Rephaim, is absolutely proved by a fact we gather from the Egyptian sculptures that represent the final triumph of the Egyptian conquerors presenting their captives and the rich spoils of the conquered to the local gods of Thebes; for among these spoils are the sacred vessels employed in the service of the gods, bearing their emblems on the covers; and the cow's head, with the globe and horns, is a frequent device among these emblems, whether the spoils be those of the SHAS'U, the SHET'TA, the RBO, the TAHI, or the LT'N.^k The religious emblems of all these people are absolutely identical—proving them to be branches of the same people, and agreeing in the external symbols of their worship. Moreover, the SHAS'U who submitted to Rameses II., in his great expedition against the SHET'TA, are represented wearing the same emblem—the horns and globe—on their helmets. The people of SHAIRTA'NA, belonging to the SHAS'U nation, bear the same crest on theirs.

The goddess being thus distinctly identified, it is a very remarkable coincidence that we should recover, in one of her monumental names, Ken, the patronymic of that very branch of the Shethite people who, under the name of "Midianites," in Scripture, took a leading part on behalf of the Moabites in endeavouring to seduce the Israelites to their corrupt religious practices, in order to make friends of them and regain a footing in the lands they had lost. It is still more remarkable, that in one of their possessions, the city of Elath עֲלָת, "the mighty," we should even recover what appears the radical form of another name under which, according to Herodotus,ⁱ the same goddess was worshipped, namely, the Arabian 'Αλιττα, otherwise 'Αλλιατ, which he informs us is the same as the Babylonian Μυλιττα. Elath is the city I identify with the monumental LT'N mentioned above, among whose sacred emblems that of Astarte is prominent.

So much has been done in a former chapter towards establishing the geographical identity of the Emim of Scripture with the monumental SHET'TA, that very little remains to be

^k Compare the spoils in Rosellini's *Mon. Reali*, pl. xlviii., lii., lv., lix.

ⁱ Herodotus, *Clio*, c. 131. The etymology of this goddess' name has given rise to much conjecture. The simplest origin for it appears suggested by the passage, Ex. xv. 15:—

"Then are the leaders of Edom troubled—

Trembling hath seized the mighty of Moab מַגִּדֵּי מוֹאָב."

From which it appears that El (a mighty or powerful one) was a Moabite title of superiority, like Allouph (a leader) of the Edomites. Elath עֲלָת is merely the feminine form of this root.

said in completion of this subject, before we enter upon the few details which scriptural and monumental antiquity unite to afford us concerning their history.

The cities of the SHET-*TA* which I have been able to trace through the topographical allusions of Scripture or of historical antiquity, to the lands of the Emim, are as follows:

SHET-*TUN* is the first city mentioned in the expedition of Rameses II. against the SHET-*TA*, and towards which his march was directed.^j This is the metropolis of the scriptural Shittim, called by the Hebrews, Heshbon. The only difference is in the gender; and, what is very remarkable, in the Egyptian geographer Ptolemy's list of Arabian cities,^k it is called *Ἐσβεῦτα*, which agrees in form and gender with the hieroglyphic transcript. In another part of the same historical inscription, the name is written SHABU, supplying the vowel (an aspirated *a* or *e* = the Greek *η*), but omitting the final formatives. Thus nothing is wanting to demonstrate the verbal identity of the monumental SHET-*TUN* with the Hebrew version of the name, *תַּשְׁבִּי*, Heshbon.

The four lower lines of the treaty between Rameses II. and the SHET-*TA*, already referred to, contain a list of their principal fortresses.^l This part of the monument is unfortunately very defective, as several entire names are broken off at both ends of the lines. Of the eleven, more or less mutilated, which remain, I have found six which can be identified with places in the land once occupied by the Emim.

AR-*NA*. "The dwelling of Ar," *𐔢𐔣𐔩* mentioned in an obscure poetical quotation from the book of the wars of Jehovah, Nu. xxi. 15. Whether this be Ar of Moab, otherwise Rabbah, subsequently known as Areopolis; or whether it be the city

^j Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. cii., l. 4, and c., l. 2.

^k Ptolemy, *Geog.*, l. v., c. xvi.

^l Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. cxvi., l. 27—30. I am not aware that this important list of names has ever been noticed before. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Birch (of the British Museum) for pointing it out to me; as well as for some particulars of the document itself, of which he very obligingly imparted the substance to me, by a verbal translation. No version of this extraordinary relic of ancient customs has ever yet been published.

It is worthy of remark, that the six names I have been able to identify are those of places north of the Arnon—with the exception of Ar-na, if this be Ar of Moab or Rabbah. This was the only part of the land of the Emim known to the Hebrews, and to which the local names to be gathered from the Mosaic and later prophetic lists, exclusively refer. Of the part permanently retained by the Moabites, they knew nothing: yet this is more than half of the original possessions of the Emim. The five unidentified names probably belonging to this unknown part, read as follows:

1. SHISASAPA; 2. SAR-SU... (mutilated); 3. SHIRNA(F)... (mutilated);
4. TAI (illegible group) TASHERRI... (final letter wanting); 5. ASHN... (mutilated)

Aroer on the Arnon (אֲרֹעַ), a reduplicate form of the same name, is the only thing doubtful; for the identity of the name itself is evident.

The fortress of the ARNA'TA is the next on the list. ARNA'TA is only the feminine Egyptian form of the Hebrew אֲרֹנָה Arn'on; and is the name of the river on which the celebrated stronghold of the SHET'TA, called ATESH, was situated. The picture of this fortress in the great historical tableau of the expedition of Rameses against the SHET'TA, shews that it was near the mouth of the river, and almost entirely surrounded by water. This topographical hint concerning the situation of ATESH suggests its identity with the nameless "*city in the midst of the river*," mentioned, in conjunction with Aroer, as marking the frontier of the land obtained by the Reubenites through their conquest of the Amorite usurper Sihon. (Josh. xiii. 16.) On the other hand, Josephus gives a list of Arabian cities taken by Alexander Jannæus in the wars, which his son promised to restore to the king of Arabia who reigned at Petra.^m Among these, he mentions Oronas, as one of the cities of the Moabites. The similarity of this name to the Egyptian ARNA'TA, is striking; but this does not clear up the doubt whether the fortress of the ARNA'TA be the same place as ATESH, "*the city in the midst of the river*," or another place called ARNA'TA=Oronas, after which the river itself was named.

PILKA. This name is still extant in the castle of *Belka* on the Haj-route to Damascus. Its scriptural name, however, is unknown, as it was in the land of the Reubenites, and may have borne another while in their possession, which it lost when the Moabites regained possession of the country.

SAR-PAT'NA. This is a compound of אֶזְרָא Zur, a rock or stronghold, and בֶּעֹן Be'ôn, (*Sept. Bauv*), a place in the Reubenite district. (Nu. xxxii. 3.) The same prefix, SAR, occurs also in another name in the same list, SAR'SU . . . too much mutilated to be identifiable.

KAITAVATA'NA. "The dwelling of Khazavath," corresponds by its radicals to כַּזְאֵל כַּזְאֵל, mentioned in Nu. xxii. 39, as the place to which Balak went with Balaam, after meeting him on the frontier, and from whence they went together to Bamoth-Baal, the place dedicated to the god of the land, Sheth or Baro, —before whom the fatal imprecations against Israel were to be solemnly pronounced. The points transform it into Huzoth.

KATA mutilated; it is most probably Kedemoth, where the Israelites came after passing Bamoth (Deut. ii. 26), and

^m Josephus, *Ant.*, b. xiii., ch. xv., and b. xiv., ch. 1.

from whence Moses sent messengers to Sihon to ask permission to pass through his land. This circumstance indicates its position as on the frontier, eastward of Heshbon.

The two remaining names of cities on my list, classed under the Emim national group, belong to the provinces of Ken and Amalek. For to the former must in all probability be referred BARNUMA, or Kadesh-Barnea, on the border of the great Wady Arabah, and commanding the Canaanite frontier.

The last, ANUSHU, corresponds to the city Ἰνύσος of Herodotus.* Its site is unknown; but the general indications he gives of its locality, as on the line of traffic leading to Kadytis, and as being about three days' journey from the lake Serbonis which lies at the foot of mount Casius, just where Egypt begins, point to the eastern side of the Wady El Arish, and consequently place it in the Amalekite district.

From the singular account Herodotus gives of the worship and costume of the Arabians of Jenysus, it seems they must have been an isolated remnant of that race. They worshipped Dionysus (Osiris) under the name of Orotal, and Urania (Astarte) under the name of Alilat; and "cut away their hair all round, shaving it off the temples;" assigning as a reason for this practice, that their god was shaved so.†

Now it is a peculiarity of national costume, which I have found without an exception characteristic of all those monumental people whom I have been able to trace to the Rephaim by means of their cities and names—that they all shave some part of the head, or beard, or both: and though each tribe does this after a fashion of its own, yet in one particular they all agree: *they all shave the temples and the side of the beard.* Their Aramean and Horite-Edomite dependents, and their Amorite neighbours, on the contrary, always appear with their beard entire, and their hair long and carefully trimmed.

We further learn from the Egyptian sculptures that the particular practice of "cutting away the hair all round, and shaving it off the temples," was characteristic of certain tribes of the SHEP'TA. Among the chiefs represented as hastening in magnificently accoutred war chariots, to aid the city ATESH against Rameses II., some are conspicuous by a coiffure corresponding with remarkable exactitude to the above description. None of their hair is left but a round patch on the top of the skull; and that is tied up into a tuft, like the scalp-lock of an American Indian, or twisted into a long pendant braid, like a Chinese pigtail. If this be the way the god Orotal used to shave for a

* Herodotus, *Thalia*, c. 5.

† *Ibid.*, c. 8.

pattern, we cannot commend his taste; but the pious reverence of the Amalekites for the divine origin of this hideous fashion probably led them to think it very becoming.

The head attire of the SHETTA of ATESH in the battle-scene of Seti-Menephtah at Karnak,^p and that of the captive chief in the symbolical group of that king devoting his enemies to destruction, presents a striking contrast to the one described above; and there, the intention of imitating the coiffure of their god is manifest, by comparing it with the effigies of Astarte on some of their sacred utensils. They wore a long thick braid of hair on each side of the face, behind the ear; and the back hair is long, hanging down like that of a woman; it may perhaps be to follow up this strange religious manifestation, that they shaved their beards, or clipped it exceedingly short. While other branches of the Rapha nation proclaimed their allegiance to the tutelary god of their land by the crest of their helmets, the SHETTA carried out the same idea by their mode of tonsure, as they wore no helmets.

If we now bear in mind that it was in the land of this people that the children of Israel spent thirty-eight years of probation, in the great and terrible wilderness of Paran and Seir, in constant communication with the Edomite and Midianite tribes domesticated among them, we shall then apprehend the full significance of the prohibition given in Lev. xix. 27, in terms precisely equivalent to those by which Herodotus describes the practice of their descendants, the Jenysite Arabians. "Ye shall not round off the corners of your heads, neither shall ye destroy the corners of your beards."^q Since this practice, as explained by Herodotus, and confirmed by the religious badges and emblems depicted on the Egyptian sculptures, was a distinctive outward token of this idolatrous people's worship and nationality, its adoption, by an Israelite, would of course be regarded as equivalent to an open declaration of religious and national apostasy.

The names of cities above enumerated are given in the third column of the Onomasticon, under the head *Emim Group*. No. IV. Immediately below this column, are two names apart, (40 and 41), which occur in a record of the conquests of Rameses III. They are kept separate from the column, only because I have no criterion for deciding whether they should be referred to the *Emim Group*, or to their Horite dependencies

^p Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. lix.

^q Compare : אֵת זַנְתְּךָ וְאֵת קַדְמֹת שֵׁבֶלְךָ לֹא תִקְצַץ וְאֵת זַנְתְּךָ לֹא תִקְרַע — with Herodotus : κείρονται δὲ περιτρόχαλα, περιξυροῦντες τοὺς κροτάφους.

forming the lower part of the *Aramite Group*, No. III. ; as they are not mentioned in Scripture, and their sites are uncertain. Their correspondence to two names out of the list of Arabian cities in which Oronas or Orone is mentioned,^r proves that they certainly were in the dominions of the Shethite race. For Josephus reckons as Arabia, and Ptolemy includes in Arabia-Petrea, all the country east of the Jordan that lay southward of the river Zurka.

TARBUSA is the place called Tharabasa by Josephus, in that list. One cannot easily be misled in the identity of a name with four radicals, all agreeing. LUSS . . . is exactly Lussa of the same list : the character wanting, in the hieroglyphic group, is only the final formative, or vowel. If this were the *Λυσα* of Ptolemy, identified by Dr. Robinson with a desert-station east of Wady-el-Arish, it was an Amalekite outpost. The characters however may also be read *rss* . . . and may possibly stand for Rissah, one of the unknown encampments of the Mosaic itinerary, Nu. xxxiii. 21 ; in which case it would be referable to the Kenite or the Edomite districts.

CHAPTER X.

Wars of the Emim with Egypt.

If the materials I have thus far brought together before the reader's view are worthy to be accepted as sufficiently satisfactory evidence that the Emim of the Hebrew annals are no other than the daring and dreaded SHETTA of the Egyptian, then the broad outline of their history may be sketched out with something like certainty, by connecting the scriptural and the monumental references to the leading events of their political career, and to the leading features of their social condition.

We gather from Manetho, that when the Phœnician Shepherds first established their power at Memphis, the Assyrians were masters of Asia ; and that the chief of the Hyk-sos fortified the eastern frontier of Egypt with peculiar care, being apprehensive that the rival power might make an inroad from that quarter. There was no doubt a reason, founded on experience, for these apprehensions.

For that dynasty passed away—the Hyksos made themselves masters of all Egypt—and an interval, which is perhaps not

^r Josephus, *Ant.*, b. xiv., c. 1.

overrated at about two centuries, has elapsed, before we meet with the next definite indication of the state of their affairs, in that valuable historical fragment of Genesis xiv., quoted entire in the introduction to this history; and we then find them at open war with a king of Assyria and his confederates.

When Abraham entered Palestine—when Lot chose the royal valley of Shaveh for his residence—the power of the Rephaim in Egypt had perhaps passed its meridian. Thebes was still tributary to their chiefs; for the long and fierce war against them, which ended in the deliverance of the Thebans from their yoke, had not yet begun, since the final expulsion of the Shepherds from the Delta can hardly have taken place before the death of Abraham, according to the system of relative chronology which the identification of that nation compels me to adopt. The uncertainty that hangs over the duration of some reigns in the 18th and 19th dynasties, renders an exact chronological adjustment, on that foundation, hopeless; but a general coincidence of events, of which the respective dates may be fixed within a latitude of twenty years either way, is sufficiently precise for an historical sketch like the present, where a broad and comprehensive view of leading and unquestionable facts is all that we require, and indeed all that the few fragments, snatched from the decay and oblivion of ages, reveal of characteristic and instructive detail.

The invasion described in Gen. xiv., was not the first that the Rephaim had suffered from their Asiatic rivals in power. The Emim tribe had been made tributary to the sovereign of Elam, fourteen years before. This indicates a shade of decline in the power of the race itself; an increasing ascendancy in that of their rivals. The Emim tribe were the section of the nation against which the hostility of the Assyrian confederacy seemed more particularly directed: this would suggest that the task of defending the power of the great political body in the east, had been more particularly delegated to them, while its elder branch strove to maintain it in the south.

The part taken by the great chief of the nation, on the occasion of their unexpected deliverance from their invaders by means of the panic into which Abraham's cautious but unflinching intrepidity had thrown the enemy, teaches us, among other things, that up to that time, the junior branch of the nation and its supreme chieftain acted in concert, under a system of federal discipline which speaks highly in favour of their civil institutions. It also goes far to explain their success, in the immense political ascendancy which their unity of purpose and of action enabled the Rephaim—"the chiefs of the earth"—to obtain, and to re-

tain for so many centuries over the principal kingdoms of the primeval civilized world.

Traces of this people's having once—and for perhaps a long interval of time—exercised a powerful influence over the destinies of Assyria and Babylonia, are by no means wanting; but they are dim and shadowy. Certain gods of the Rephaim are found domesticated beyond the Euphrates. The foundation of Assyrian worship, as far as the monuments shew, seems to have been a pure Sabism; but at a later period, another system has been superadded, with which it does not harmonize. Astarte, Seth-Baal, Nebo, Oannes, in their own land, are not only local gods, but *patronyms* of the people who serve them,—or impersonations of the land. They are forms of the gods peculiar to the nation; and as old among them as the nation itself. When we find counterparts of the gods of the Rephaim on Assyrian sculptures,—when we also find there the name of one of their most formidable tribes, the SHET-*TA*,—we may count this as a strong indication pointing to the same end as the scriptural account, which presents them at war with the kings of Assyria and Shinar; and with that of Manetho, which presents them as on their guard against aggression from Assyria: that there may have been periods of alternate conquest and depression on both sides, of which the records have perished. Perhaps not altogether; a source of discovery is now only just opening upon us, which may hereafter be found to extend even to the remote ages coeval with the early monarchs of Egypt, the Sesertasens and Amenemhas, who shared the dominion of the Nile with their powerful rivals of the north. But leaving these regions of doubtful speculation, until a ray of sunshine shall have pierced through the cloud of oblivion that hangs over the grave of buried empires, to guide us with a more certain step along the gloomy vista of a past over which forty centuries have closed,—we will now leap over the gap of about three hundred years which separates the intimation of the state of the Rephaim given us at the time of Abraham's migration, from that era of circumstantial monumental records, which presents them to our view with the startling reality of pictorial representation.

The SHET-*TA* do not appear on this scene upon an independent footing, till the wars against the SHAS-U and their allies of NAHARI'NA have been carried on for a full century, and the power of the elder tribe begins to totter under the inveterate efforts of the Theban kings to avenge the degradation of their fathers by extirpating the children of their oppressors. As auxiliaries to their principals, the Emim doubtless bore their part in the contest. But the records of the immediate successors

of Amosis do not afford the same abundance of materials for geographical identification, as that which is so plentifully yielded by the lists of tributaries to Egypt under Seti-Menephtah, and the vaunting historical inscriptions accompanying the pictorial triumphs of Rameses II. and III. The names are few, and the same are often repeated. The city of *ATESH* is supposed to be mentioned as early as under Thothmes III.; and *LT'N*, the great emporium of the Aramean Horites, pays the tribute of her rich and varied merchandize to that monarch, though we do not know whether it was then in the power of the Rephaim or not. But whatever part the Emim had borne in the great national conflict, up to the time of the 19th dynasty, was undoubtedly in unison with, though strictly subordinate to, the elder and sovereign branch of their people in Bashan.

Under Seti-Menephtah, they first appear as distinct objects of hostility, though not yet as taking the lead. Their land was less accessible than that of their kindred. It could only be penetrated from the north by the complete reduction of the Zuzim; or from the south, by the conquest of the Amalekite and Horite regions. The tributary list of Seti-Menephtah at at Karnak,³ goes far to shew that both these points were gained; that this great conqueror had reduced the northern branch of the Rapha nation sufficiently low to command its submission, and had secured the principal passes and stations of the south, Jenysus, Kadesh-Barnea, Elath, Seir, Punon, as far as Atesh on the Arnon; besides those which must remain unrecognized in that list, either because the names are of doubtful reading, or because their correspondents are not to be found in the sacred or classic writers. Such was the relative position of the contending powers, when the mightiest of Egypt's conquerors, Rameses II., ascended the throne, and the fierce and daring children of Sheth rallied all the energies and resources of their nation, to carry on to the utmost of their power the deadly feud of race against race, in which their former chiefs, and now uncertain allies, had almost succumbed.

The celebrated expedition led by the great Rameses against the *SHET-TA*, in the fifth year of his reign, was deemed the most glorious among the military triumphs achieved by this renowned conqueror. It forms the subject of three vast commemorative sculptures, embellishing his three palace-temples of Luxor, the Ramesseum, and the excavated one of Abou-Simbel in Nubia. I shall refer to the latter in describing the campaign.⁴ It is re-

³ Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. lxi.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pl. lxxxvii. The different parts of this design are given on an enlarged scale, in the succeeding plates, to cii.

markable for a curious attempt at combining geographical with historical delineation, which may perhaps entitle it to be regarded as the oldest map in the world, in so far that the Egyptian artist has evidently intended to represent the general outline of the country invaded by the great conqueror, in conjunction with the leading incidents of the campaign. But as he probably had nothing to guide him but the verbal description of those present at the action who furnished the necessary details, we cannot be surprised at the bearings not being very accurate. We shall nevertheless find, from our previous identification of the land of the *SHETTA* by means of the topographical descriptive fragment of the *Anastasi Papyrus*, that the leading features of the country are sufficiently well made out in the topographical design of Abou-Simbel, to admit of our recognizing at once the Jordan, the Dead Sea, and the Arnon. So that when we endeavour to refer the leading events of the campaign to their proper localities according to the indications given to the inscriptions appended to the design, we discover that the Egyptian artist has forestalled us, by representing them *in situ*; and when we find the route of the land of the *SHETTA* elaborately described in the records of their wars with Rameses which constitute the subject of the *Papyrus*, we also find out the motive of that description—that this was the route actually followed by the conqueror; that, in fact, these two geographical documents—the most ancient of their kind in the world—are complementary to and explanatory of each other; and the mystery they presented, is finally unsealed and rendered intelligible to us, through a third document almost coeval with them in antiquity—the early historical and geographical notices of the Bible.

The tableau is a very oblong parallelogram. The scene of action is laid on the two sides of a river, which runs from the left, across it, into a lake situated near the middle of the picture. The opposite end of the lake receives another river, at the mouth of which is placed a fortress. The inscriptions give the name of this river *ARNA'TA*, and of the fortress *ATESH*.*

The eastern mode of orientation is to place the east in front, the south at the right hand, and the north at the left hand. It is singular that these are the bearings of the topographical design of Abou-Simbel, and from the Jordan at the Shibboleth ford to the Dead Sea, they are geographically true. But those of the Arnon are not correct, its true course being from east to west; whereas the Egyptian artist has made it run into the sea

* In the Egyptian list of names, I give the two forms of this one; col. iv., fig. 20, a, is as it is found on the fortress; and 20, b, as it occurs in the inscriptions of Seti-Menephthah, and of Rameses II., in the account of the expedition.

from the south. This was done most probably to secure a linear arrangement of his incidents, which could not all have been brought in, had he made the river run into the sea from the top of the picture. For the final scene of action, where the incidents are the most crowded, is just the very part which lies above the Arnon and the city of **ATESH**.

Having thus planned the field of action, the artist could hardly have given sufficient consequence to the actors in it, unless he had made them a little out of proportion with respect to the landscape. The figures are on a scale of about a foot to a mile! Thus the Jordan dwindles to the relative dimensions of a street-kennel, and the Dead Sea to those of a little fish-pond, which the royal chariot-horses galloping along the river's eastern bank might easily stride over, seeing that their legs span an arch of some ten miles. The fortress of Atesh also gains in consequence at the expense of the sea, its picture being projected from the mouth of the river so far out, as to cover nearly all the lake; and even then, it is so much too small for the warriors who defend it, that each of its five towers cannot possibly contain more than two brave men very tightly jammed together into the battlements, and half as high as the towers themselves.

Owing to this unavoidable disproportion between the people and the field of action, and the number of incidents he had to delineate, the artist was reduced to indicate the successive stages of the action itself, by dividing the field into several horizontal lines, along which his groups are arranged. To follow the thread of the story, you must begin at the bottom line, near the prefatory inscription, just below the two encampments of the Egyptian king and of the **SHET'TA**, which are delineated *in situ*. You must then follow the figures in their course along the two lines above this, so as to end with the passage of the Jordan at the extreme left edge of the picture, where what may be called the *first act* of the pictorial drama ends. It consists of the encampment, and preparations for action.

The *second act* begins on the other side of the Jordan; it is the invasion. The king in his chariot, (four times as large as the other figures and chariots, according to custom,) having crossed the river, is proceeding southwards to the country east of the Dead Sea. The **SHET'TA** and their allies are rushing in their chariots across the ford, at the left border of the picture. The line of this important geographical incident is prolonged over the king's head, to the fortress of **ATESH**, to which their course, like his, is directed.

The *third act* depicts the final rout of the **SHET'TA** and their

allies. The royal war-chariot appears a third time, in the parts north of the Arnon. Here we see all the animation and confusion of an Egyptian battle-scene. The king is transfixing his enemies in every direction with his enormous arrows, or riding over them; they tumble about in every imaginable impossible attitude; some run off with their cattle, the dead bodies of others float along the river—there are heaps of spoil, and strings of captives led off in ignominious triumph, among whom are conspicuous a group of the remarkable and unmistakeable *ABO*, the indomitable Anakim of Arbâ, the faithful allies of their kindred, the Emim.

The course of events, as thus read off from the picture, is much more intelligible than the narrative of them, which may be extracted, though not without difficulty, from Rosellini's translation. The style of the Egyptian hierogrammatists is so verbose, so loaded with bombastical epithets, metaphors, and eulogies of the monarch, as to be almost unintelligible, even to the learned pupil of Champollion. It is astonishing how small a lump of fact remains, when the froth of adulation and circumlocution which overlays it, is removed. The local names are the most valuable among those facts, since they furnish us with references to the sites whereby the identity of the people and of their land is again put to the severe test of topographical as well as verbal correspondence; and the circumstantial agreement we thus obtain, leaves nothing to be desired.

When we find it stated as the opening fact, in the inscription, that his majesty was staying in the land of *TAH*, it is very satisfactory to find that in a map of Palestine, the site of Iuttah, a fortress of the Anakim with which I identify the *TAH*, *TAHI*, or *TAH'N* of the Egyptian monuments, corresponds exactly to the place in the picture occupied by the royal encampment, where the king is represented sitting on his throne and receiving the report of the ambassadors.

When we find in the inscription, that two ambassadors from the *SHAS'U* came to the king, and told him that the *SHET'TA* were encamped in the land of *CHERR'U*,^{*} it is not less satisfactory to find in the picture that the place of the *SHET'TA* encampment corresponds exactly to the site of Hebron in the map.

This camp is surrounded by palisades. The self-satisfied assurance of the enemy is indicated by the warriors and horses lying down within the enclosure; while others are engaged in games of skill or military exercises. In the middle of the camp is a sacred enclosure, in which four priests are prostrate before a

^{*} I here follow Mr. Birch's quotation, as Rosellini's reading is not accurate.

shrine overshadowed by the wings of two cherubic figures. This is a very remarkable circumstance; for the date of this event is about seventy-nine years before the Exodus. It proves the antiquity and universality of this symbolical representation.

When we next find, by the inscription, that the object of these two SHAS'U ambassadors was to tender their submission to the Egyptian king, in the name of their nation, and to give him "an entrance into the country,"—it is very satisfactory to recognize in this incident three valuable coincidences:—

Firstly: That the pictorial description corresponding to this event, placed at the beginning of the lowest line, just under the Egyptian camp, shews us that the people there represented as coming forward to greet the Egyptian chiefs with every demonstration of friendship, were a people devoted to Astarte, whose crest they wear on their helmets; and Ashtaroth-Karnaïm (the two-horned Ashtaroth) metropolis of Bashan and head of the SHAS'U nation, was sacred to that very goddess, whose name it bore.

Secondly: That the people of Zarthan or SHAIRTA'NA wear the same crest and costume; and that was also a city of the SHAS'U of Gilead.

Thirdly: That by knowing who these people were, and where their lands lay, we understand what is meant by their giving the king of Egypt "an entrance into the country." For we see by the picture itself, that the Egyptians invaded the SHET'TA by crossing the Jordan at the Shibboleth ford. We learn by the itinerary of the *Anastasi Papyrus*, that the way to the land of the SHET'TA was through part of the land of the SHAS'U, near "the hill of the land of SHAVA;" which amounts to the same thing as the picture,—since we find that part to be the very part about the hill of *Jelâd* which faces the Shibboleth ford. We further learn from the date of the expedition, "the 9th of Epiphi in the fifth year of the king's reign," that it took place at a season of the year when the Jordan is too full to be forded,

^w The earliest period at which this expedition can be fixed, is 1389 B.C., and the latest, 1369 B.C. In 1389 B.C., the 1st of Thoth of the Egyptian vague year, fell on Aug. 5th, and the 9th of Epiphi on June 10th, of the Julian account. In the 14th century B.C., June 10th was nearly twenty-eight days before the summer solstice; a season-position equivalent to May 26th of the Gregorian account now in use. In 1369, the 9th of Epiphi would be five days earlier.

The remark in Josh. iii. 15, that "the Jordan overfloweth all his banks, all the time of harvest," is illustrated by Dr. Robinson's valuable observations on the state of the river. (*Bibl. Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii.) The harvest is during April and the early part of May. Dr. Robinson describes the true river-bed on May 12th, as full to the brim, and flowing over, so as to wet the bottom of the upper bed overgrown with cane-brake.

"except at a very few places known only to the Arabs;"² and that by thus favouring the passage of the Egyptian conqueror through their territory, across the very first ford at which the river could be crossed, the SHAS'U were rendering him a far greater service than by fighting for him.

While the SHAS'U were thus sacrificing their brethren to their own security by a disgraceful unconditional surrender to the formidable invader, the SHET'TA were endeavouring to negotiate with him; they sent rich presents and proposed terms of peace. But ambassadors who dared to parley and propose conditions to the great king, were not so well treated as those who laid their all at the foot of his throne: they were taken up as spies and beaten; their proposals were of course scouted—and the war-cry of the tribes was then raised, the camp broke up, and they all prepared for active resistance.

The king now marched towards the land of the rebels. The CHERBU and AMAR (Anakim of Hebron or Arba, and Amorites) and all the southern dependencies of the SHET'TA, came to their assistance. But when they saw that the plains of Heshbon were placed in the power of the invader by the sudden defection of their SHAS'U brethren, the SHET'TA and the allied powers threw themselves into the mountain fortresses beyond the Arnon. Rameses laid siege to ATESH, "the city in the midst of the river," which appears to have defended the valley of the Arnon. The place held out a long time; but the chiefs were drowned in attempting to cross the river, and the city then surrendered. The inscription concludes with his majesty's reprimand to the rebellious chiefs for the troubles they have brought upon their allies far and near, as well as on themselves, by their presumptuous resistance to his power. It is here that NAHRI'NA and PADI are mentioned: whence it appears that the SHET'TA were powerful enough to command the assistance of the Aramite dependencies of their kindred the SHAS'U, even when these were themselves too weak to venture upon resisting the king of Egypt on their own part.

This memorable campaign was the first of a long series of hostilities which only closed with the treaty of peace signed by the gods of the two belligerent nations in the twenty-first year of Rameses II. The records of the *Sallier* and *Anastasi Papyri* advert to several intermediate campaigns; and at this period, the power of the Shethite chiefs extended very far, if we judge from the lists of their allies,³ to whom these documents represent

² Burckhardt, *Travels in Syria*, etc., p. 345.

³ *Select Papyri*, pl. xxiv., xxv.; quoted by Mr. Birch in his "Observations on

them as sending for troops to aid them against Egypt. Among these is KARKUMASHA, generally admitted to be Carchemish on the Euphrates. Many of the other names are also well known on the monuments, and those that are identified among these, will be found in my list: CHERBU, SHAS'U, SHAIRTA'NA, NAHARINA, KATVATA, KESH, which cannot be the black KESH of Ethiopia (Cushites), as they are much too remote to be allies of the SHET'TA; they are probably the Goshen settled in Palestine. One of these names, ARHE'NA, may possibly be 𐤀𐤓𐤁𐤍 IRHO, Jericho (now *Riha*), as the Amorites of that part of Canaan are always associated with both the SHET'TA and the CHERBU in the contest against Egypt. But many of the local names in these lists cannot be identified with any known to scriptural or to classical antiquity. This is not surprising, considering how many sites may have perished in the war itself; and how many besides lay in parts of the land unknown to the Hebrew historians.

When the Emim and their kindred first became involved in the long and desolating war with Egypt which only closed with their fall, the Moabites and Ammonites were as yet an inconsiderable tribe. Their continued increase, while the original race was sinking, as well as their secluded position on the Aramite frontier, are circumstances rather favourable to the inference that they took no aggressive part in the fierce contest between the two mighty races whose national hatred aimed at nothing short of total annihilation on one part or on the other,—save when their land was invaded; for then, neutrality would have been treachery against the people under whose protection they had so long dwelt. If the Aramites took up arms on behalf of the Rephaim, when Egypt attacked them, we cannot suppose that the Moabites, whose destiny and interests were wholly interwoven with those of the Emim, could remain inactive in the struggle. But the monumental representations throw no light on this question; for if the tribe of Moab figures in any of the contests they depict, we cannot distinguish them from the ancient race by any peculiarity of costume, as we can the Edomite allies of the southern tribes.

The Amorites are the only Canaanites who appear on the monuments of Egypt. Their geographical position, as co-residents with the Anakim in Judea, necessarily exposed them to aggression from any nation at war with the Rephaim; and would compel them to take a part against the invaders, if their

the Statistical Tablet of Karnac," already referred to, who gives the passage thus: "The wretched chief of the Khita (i.e. SHET'TA), and the numerous lands with him, the Arutu, the Massu, the Sharu, the Keshkesh, the Arhena, the Katuata, with the Chirubu, the Ati (sh?), and the Ruka."

own land was attacked. But the singular paucity of Canaanite names, in the Egyptian lists, is a certain indication that Egypt had no quarrel with that nation; and that the implication of the Amorites in the political affairs of the Rephaim, was only casual. The Amorite colony appears to have established itself beyond the Jordan, as early as the reign of Seti-Menephtah; for when that monarch attacked the *SHETTA* before *ATESH*, he encountered a party of Amorite herdsmen, and put them to flight; they are represented as scampering off in all directions with their cattle. Having thus gained a footing in the country, the Amorites easily ingratiated themselves with the ruling race, by taking their part against the Egyptians. The Amorites not only appear in the campaign of Rameses II., but also in those of Rameses III., since the figure of an Amorite chief occurs among the portraits of captive chiefs at Medinet-Abon.

The last mention of the *SHETTA* on the monumental records of Egypt, is in the twelfth year of Rameses III., when the Rephaim rose in a body, and made a final but unsuccessful effort to shake off the dominion of Egypt. The conqueror then swept through their lands, defeated their combined forces, destroyed their fortresses, broke up their national polity, carried their chieftains off in triumph to Thebes, and crushed their power for ever. The once mighty children of Sheth were thus brought so low, as to yield the fertile plains of their metropolitan province an easy prey to the Amorite horde, who now took advantage of their weakened condition to sieze their depopulated capital, and establish their own chieftain Sihon, ruler over the land.

The Emim chiefs were too haughty to bend before an usurper whom they had no longer power to resist. They, with the remnant of the decimated population, withdrew to the mountain fastnesses beyond the Arnon, to the settlements of the Moabites. These were now become so superior in numbers and position, that the few dispossessed Emim refugees among them are no longer considered worth distinguishing as a separate nation, by the sacred annalist,—whose account of them, in his own time, runs thus:—

“Distress not the Moabites, neither contend with them, for I will not give thee a possession from their land, because I have given Ar for a possession unto the children of Lot. The Emim formerly settled there; a great, numerous, and haughty people, like the Anakim; who were also accounted Rephaim like the Anakim; but the Moabites call them ‘the Emim;’—*עַמִּים*—i.e. ‘the terrible people.’”

It is particularly worthy of remark that, in this brief notice, the historian merely states that Moab *replaced* the Emim in their land (a part of it); but he does not say that “*THE LORD*

had destroyed them" from before the Moabites, as the Zuzim were destroyed from before the Ammonites. Nor does he, in either instance, attribute the destruction of the ancient race to the agency of the children of Lot, as he does that of the Horim to the children of Esau. A small remnant of the Emim had yet escaped destruction in the time of Moses. This miserable residue of the "terrible people" long survived the downfall of their supremacy. Their baneful influence over the destinies of Israel long outlasted the breaking-up of their polity and disappearance of their name from among nations.

The Moabites requited more worthily than the treacherous Amorites the hospitality accorded to their forefathers by the Emim. They received and protected the fugitive children of Sheth, and continued to pay to the hereditary chieftain of the ancient race the honour due to him as their king, in virtue of their original settlement in the lands under his jurisdiction. The manner in which they are mentioned, either as associated or as politically identical with the "people of Chemosh," in the triumphal ode of the victorious Amorites, quoted by Moses in Nu. xxi. 27—30, would even suggest that the Moabites had taken a leading and active part in the unsuccessful contest against Sihon. But the sacred historian does not intimate whether they did so as partisans of the primeval race with whom their national destinies had so long been blended, or whether as territorial successors of that broken people, and, as such, deeming themselves entitled on that ground to dispute with the Amorites for possession of the metropolitan district which these had wrested from their deposed chieftain.

Whatever doubts may remain as to the precise position of the Moabites and Emim with respect to the Amorites, the supposition that the personage who is styled in Scripture "king of Moab"—"Balak the son of Zippor"—was a chieftain of the ancient race, is not altogether gratuitous; it is strongly supported by the following curious circumstance: In the treatise between Rameses II. and the SHET-*TA*, the pedigree of the great chief of this nation is given; and the name of his grandfather, which Mr. Birch reads SAPURU, shews us that the name of Balak's father, *yes*, Zippor, evidently must have been a *family* name, as characteristic of the last Shethite dynasty, as *Rameses* was of the contemporaneous rival power in Egypt. The first Zippor or SAPURU lived in the time of Rameses I. The last was contemporary of Rameses III.; and, for aught we know, it may be his portrait that figures among the captive princes at Medinet-Abou.

It was therefore to the dispossessed representative of that

ancient royal race, that Balaam, the far-famed prophet of the children of Ammon, disclosed the future destiny of the tribes who either claimed a common origin with the children of Sheth, or who had joined their political body as settlers; and were doomed hereafter to fall under the sway of that very Israel whom the prophet was hired to imprecate. This remarkable prophecy is the only historical clue we possess to the ultimate fate of the Emim. It will therefore close the present section of our history, not less appropriately than it will serve to introduce the history of the kindred tribes it enumerates.

BALAAH'S PROPHECY.

"And now, behold! I am returning to my people: come, I will inform thee of what this people will do unto thy people in after-times."

He then resumed his parable, saying:

"Sentence of Balaam, son of Beor.
Sentence of the man whose vision was sealed.
Sentence of him who now heareth the words of God,
And perceiveth the counsel of the Supreme:
Who—prostrate—with unveiled eyes
Beholdeth the vision of the Almighty.

I see him—but it is not now.

I behold him—but it is not nigh.

A star proceedeth from Jacob,—

A sceptre ariseth from Israel,—

He wounds the recesses of Moab,

And crushes the children of Sheth!

Edom, too, becometh his domain;

Seir becometh the domain of his foe,

For Israel doeth valiant deeds!

He (who) descendeth from Jacob

Will destroy the remnant of the city.

* אָמַר אָמַר . אָמַר is a more energetic term than אָמַר "to say." It generally implies the utterance of a solemn denunciation or sentence. Hebrew, literally: "sentence-pronounced of Balaam." The opening of the three verses with the same formula, in the Hebrew, gives great solemnity to the passage.

אָמַר אָמַר same construction, literally: "stopped-up of eye." When the visual organs are meant, the Hebrew has always the *dual* form. When אָמַר is used in a figurative sense, it is *singular*; whether denoting the surface or colour, or a fountain. Here, it stands for the visual powers of the prophet, suspended for a while; and of which, on this occasion, the Almighty had permitted the return. Mark the change in the tense of the participles: אָמַר , contrasted with אָמַר one "actually hearing." אָמַר literally, "demolishes."

original possessors of this astonishing city, or whether they held it by conquest. The promise made to Abraham, before the tenth year of his residence in Palestine—that his posterity would obtain the dominion over the lands of the *Kenites*, contains sufficient proof, in the terms of the promise itself, that this people occupied the Wady Mousa as early as this promise was made; how much earlier, we cannot know, since authentic history ascends no higher. As to their claims over the tract to the south and east of this, there can be no doubt that the whole valley between Mount Seir and the great Arabian continent originally belonged to another people—the *Horim*; and that these still held it at the time of Chedorlaomer's invasion. A parenthetical reference in Deut. ii. 12, informs us that the children of Esau succeeded to their land; and from the passage in Lam. iv. 21, "O daughter of Edom, who dwellest in the land of Uz," it further appears that the possession thus obtained by the Edomites was reckoned part of the land of Uz, eldest son of Aram. Thus the primitive Horites were a race altogether distinct from the Rephaim, and must have been Aramites.

There is no historical reference to shew whether the Horites ever held the Wady Mousa and Petra also. But whatever the original title of the *Kenites* to this part of their country may have been, it is certain that their sway, in the time of Moses, extended as far down as the neck of the *Elanitic Gulf*, and that they were accordingly joint tenants with Edom over the *Horite valley* eastward of Mount Seir: that their national decadence followed so closely upon that of their neighbours, the *Emim*, as to shew that they were all involved in the same cause, and shared the same political doom; and finally, that the civil position of Edom among the children of Ken, was like that of Moab among the children of Sheth; a rapidly increasing tribe of wealthy and industrious settlers, at first dependants among a powerful nation; but who, on the decay of their political head, gradually superseded them in ascendancy; and ultimately absorbed into their own body both the residue of the original population, and its name.

The address of Balaam to Balak: "Come, and I will inform thee of what *this people* (Israel) will do unto *thy people*, in after-times," is very significant in pointing out the original stock of the nation that ruled over Ken, in his time; since, under the head of "Balak's people," he not only includes Moab and the children of Sheth, Balak's immediate subjects, but also Edom, Amalek, and Ken. It is difficult to conceive what claim the three latter could have to be thus ranked among the people of a Shethite king, unless they belonged to a community claiming

direct affinity to his race. The difficulty is not lessened in any way by our supposing Balak a genuine Moabite by birth. This might account for the mention of Edom as his people, in virtue of an original affinity of race; but Amalek—the Amalek Balaam styles “the first of nations”—was certainly a distinct people long before Moab was born; and so was Ken: and neither were ever subject to or connected with Lot’s children in any way to justify their being classed among their people.

But a very conclusive fact may be produced in evidence, that—prior to the Edomite monarchy—the tribe of Ken, albeit its rule extended from the torrent Zared to the extremity of the Madyanite coast, was itself only a branch of the Emim; that in this way, they really were a part of Balak’s people, and Edom only an allied state engrafted upon them; and that, in fact, the chiefs of Ken ruled only under subordination to the great chief of the Emim. It is stated in Josh. xiii. 21, that the five princes of Midian slain in the war, Evi, Rekam, Zur, Hur, and Rebá, were *anointed ones* of Sihon, inhabitants of the land; native princes, who had been invested by the Amorite spoiler of the Emim with his delegated authority over their respective tribes. Now a more satisfactory proof than this could not have been given, short of an express declaration to the effect, that the political jurisdiction of the Emim had extended to the land of Madyan; that the capital of this race, Heshbon, was the central seat of their government; that by establishing himself in their metropolis, Sihon the Amorite became, according to the usage of conquerors, lord over all their dependencies, and they must either serve and obey him as tributaries, or fly; that all the provinces of the Emim were become his provinces; their chiefs, his subordinates; and that Ken and all her cities were among the number.

Thus, whether the Kenites whose habitation was so strong—who had set their nest in the Rock-city, Sela of the wilderness—were usurpers in that city or its founders, the conclusion that they were a branch of the Shethite tribe appears irresistible. Therefore, they were fully entitled to be classed by the Eberite prophet among the people of the Shethite king Balak. And although the half-breed Canaanite and Eberite tribe of Esau, who had supplanted the Horite aborigines of the south-eastern valley, were not of their race, they were settlers among them; had cast their lot upon theirs; had lived under their protection when they were yet but a small tribe; had fought for them, and traded for them, and in course of time had grown rich and great enough among them to share their dominion, and could thus, without impropriety, be included also among the people of whom

Balak was the hereditary chief, seeing how important a branch of the Kenite community they formed.

The Kenite nation, as a whole, prior to the Mosaic period, comprehended a mixture of various races, which may be thus classed according to their districts:—

1st. Ken proper, the northern province, which should perhaps be regarded, ethnographically as well as geographically, as the extreme southern region of the Emim; it lay between the brook Zared (*Wady el Ahay*), the Wady Mousa, the Wady Arabah, and the Horite settlements. Its chief city was Petra.

2nd. The Horite eastern province, which was gradually absorbed into Edom; this should be regarded ethnographically as the extreme southern region of Aram; being the prolongation of "the land of Uz," "mountains of Aram," or "East-country," down the valley that lay eastward of Mount Seir, as far as Elath.

3rd. The coast-region southward of Elath, the Madyanite province, subsequently absorbed into Midian; the original names of its few cities, and the race of the aboriginal inhabitants, being absolutely unknown.

The southern division of Ken, who thus claimed the cities on the coast, included under the collective name of Midianites, in the history of Moses, not only the Kenite rulers of the land, but also the chief tribes of Abraham's descendants by Keturah, who, with their Ishmaelite brethren, had settled on the desert-confines of their territory, as the Edomites originally settled at Bozrah on the borders of Ken proper. The Abrahamite Midianites formed an independent yet valuable part of the political community, inasmuch as their industry contributed to the wealth of the nation while it also laid the foundation of their own. They carried on all the inland trade, of which Petra was the central emporium.

It is very important to establish this distinction between the two members of the Midianite people. For though they afterwards merged into one, like Sheth and Moab, Ken and Edom, yet, in the time of Moses, they were still very distinct in race, in manners, and in religion. The aboriginal Midianites of Ken are the idolaters referred to in the book of Numbers, as the corrupters of Israel. But the Scenite Midianites descended from Abraham are those referred to in the beginning of Exodus. These were still the faithful worshippers of the one true and eternal God; and Jethro, father-in-law of Moses, was their priest. Like the earlier Edomites, they rather voluntarily lived under the protection of the Kenite rulers, than were subject to them. They neither resided in their cities, nor shared in their

worship. They were nomads, dwelt in tents on the borders of the inhabited districts of Seir and Paran, and lived entirely on the produce of their flocks and by trading.

In the infancy of the Ishmaelite tribe, its settlement was in the desert of Paran. Here, therefore, in the holy mountain of Sinai, was the first patriarchal church of the desert-tribes, which in the time of Moses was still the common rendezvous of the children of Abraham, where they celebrated the annual festivals of their common ancestral faith. Moses, who had resided among them nearly forty years, was conversant with their customs, and knew their haunts and fixed stations; and these annual festivals are the sacrifices he had purposed that the Israelites should go forth in the wilderness, to join their Eberite kindred in celebrating in their due season.

That the national designation of the ancient race ruling over Mount Seir was Ken, is proved by the prophet Balaam's giving them that name:

"Strong is thine habitation!
Thou settest thy nest in the rock . . .
Nevertheless—Ken shall be devoured!"

And another circumstance shews that it was also the political designation of the tribes who belonged to the body by settlement or by amalgamation, and by which they were known among themselves, though the Israelites called the same body "Midianites." After the conquest, a family of the true Midianite stock of the nation is found registered as "the children of the Kenite, Moses's father-in-law," (the Septuagint has Jothor the Kenite.) And more than a century afterwards we find the husband of the heroine Jael designated as "Heber the Kenite," notwithstanding the naturalization of his family in Israel for several generations. But the Hebrews always call this people collectively "Edom" or "Midian," as they call the remnant of the Emim included among the Moabites, "Moab,"—without distinction. They were naturally more conversant with the engrafted Eberite race, among whom they had spent thirty-eight years of wandering life, than with the aboriginal stock; which indeed, in their time, was so nearly absorbed under the increasing numbers and ascendancy of Edom and Moab, as to justify its being sunk in the historian's general designation of the political community.

Several names referable to the Kenite dominions appear in the triumphal records of Egypt. The Aramean character of the people—the similarity of their costume, remarkably unlike that of the Rephaim—shew them to belong to one land, the Horite

province ruled by Edom. The Egyptian form for their land is SHAR=𓆎𓅓 (Shâir), which the pointing transforms into Seir.*

The land of LT'N is one of the names of most frequent occurrence on Egyptian lists; and the costume of the people, very like that of the SHAR'U, is well known. I incline to refer this name to the celebrated ancient maritime city Elath, or El-Paran. LT are the radicals of 𓆎𓅓, omitting the vowel equivalent to 𓆎 which the Egyptians do not generally express, and the N is only a final formative letter. It is preserved in the classical form of the name Æla-na. The land of the LT'N'NU is said to be one of the northern lands at the "extremity of the great sea;" which exactly describes Elath at the head of the Red Sea. There were two regions of LT'N, an "upper" and a "lower" city; and Elath was a double city, consisting of the ancient port, on the gulf; and Ezion-gaber, which was a contiguous fortress, probably defending the mountain-pass.

The first station passed by the Hebrews in going round Mount Seir from Elath and Eziongaber, is called Zalmonah, in the Mosaic itinerary (Nu. xxxiii.); the next is Punon, which, from its position in the itinerary, must have been situated near a narrow pass at the head of the Horite valley, half way between Elath and Petra; for there is another station between Punon and the torrent Zared. The name, Punon, agrees singularly well with the monumental *Poun* or *Poun't*. The fact that this city was under the civil jurisdiction of the SHET'TA race a hundred years before the time of Moses, is clear from the representation of the siege of that city in the sculptures of the Ramesseum, as an incident of the war against the SHET'TA; where the name is written on the fortress, POUN, without the feminine suffix. The costume of the people is similar to that of the SHAR, LT'N, and RM'N, but those who defend the city are shaved, like the SHET'TA.

The RM'N are named on the sculptures of Karnak in conjunction with the lower LT'N, as submitting Seti-Menephtah, and cutting down trees by way of service-tribute.† In the remarks on the Onomasticon, I stated that I saw no objection to Mr. Osburn's reading that name as Hermon. The people who lived on the flanks of Hermon were Aramites, and their costume might therefore resemble that of the old Horites. The distance between Hermon and Elath, however, does suggest a slight difficulty; as one may doubt that the people of Elath would have been sent so far to labour for the king of Egypt, rather than serve him by their personal tribute in their own country.

* Rosellini, *Mon. Reali*, pl. xlix.

† *Ibid.*, pl. xlv.

The Edomite city, Rimmon-Parez, one of the unknown stations of Israel in the first of the thirty-eight years' wandering, is just as likely to be the tributary *RMN* of Seti-Menephtah, as the remote Hermon. Being the very next station after Rithmah, which, in the itinerary of Nu. xxxvi. 18, corresponds to the Kadesh-Barnea of the history, Nu. xiii. 26, it cannot have been very distant from either Kadesh or Elath; and we have found out several names of desert-stations on the Egyptian lists to prove that the occupation of these was a special desideratum with the warlike Theban Pharaohs, to keep open their way to the inimical lands.

I have not been able to recognize any Egyptian form corresponding to the Kenite metropolis; indeed, its original name is unknown. The Hebrews call it Sela, "the Rock," which the Greeks translated Petra. Josephus pretends that its ancient local name was Arekem,^f and that Rekem, one of the five kings of Midian, was its chief, and bore the name of his city. If this statement has not helped us to finding its Egyptian equivalent, it nevertheless grants two valuable facts: firstly, that Petra was known in ancient times as having formerly been a city of the people called Midianites in Scripture; and, moreover, of the idolatrous or Kenite section of that people: secondly, that it was not unusual for princes of that land to be known by their territorial names.

Prior to the decay of the ruling Shethite race, the various provinces of Ken were governed by the heads of the respective tribes, forming a sort of commonwealth under the jurisdiction of the great chief of the Emim nation. This we learn from the case of the five Midianite princes of Sihon. Although the Amorite conqueror of the nation had invested them with his delegated authority, they were not arbitrarily chosen to be rulers of their respective districts; they were hereditary chiefs of tribes. One of them, Zur, father of the Midianite woman slain by Phinehas with the Simeonite chief Zimri, in the sanctuary of Astarte, is styled "head of a people, of a paternal house."

The Edomite section of the Kenite state was at first governed in the same way by "leaders," *ṣṣḥ*, who were also the heads of tribes. We learn from Gen. xxxvi. that two generations of Esau's immediate descendants became thus, each individual, "the head of a paternal house." Two generations of "leaders" are also given as descended from Seir, a Hivite chief connected by marriage with Esau, and who joined him in his settlement near Bozrah. He must have been very nearly Esau's contem-

^f Josephus, *Ant.*, b. iv., c. 7.

porary in age; for while Esau's third wife, Aholibamah, was his great-granddaughter, his youngest daughter Timnâ was concubine to Eliphaz, Esau's eldest son. This double intermarriage precludes a difference of more than forty years in their ages.

This circumstance is worthy of remark, because it leads to a very valuable historical coincidence in the third generation following the two progenitor-chiefs, Esau and Seir. We find a son of Eliphaz by Timnâ becoming a chief among the ancient nation of Amalek, and consequently assuming their name. We find another son of Eliphaz registered as "leader Kenaz,"—reminding us of the unknown race, "the Kenizzites," associated with the Kenites in the promise to Abraham; and though I cannot assent to the opinion some have advanced, that, in this promise, the land was so named proleptically from this Kenaz yet unborn,—it is very likely that Kenaz himself assumed that name from the tribe of which he became leader, like his brother Amalek. The eldest son of Eliphaz likewise bears a territorial name, Teman, "the south," to indicate the province over which he ruled. And to make the case still stronger, the eldest grandson of the Hivite Seir is called Hori, "the Horite," to shew that he was made ruler over the ancient inhabitants of the land, who were so called; while, as those lands were part of "the land of Uz," we find another of Seir's grandsons assuming the title of Uz.

The singular coincidence of five contemporaneous chiefs of a conquering tribe so obviously bearing five local names, appears to indicate the period of the event referred to by Moses, Deut. ii. 12: "The Horim also dwelt in Seir formerly; but the children of Esau succeeded them, when they had destroyed them from before them, and dwelt in their place; as Israel did unto the land of his possession, which the Lord gave unto them."

This is strongly in favour of the conclusion I have already ventured to anticipate, that the descendants of Esau could not have been sufficiently numerous to conquer the Horim alone; and that the Kenites, near whom they first settled at Bozrah, may have partaken both of the victory and of its fruits. Being the old-established race, and the Edomites the new-comers, the Kenites probably employed the adventurous sons of Esau as mercenaries to enlarge their dominions, and requited their services by appointing them to the honourable post of hereditary local governors over the tribes subdued, and even over some of their own. Such a circumstance was well calculated to lay the foundation of the perfect friendly alliance in which we find the

g Alluding to the recent conquest of the Transjordanic provinces.

Edomites continue to the last in their political relations with the indigenous race of Ken.

By supposing the five Edomite chiefs to average sixty years of age when they achieved this conquest, it would about coincide in time with the birth of Kohath, grandfather of Moses. The event would then synchronize very nearly with the death of Jacob in Egypt; and at all events must have occurred during Joseph's lifetime.

No Edomite leaders are mentioned after this victorious generation. Yet, from the birth of Kenaz, son of Eliphaz, the junior of the five contemporaneous chiefs, to the death of Joseph, there is an interval of about 150 years, and nearly 240 to the Exodus, and 260 to the earliest date at which we can fix the beginning of the Edomite monarchy. We may conclude, that during the 200 years that elapsed between the Edomite conquest and the regal state, the eldest sons of the "leaders," or "heads of a paternal house," succeeded their fathers in due course in the local administration of their respective tribes; all these, like the Kenite chiefs, looking to the great chief of the Shethites as their supreme head in matters of state policy. The children of Eliphaz were set over tribes in the southern district, as the territorial names of his sons indicate; while those of Reuel continued in the original settlement of his father, since we find his descendant called "Zerah of Bozrah."

But when the unity of the Shethite nation was finally broken up, by the central seat of its government falling a prey to the Amorite invader Sihon,—when its hereditary sovereign had been degraded to the inferior rank of a mere local ruler among the Moabites, and the native chiefs of the Kenite province were compelled to hold their authority under their conqueror,—the Edomites, in order to remain independent of the usurper, placed a king of their own race at the head of their tribes. The Eberite race now rallied round the new power, and the Edomites became the centre of a powerful federal state, taking the lead among their kindred in political affairs, and maintaining it by the successive election of eight sovereigns. These chiefs were chosen out of the different tribes and cities of the Eberite people; not exclusively from among the children of Esau. This measure greatly extended and consolidated their power by connecting all the tribes. The first of these kings, "Bela, the son of Beor," may have begun to reign about twenty years after the Exodus. The last, Hadad, the son of Bedad, "reigned before there was any king in Israel,"—probably a little before the election of Saul, under whose successor, David, the Edomites were brought under subjection to Israel.

Meanwhile, the destruction and dissolution of the parent Shethite race had brought the Kenite branch to so low and secondary a position before the flourishing and increasing race of Edom, as to be no longer regarded as a separate nation. Already as early as the close of Moses' career we find them sunk by name among the Midianites. We hear of them no more until Saul's attack on the Amalekites, which reveals to us a small isolated remnant of this ancient race still abiding in the land, keeping aloof from the Eberite race and its government, cleaving to their own kindred, and dwelling in the cities of Amalek. It was reserved for David, the Star descended from the patriarch Jacob, the Sceptre ruling over the mixed community of Israel,—to wound the power of those claiming descent from the patriarch Moab, and to crush for ever the last residue of the Shethite community, to whose evil influence the turbulence and disaffection of Moab and Edom were mainly due. Moab became tributary to David (2 Sa. viii. 2). The Edomite monarchy was overturned, Israelite garrisons were placed in its strong cities, and "Seir became the domain of his foe." (2 Sa. viii. 13, 14).

Thus was the prediction of Balaam accomplished, and the promise vouchsafed to Abraham fulfilled. The limits of the kingdom of Israel at last included all the lands of the Rephaim, and of their Aramean and Eberite tributaries, from Carchemish and Damascus, to Elath and the frontier of Peleseth; and the dominion of Abraham's descendant, Solomon, extended "from the river of Mizraim to the great river, the river Euphrates."

CHAPTER XII.

The Amalekites.

The Amalekite branch of Balak's people occupied the labyrinthine strongholds of the great Sinaitic desert. By this we may judge how effectually their detached communities which dotted the few green spots scattered over this inhospitable peninsula, placed the land of Egypt within the power of their allies; while conversely, they were a barrier of protection to their kindred against Egypt; since no army from that land could cross their ground without their good will.

We must not measure the power and prosperity of the ancient Amalek by the miserable condition of the wandering Arab tribes now dwelling in the desert. That land yields little to an isolated people depending on its produce for subsistence. But

the Amalekites of old were an outlying branch of a nation who owned the richest and most fertile regions of Palestine. Placed on the frontier as the sentinels of the whole nation, and in constant communication with them, the Amalekites could want for nothing which their brethren were not able to supply, in return for the protection their desert-stations afforded, both to their military and commercial enterprise.

But as the parent nation sank, the Amalekite branch declined. As their power failed by the dispersion of their kindred in Palestine, they became jealous and suspicious; and in this frame of mind wantonly attacked the Israelites as they were passing through the Amalekite settlement of Rephidim, to rejoin their Midianite brethren in faith. The Hebrews never forgave this act of aggression. For Moses, in Deut. xxv. 17—19, solemnly records the injury, and the injunction to avenge it: "Remember what Amalek did unto thee on the way, when ye came forth from Egypt; how he encountered thee on the way and smote in thy rear all the feeble behind thee, when thou wast faint and weary; and he feared not God. Therefore, it shall be when the Lord thy God hath given thee rest from all thine enemies around thee, in the land the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess as an inheritance, that thou shall blot out the remembrance of Amalek from under heaven. Forget it not!"

During the period of the Judges, when the Amalekites appear as open enemies of Israel, it is always in alliance with the children of Ammon, who act as partisans of the ancient Rephaim, or with the Philistines, partisans of their outcast Anakim kindred. The group of foes is further swelled by the children of the East, and the Moabite, Ishmaelite, and Midianite allies of the dispossessed Shittim, whose cause they espouse. It seemed therefore a political measure necessary to the peace of Israel, that such dangerous neighbours as the fierce and reckless race of Amalek should be subdued at a blow. Samuel accordingly urged Saul to attack them on the ground of the old national grudge. The distinction made between the Amalekites and the remnant of their Kenite kindred, on that occasion, is interesting to record: the latter, who had allowed the homeless Hebrew wanderers to dwell on their borders thirty-eight years unmolested, were specially exempted from the destruction prepared for their brethren. "Saul said to the Kenites, Go, depart; get you down from among the Amalekites, lest I destroy you with them; for ye shewed kindness to all the children of Israel when they came forth from Egypt. So the Kenites departed from among the Amalekites. And Saul smote the Amalekites, from Havilah until thou comest to Shur which is before Egypt. He

took Agag the king of Amalek alive, and utterly destroyed all the people with the edge of the sword." (1 Sam. xv. 6—8.)

Notwithstanding the friendly countenance of their Eberite territorial successors, the great bond of unity in action, constituting the power of the Rapha nations, had been irrecoverably broken by the dispersion of the ancient race; and their power to help each other was likewise broken. The Amalekites, bereft of the support from without formerly derived from their wealthier brethren, and cast for supplies on the scanty resources of their desert-home, had dwindled away to the obscure position of an isolated nomadic troop. The miserable remnant that escaped the destructive onset of Saul, are mentioned as having fled to Mount Seir, where they were exterminated by a band of Simeonites, in the time of Hezekiah.

After this, we should not know from history that an individual of the race remained, were it not for the curious account of the Arabians of Jenysus given by Herodotus; in whose customs, worship, and costume, we are compelled to recognize an isolated troop of this most ancient race, too few to be called a nation; whose only security, in their desert-home, was the poverty of the land, the barrenness of its impracticable passes, that other nations made a highway for their own enterprise and wealth. But even while we suspect the existence of this small degraded remnant as yet extant in the time of Cambyses, their name is lost: it is sunk in the general denomination of "Arabians,"—the "mixed people."

Thus effectually was the remembrance of Amalek blotted out from under heaven! Thus did this once powerful tribe—"the first of the nations" originally inhabiting that land—perish for ever under the hand of Israel, even as the Ammonite prophet had foretold.

F. C.

ALFORD'S GREEK TESTAMENT.

The Greek Testament: with a critically revised Text: a Digest of various readings: Marginal References to verbal and idiomatic usage: Prolegomena: and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By HENRY ALFORD, M.A., Vicar of Wymeswold, Leicestershire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Vol. I. containing the Four Gospels. London: Rivingtons.

THE Prolegomena to this volume relate mostly to the volume itself and not to the Greek New Testament in general: five

chapters (out of seven) being wholly occupied in the consideration of subjects bearing on the four gospels.

Mr. Alford points out the distinct character which the three first gospels possess when compared with the fourth; he then endeavours to shew the *independence* of the three first gospels with regard to one another: he considers that no hypothesis which would represent either of the Evangelists to have been acquainted with the gospel or gospels previously written, is in any way reconcilable with the internal contents and arrangement of these writings. He even says, "I do not see how any theory of mutual interdependence will leave to our three Evangelists their credit as *able or trustworthy writers*, or even of *honest men*." These are strong expressions: we should have supposed that such subjects might be temperately and soberly discussed, without any inferences being drawn which would so assume a conclusion. As believers in revelation we hold that the Evangelists were trustworthy and honest men; but if the maintenance of this be indissolubly connected with a theory of their mutual independence, then that theory is presented as a point of dogmatic belief, so as to exclude it from the province of discussion.

We hold that the three first Evangelists were independent writers of the history of leading events in our Lord's life: but if any one came to a contrary conclusion, we should feel that such supposed inferences were wholly out of place. Probably the theory of inspiration brought forward by Mr. Alford has some connection with his remarks on this point. We do not see that one Evangelist having been acquainted with the Gospel of another (could such be shewn to be the fact) would at all preclude the Holy Spirit, by whose inspiration all Holy Scripture was written, from giving forth the other Gospels precisely as they are. We hold as most certain that each Gospel has a definite object in itself, and that the respective phenomena of each, both as to what is mentioned and what is passed by in silence, are designed by God the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Alford touches on the theories which have been advanced as to the origin of the three first gospels. In discussing this subject we must bear in mind that these theories have sprung up from the verbal coincidences which are found in several portions of these gospels. Hence Bishop Marsh and others have supposed that documents of different kinds were used by the writers, and that of these they had some in common and some peculiar to each. No *single* step in the hypothesis can be regarded as absolutely improbable, *per se*; but when these theories are added together, the artificial complexity of the scheme shews its extreme improbability: the whole lacks *evidence*; and thus, conjecture being heaped upon conjecture,

an edifice is raised which scarcely bears the impress of ingenuity, so much more strongly is it marked by impossibility.

The theories of Bishop Marsh and others are dismissed by Mr. Alford with suitable brevity. He admits that documents may have existed anterior to the gospels which we now have; but such documents would (he thinks) by no means explain the correspondences of the three first gospels. The following is the manner in which he accounts for these resemblances:—

“I believe then that the apostles, in virtue, not merely of their having been eye and ear witnesses of the Evangelic history, but especially of *their office*, gave to the various churches their testimony in a *narrative of facts*; such narrative being modified in each case by the individual mind of the apostle himself, and his sense of what was requisite for the particular community to which he was ministering. While they were principally together, and instructing the converts at Jerusalem, such narrative would naturally be *for the most part the same*, and expressed in the same, or nearly the same words: coincident however *not from design or rule*, but because the *things themselves were the same*, and the teaching naturally fell for the most part into one form. It would be easy and interesting to follow the probable origin and growth of such a cycle of narratives of the words and deeds of our Lord in the church at Jerusalem,—for both the Jews and the Hellenists,—the latter under such teachers as Philip and Stephen, commissioned and authenticated by the apostles. In the course of such a process some portions would naturally be written down by private believers, for their own use or that of their friends. And as the church spread to Samaria, Cæsarea, and Antioch, the want would be felt in each of these places of similar cycles of oral teaching, which when supplied would thenceforward belong to and be current in those respective churches. And these portions of the Evangelic history, oral or partially documentary, would be adopted under the sanction of the apostles, who were as in all things, so especially in this, the appointed and divinely-guided overseers of the whole church. This *common substratum of apostolic teaching*,—never formally adopted by all, but subject to all the varieties of diction and arrangement, addition and omission, incident to transmission through many individual minds and into many different localities,—*I believe to have been the original source of the common facts of our three gospels.*” Proleg. ch. I. § iii. 6.

Such is Mr. Alford's *general idea*; of which he then explains the particular modifications which he considers it needful to introduce as to its application. Some of his remarks as to the sources of information possessed by the Evangelists, may be considered in connexion with his theories on the subject of inspiration.

The four following sections of Mr. Alford's Prolegomena are on subjects of deep importance, and in them he expresses opinions which demand no small a measure of attention on the part of the student. They are on “The discrepancies, appa-

rent and real, of the three gospels,"—"The fragmentary nature of the three gospels,"—"The inspiration of the three gospels,"—and "Impracticability of constructing a formal harmony of the three gospels." We shall take these subjects in a considerable measure together, and not in the precise order in which they are treated by Mr. Alford.

"The Fragmentary nature of the three gospels" is a point insisted on by Mr. Alford, in doing which he places certain facts in a different light from that in which we should be inclined to regard them. In a certain sense the term "fragmentary" may undoubtedly be applied to all our gospels; but not however, as it appears to us, in the manner in which Mr. Alford in his notes not unfrequently applies the notion. We quite agree with him that the Evangelists did not design to produce a complete history of our Lord; but we do believe that the Spirit of God had a distinct purpose in the mode, form, and contents of each gospel; and that the omissions in one of what is found in another, cannot be accounted for on any theory that the information which had been communicated was merely fragmentary, but that it must altogether be attributed to the object which the Spirit had in view. In fact, we can do no other than connect all such considerations with the reality of the inspiration of the gospel narratives.

This subject is the next which Mr. Alford considers:—he premises certain conclusions with which we cannot fully agree, for instance—"that the three gospels are not formal, complete accounts of the whole incidents of the sacred history, but each of them fragmentary, containing such portions as fell within the notice of the Evangelist." (I. § vi. 1).

These latter words contain we think a misapprehension which affects to a considerable degree all Mr. Alford's theory of Inspiration. We do *not* believe that the "notice of the Evangelist" was by any means the limit of his narration, nor yet do we think that each Evangelist (as Mr. Alford sometimes intimates) was unacquainted with the particulars which he passes by in silence. In some of his notes (for instance on Luke xi. 4) Mr. Alford rightly states that the *reporter* on whose authority the Evangelists wrote was "no other than the *Holy Spirit himself* (the italics are his) whose special guidance was promised in bringing to mind the things said by Jesus.—(John xiv. 26)."

Mr. Alford then asks:—

"In what sense are these gospels to be regarded as inspired by the Holy Spirit of God? That they are so, in some sense, has been the concurrent belief of the Christian body in all ages. In the *second*, as in the *nineteenth* century, the ultimate appeal, in matters of fact and doctrine, has

been to these venerable writings. It may be well then first to inquire on what grounds their authority has been rated so high by Christians."

We should have been glad if Mr. Alford had given us at first a plain definition of what he considers inspiration to mean: is there more than one sense in which a writing can be inspired by the Holy Ghost? The idea of inspiration is, that the authors of Scripture so wrote under the guidance and direction of the Holy Ghost, that their works did not spring from their own will and judgment, but from the mind and authority of Him by whom they were inspired. It is thus that we find our Lord and His apostles using the Old Testament Scriptures; and thus it is that we find that Christians from the earliest ages have used the writings of the apostles and Evangelists. Inspiration, merely, "*in some sense*," is a thought to which we attach no definite meaning: a book is either inspired or else it is a mere human composition,—useful it may be, but not authoritative.

The early Church considered the idea of inspiration as being so complete, that an argument might be based on the occurrence of the name "Jesus Christ" or of "Christ" alone, as being so put designedly by the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Alford rests the claim of the gospels to inspiration upon their *apostolicity*. The early Church at once received our four gospels, and this he considers that they must have done upon *apostolic authority*. This opinion is, we believe, necessarily true from the simple facts of the case.

He then shews that the apostles after they were endued with the power of the Holy Ghost retained their personal characteristics, and that they were not at once put in possession of the whole of the Divine counsels. He then says:—

"These considerations serve to shew us in what respects the working of the Holy Spirit on the apostles was analogous to His influences on every believer in Christ; viz., in the retention of individual character and thought and feeling,—and in the gradual development of the ways and purposes of God to their minds."

No doubt that *in this* there was a certain analogy; but what connexion is there in the manner between which the apostles and all believers in common have the Holy Spirit of God, with the special inspiration of that same Spirit which made them writers of Scripture? However spiritually-minded a Christian may be, there is no *such* communication of truth to him as to qualify him to write Holy Scripture, or to write anything at all which is inspired in any sense. Mr. Alford fully sees this; for he implies as much in his very next sentence; but still we think that the analogy is so introduced that it may easily lead to

wrong thoughts; regarding it, as we do, to be wholly inapplicable to *anything* connected with the writing of Scripture.

Mr. Alford next mentions the "*peculiar and unexampled situation and office*" of the apostles. The promise of the Holy Ghost to recall the words of Christ was theirs in an especial manner. He then says:—

"Can we suppose that the light poured by the Holy Spirit upon the *sayings* of the Lord would be confined to them, and not extend itself over the other parts of the narrative of His life on earth? Can we believe that those miracles which though not uttered in words, were yet *acted parables*, would not be, under the same gracious assistance, brought back to the minds of the apostles, so that they should be placed on record for the teaching of the church?"

"And going yet further to those parts of the gospels which were wholly out of the cycle of the apostles' own testimony, can we imagine that the Divine discrimination which enabled them to detect the 'lie to the Holy Ghost,' should have forsaken them in judging of the records of the Lord's birth and infancy,—so that they should have taught or sanctioned an apocryphal, fabulous, or mythical account of such matters? . . . Can we suppose that Luke's account, which he includes among the things delivered by those who were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word from the first, is other than the true one, and stamped with the authority of the witnessing and discriminating Spirit dwelling in the apostles?"

These statements are such as *necessarily* accord with the *facts* of the case: a *reductio ad absurdum* would immediately destroy any counter-theory.

The next point which Mr. Alford wishes to establish is that the inspiration of the gospels was restricted very considerably.

"But if it be inquired how far such divine superintendence has extended in the framing of our gospels as we at present find them, the answer must be furnished by the contents of the gospels themselves. That those contents are themselves various, and variously arranged, is token enough that in their selection and disposition we have human agency presented to us, under no more direct divine guidance than that general leading which in main and essential points should ensure entire accordance. Such leading admits of much variety in points of minor consequence. Two men may be equally led by the Holy Spirit, though one may believe and record that the visit to the Gadarenes took place before the calling of Matthew, while the other places it after that event; though one in narrating it speaks of two demoniacs, the other only of one."

To prevent all possible misconception we have cited the whole of this paragraph; it contains opinions which appear to us to be irreconcilable with *inspiration* as a fact. The varied order of narration is no *proof* that the selection and disposition sprang simply from the mind of man; if *selection*, i. e., the

events which should be written down, and *disposition*, i. e., the order in which they should stand, were only from the minds of the writers, what part is left for the Holy Ghost? To apply Mr. Alford's own previous argument, we may ask, Can we imagine that the divine discrimination should have forsaken them in judging of the *selection and disposition of events*? If the gospels are really from the Spirit of God, *He* must have had an object and a mind in all the facts recorded: whether *we* can understand that object is a wholly different question.

Two men may be equally spiritually minded, and the one may have one apprehension about certain facts, as to which another has been differently informed; but this supposed case is no illustration of the guidance of the Holy Ghost in the giving forth, through men, of authoritative scripture. One man could not be *inspired* to believe that *but* one demoniac met the Lord at Gadara, and another be equally inspired to believe that there were two. In Mr. Alford's notes on the miracle at Gadara he accounts for *two* demoniacs having been mentioned by Matthew in a singular manner. On Luke viii. 27 he speaks thus:—

"I put to any reader the question, whether it were possible for Mark or Luke to have drawn up their account from Matthew, or with Matthew before them, seeing that he mentions *two possessed* throughout? Would no notice be taken of this? Then indeed would the Evangelists be but poor witnesses to the truth if they could consciously allow such a discrepancy to go forth. I believe that the *plurality of demons* in the accurate accounts of Mark and Luke is the real key to the *duality of persons* in the evidently not so full nor precise account of Matthew."

Few will, we believe, at least of those who think that inspiration is a *reality*, be other than astonished at such a note. St. Matthew says that there were *two* demoniacs at Gadara on whom our Lord shewed mercy; Mr. Alford thinks that St. Matthew made a mistake, and that it was because the demons were many, he multiplied the *persons*, and the Spirit of God suffered this in an inspired document! We should not treat the records of profane history in so arbitrary a manner without forfeiting all claim to the character of sober critics; it is to be lamented that a *theory* (it is nothing more) should lead to such a rejection of the testimony of any one of the Evangelists. If St. Matthew blundered here, why may he not have done the same elsewhere? and why not the rest of the authors of scripture? Such theorizing opens the door to all sorts of *mythic* suppositions. Mr. Alford speaks sometimes of the Holy Ghost himself as being the reporter of the words and actions of our Lord, and so far

he is in accordance with common Christian thought; but he has no *fondness* for believing that the Holy Ghost had much connection with the record of facts. Thus he says on Luke xxii. 43:—

“If there be a question raised as to the source whence the account of the angelic appearance and the bloody sweat could be derived, I will only remark (1) that the same difficulty rests on several portions of our narrative; and (2) that the close agreement between Luke and Paul in the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper (compare verses 19, 20 with 1 Cor. xi. 23—25) *may perhaps* indicate a source beyond human; though I am far from supposing that Luke used this source considerably or continuously.”

Mr. Alford refers to the introductory sentence of St. Luke's gospel as though it reduced him to “a faithful and honest compiler.” However, these words occur on the same page as the sentence (cited above) in which he shews that “Luke's account” is “stamped with the authority of the witnessing and discriminating Spirit dwelling in the apostles.”

There are various particulars in which Mr. Alford considers that inspiration was unnecessary, because the natural faculties of the apostles sufficed, and that in those particulars they were left to themselves, and that they *therefore* made mistakes. Had it been said that they therefore made *no* mistakes, there *might* have been some force in the assertion, that in such particulars inspiration was not needed; but to state this, and then to say that in consequence they made mistakes, proves the very opposite: it would (if true) have shewn that they lamentably needed some superior guidance. Mr. Alford however says, that the occurrence of such mistakes “in the gospels does not in any way affect the inspiration or the veracity of the Evangelists.” We may ask, what does Mr. Alford mean by “inspiration?” Without his definition it is impossible to embrace such a statement. Confusion is always introduced when important theological terms are used and argued on in senses wholly new.^a

In order to shew that the Evangelists have not stated all facts accurately, Mr. Alford rests both in his Prolegomena and in his notes on the real or supposed discrepancies observable in the gospels. He considers that the different writers were very differently informed on points of chronology, sequence, etc.

^a The grounds of discussion would have been altogether changed if Mr. Alford had attributed the present arrangement of parts of the gospels, and the other points in which he thinks that inspiration failed, to copyists, and not to the Evangelists themselves. This would be a subject for discussion simply on critical grounds, on which however the new theories cannot possibly be disposed of. It is far better to acknowledge a difficulty than to seek to explain it by theories, the legitimate application of which would overturn the *absolute authority* of the Word of God.

He considers it as absolutely beyond the limits of moral possibility for various *pairs of events* to have taken place at different times during our Lord's ministry. He thus speaks in terms of considerable aversion against "those who are usually thought the *orthodox harmonists*."

Now as to supposed discrepancies in general we may refer to what Mr. Alford himself says elsewhere. In his note on Matt. ii. 11 he says:—

"Being persuaded of the historic reality of these narratives of Matthew and Luke, we shall find no difficulty in also believing, that were we acquainted with all the events as they happened, their reconciliation would be an easy matter." On Matt. xxviii. 1, "Supposing us to be acquainted with everything said and done in its order and exactness, we should doubtless be able to reconcile or account for the present forms of the narrative."

However Mr. Alford rightly objects to the multiplication of seeming discrepancies. "Similar incidents must not be too hastily assumed to be the same. If one Evangelist had given us the feeding of the five thousand and another that of the *four*, we should have been strongly tempted to pronounce the incidents the same, and to find a discrepancy in the accounts." May not then some of the discrepancies alleged by Mr. Alford be nothing more than wholly distinct narrations? See the notes on Luke xi. 37 and xxiii. 12.

Mr. Alford sternly condemns the suggestions which writers have brought forward for reconciling apparent discrepancies. The "harmonizers" are constantly mentioned as a contemptible race. We find such language as "curious examples of the ingenuity and *disingenuousness* of the harmonists;" (on Mark xvi. 5.) "Still more *absurd*, however, is the harmonistic attempt of Greswell." (Luke ix. 46.) On the genealogies in Matthew and Luke, "It is quite beside the purpose of the present commentary to reconcile the two. It has never yet been accomplished; and every endeavour to do it has violated either *ingenuousness* or *common sense*;" (on Luke iii. 23.) "It is quite impossible (with Greswell, *Diss.* iii., p. 155 *seq.*) in any common fairness of interpretation," etc. (on Matt. ix. 1.) "All attempts to reconcile this with the other gospels are futile;" (on Mark xvi. 8.) Such are the remarks which we find strewed with no sparing hand throughout Mr. Alford's notes. He made sure that there were real discrepancies; therefore he has found them in plenty, and all who explain them, and shew that they are only apparent, are either void of *ingenuousness* or of *common sense*. But does Mr. Alford always rightly apprehend how the case stands? Is there no misapprehension such as that involved

in using the term *inspiration* in a new sense, and then arguing on this *new sense*?

On Matt. xxvii. 37 we are told :—

“On the difference in the words of the inscription itself it is hardly worth while to comment, except to remark, that the advocates for the verbal and literal exactness of each gospel may here find an *undoubted* example of the absurdity of their view, which may serve to guide them in less plain and obvious cases. *A title was written containing certain words*; not four *titles*, all different but *one*,—differing probably from all of these four, but certainly from three of them.”

These assertions are boldly made; but let us look at the facts. Had the Evangelists (or any of them) said that Pilate wrote certain words *and no more*, then Mr. Alford's argument might apply. They all agree in the title of the accusation on the ground of which our Lord was crucified: “THE KING OF THE JEWS;” *besides* these words, one gives the prefix to his name and designation,—“*Jesus of Nazareth*,” one his name and an introductory word,—“*This is Jesus*,” and one simply the prefix, “*This is*.” What possible contradiction is there here to “the verbal and literal exactness of each gospel?” Whether such a view be **ABSURD** (as Mr. Alford affirms), or whether it be a fact (as believers in *real* inspiration hold), this passage affords no argument whatever for the former view; and even as to the introductory words, who knows whether, in the *threefold* inscription, all the words were precisely the same? Did Pilate insert the name, Jesus of Nazareth, when writing in a foreign language?

It is only in complete consistency that Mr. Alford denies that a formal harmony of the gospels can be framed. If the meaning be only that it is impossible for us to put all the events so fully into their *order* as to be certain on every point, we should agree with him; but he appears to go so far as to attack all attempts to present a synoptical arrangement of the gospels. Of course if no such arrangement could be exhibited without a renunciation of ingenuousness or else of common sense, all such attempts might well be condemned. Mr. Alford uses in one passage the attempts to construct a harmony as an argument that the arrangement cannot be inspired. He says: “In thus speaking I am doing no more than even the most scrupulous of our harmonizers have done. . . . But if the *arrangement itself* were *matter of divine inspiration*, then we have *no right to vary it* in the slightest degree.” Whom does Mr. Alford attack in this sentence? We know of no harmonizer who pretends to *amend* the arrangement of any of the gospels; the gospels have

severally their own concrete purpose, *as written* both in matter and in order ; many facts, however, are more fully understood in them, *as well as in other scriptures*, by a synoptic view ; and *this* is not to be set aside by a few *assertions*, especially when those *assertions* charge inaccuracy in minor points on the inspired Evangelists.

One point advanced by Mr. Alford must not be passed by. In proof of such mistakes being compatible with inspiration he says : " In the last apology of Stephen, which he spoke being full of the Holy Ghost, and with the divine influence beaming from his countenance, we have at least *two demonstrable historical mistakes*." We cannot go fully now into the inquiry whether such be the fact, or whether Christian scholars (such as Dr. Davidson, in his *Biblical Hermeneutics*) have met the objections ; but this we do say, that the cases are not parallel. Luke was inspired to write a history, and this is wholly different from the presence of the Spirit of God with Stephen. Luke was inspired to write down what the protomartyr *actually said* ; whether Stephen spoke by absolute inspiration or not is a point wholly distinct. Who would charge the inspired historian with mistake because of any erroneous statement contained in the words of another which he recorded ? He was inspired to write down the speech of Tertullus and the letter of Lysias, the latter of which contains a false statement of facts ; namely, that it was as having heard that Paul was a Roman citizen that he had rescued him.

We have now finished what we have to say as to *this part* of Mr. Alford's Prolegomena. We have had no desire to find fault, but we have felt bound to state the points on which we consider that his theories are erroneous, and his arguments based upon a new and untenable idea of inspiration. Such subjects must be coolly discussed, without however conceding one point of known and fundamental truth. We certainly wish that Mr. Alford had abstained from the strong language and unpleasing epithets of which he has made such free use. We have, we trust, in the present discussion kept within the limits of courtesy.

Mr. Alford next treats of each gospel separately. St. Matthew's was, he believes (as testified by the ancients), written originally in Hebrew. But *ours* he regards as a mere *compilation* from that authoritative document. It is needless to ask for the *evidence* on this point, for it is a matter of *opinion*, and that is all. In contradiction to it, we have merely to advert to the fact that the ancients, who say that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, use our Greek gospel as its Greek representative ; and

the notion of *compilation* was left to be excogitated by the subjective minds of the moderns.

One of Mr. Alford's paragraphs runs thus :—

"I cannot, however, subscribe to the opinion that the translation and compilation was made *under the superintendence of the apostle himself*. That our compiler should have omitted all account of the ascension, in fidelity to his design of reporting nothing which he did not know to have the authority of Matthew, would be only a proof of his trustworthiness and simple adherence to truth: but that an apostle, deliberately sending forth a professedly complete history, should have sanctioned the omission of so important an event, which he had himself witnessed, is inconceivable."

In a previous sentence we read, "That we have not, in this gospel, the apostolic record of Matthew *entire*, is evident, were it only from the omission of the ascension." He believes therefore that St. Matthew did write an account of that event, and yet the (supposed) compiler of our present gospel is said to shew his trustworthiness by his *not* mentioning that fact, because he could not report it on St. Matthew's authority. This seems like a confusion arising from the adoption of a theory. St. Matthew's Hebrew gospel *must* have had the history of the ascension; the Greek translator and compiler did not insert it, because St. Matthew had *not* recorded it. We cannot analyze these notions.

The best answer to the assertion, that it "is *inconceivable*" that an apostle should omit the ascension, is, that St. John has done the same; and this very omission is a cogent proof of the apostolic authenticity of these two gospels; any writer who chose to personate the apostles would not be likely to omit such a narration.

As to St. Mark's gospel, the relation of the writer to the apostle Peter is passed over very speedily; the important testimony of John the Presbyter is given but in part, so that we do not find any due attention paid to the attestation of that immediate disciple of our Lord, when on earth, to St. Mark's gospel, "He erred in nothing."

We must leave many subjects which Mr. Alford's remarks on the gospels might suggest, and now pass on to his "arrangement of the text."

After speaking of the slight grounds of authority on which the common Greek text rests, and of the labours of foreign critics, Mr. Alford states his own principles of revision. He adopts those which he considers most adapted *for this country*. He thus uses the testimony of the older MSS. as having a pre-

dominating value; and in this, he takes so far a decisive stand against the perpetuation of mere traditional readings. In cases of doubt, however, he retains the common readings with a mark of probable spuriousness, leaving the judgment in the case to the reader.

He thus terms the text of the gospels which he has given "a *provisional* text only;" this is accompanied by the fair avowal, that were the work to be done over again, he would carry his adherence to the ancient authorities farther.

The *primary* MSS. are indicated in the margin of each folio, so that the reader at once sees *which* of these authorities contains the part before him, and *which* are there defective. Below the Greek text are given the various readings of MSS., versions, and fathers; these are, however, *selected* by Mr. Alford, and he depends entirely on the authority of others. Of these, unhappily, Scholz was the writer relied on for the most numerous class of citations. In the latter part of the volume Tischendorf's second edition was employed. In making his selection of readings, there are not a few entire classes of some considerable importance which Mr. Alford wholly omits; they are in some cases the very kind of readings which exhibit the complexion and configuration of the MSS. in which they are found. These he divides into *twenty* different classes, the last of which is, "use of the participial or the direct construction, as ἐλαβε. . . καὶ, or λαβὼν. . . in ordinary cases."^b

Mr. Alford speaks of his "marginal references" before he proceeds to his "Apparatus Criticus;" we therefore notice in this place that the references which he gives are those which relate *not* to the subject-matter of the text, but to "*verbal and idiomatical usages.*" In collecting these, he has evidently laboured most diligently, and he states that "no reference has been inserted which has not been verified." This is a portion of labour from which unhappily too many shrink, and hence citations of chapter and verse are copied by one writer from another, and they continually receive accessions of inaccuracy owing to errors of pen or type. Mr. Alford's verified references for the gospels alone are (as we find by a rough computation) more than *twenty thousand*. We wish to draw attention to this, as it will shew that what he has *not* done with regard to the various readings has arisen, not from the desire to avoid a wearisome task, but from trusting implicitly to the accuracy of

^b If we might hazard a conjecture, we should suppose that Mr. Alford was led to the consideration of textual criticism simply in connexion with exposition, and that thus he had in his own mind at that time no motive for altering the common text except in such particulars as would affect his critical notes.

others in a department which was not so distinctively his own peculiar field of labour.

In his "Apparatus Criticus" he gives first a list of the Uncial MSS. which contain the gospels. In mentioning these MSS., he states from whence he took the collations which he inserts in his notes. These are frequently given *at second hand*; e. g., though the two best collations of the Vatican MS. have been published for half a century, and the works are easy of access, yet they are drawn merely from the digests of various readings made by others. In the case of the Codex Ephræmi, however, Mr. Alford uses Tischendorf's edition of the text. The Codex Sangallensis is only employed after Luke xviii., the part of the work passing through the press when Mr. Alford received Tischendorf's second edition; as Mr. Alford does not appear to have thought it of sufficient value to occupy his time in collating the facsimile published by Rettig.

In the list of versions, Mr. Alford very properly rejects the *comparatively* modern versions made since the sixth century, as not possessing any *critical* importance for the determination of the text. This at once sweeps away the various Arabic versions, and the readings of Slavonic codices. The readings of versions and fathers are taken from Lachmann and Scholz.

Mr. Alford concludes his Prolegomena with a list of the books which he has used in his commentary. We do not say that this is needless; no one, however, who reads his notes can fail to see that he is studiously careful to attribute all that he has borrowed to the author cited, whoever he may be. The *list* of books enables a reader at once to see the classes of authors from whom the notes have been in some measure drawn.

We often observe in the notes a healthful tone of Christian feeling, strongly opposed to the dry and meagre theories brought forward by speculatists. Thus in Matt. v. 18 we read of the Old Testament :—

"It is important to observe in these days, how the Lord here includes the Old Testament and all its unfolding of the divine purposes regarding himself, in his teaching of the citizens of the kingdom of heaven. I say this because it is always in contempt and setting aside of the Old Testament that rationalism has begun. First, its historical truth—then its theocratic dispensation and the types and prophecies connected with it are swept away; so that Christ came to fulfil nothing, and becomes only a teacher or a martyr: and thus the way is paved for a similar rejection of the New Testament; beginning with the narratives of the birth and infancy, as theocratic myths—advancing to the denial of his miracles—then attacking the truthfulness of his own sayings which are grounded on the Old Testament as a revelation from God—and so finally leaving us

nothing in the Scriptures but, as a German writer of this school has expressed it, 'a mythology not so attractive as that of Greece' (!!). That this is the course which unbelief *has run* in Germany, should be a pregnant warning to the decriers of the Old Testament among ourselves. It should be a maxim for every expositor and every student that Scripture is a *whole*, and stands or falls together."

We need hardly say how fully we approve of these sentiments: we should go farther, and say (as some have rightly expressed it) that the inspiration of the *whole* of Scripture involves the inspiration of all its parts; so that we cannot set aside historical statements or chronological arrangements without invalidating the record in which they stand. If we say that the Spirit of God allowed a false statement to be transmitted as a fact in St. Matthew's gospel,—that really *only one* demoniac met our Lord at Gadara, when St. Matthew says that there were two,—then what security have we as to the recorded discourses and miracles? We adhere to Mr. Alford's own words that *Scripture, as a whole, stands or falls together*: this, we would respectfully ask him to apply to some of his own theories; we think that it might lead him to reject them; nay, we go so far as to *hope* that this will be the case. We may also as to the Old Testament refer to Mr. Alford's note on Luke xxiv. 27.

The following is the note on Matt. iii. 13:—

"Why should the Lord, who was without sin, have come to a baptism of repentance? Because he was made sin for us: for the same reason as he suffered the curse of the law. It became him being in the likeness of sinful flesh, to go through those appointed rites and purifications which belonged to that flesh. There is no more strangeness in his having been baptized by John, than in his keeping the passovers. The one rite, as the other, belonged to sinners—and among the transgressors he was numbered. The prophetic words in Ps. xl. 12, spoken in the person of our Lord, indicate, in the midst of sinlessness, the most profound apprehension of the sins of that nature which he took upon him. I cannot suppose the baptism to have been sought by our Lord merely to honour John (Kuinoel), or as knowing that it would be the occasion of a divine recognition of his Messiahship (Paulus), and thus preordained by God (Meyer): but *bonâ fide*, as bearing the infirmities and carrying the sorrows of mankind, and thus beginning here the triple baptism of water, fire, and blood, two parts of which were now accomplished, and of the third of which he himself speaks, Luke xii. 50, and the beloved apostle, 1 John v. 8, where πνεῦμα = ὕδρ.—His baptism, as it was the Lord's *closing* act of obedience under the law, in his hitherto concealed life of legal submission, his ἀληρώσαι πᾶς. δικ., so it was this solemn inauguration and anointing for the higher official life of mediatorial satisfaction which was now opening upon him. See Rom. i. 3, 4. We must not forget that the working out of perfect righteousness in our flesh by the entire and spotless keeping of

God's law, (Deut. vi. 25,) was, in the main, accomplished during the thirty years previous to the Lord's official ministry."

In connexion with this, we may cite the note on Luke ii. 52 :—

"ἡλικία, probably not only 'stature' but 'age,' which comprehends the other: so that σοφία καὶ ἡλικία would be 'wisdom, as well as age.' During these eighteen mysterious years [from the scene when Jesus was twelve years old to his baptism] we may by the light of what is here revealed, view the holy child advancing onward to that fulness of wisdom and divine approval, which was indicated at his baptism by ἐν ᾧ εὐδόκησα. We are apt to forget, that it was *during this time* that *much of the great work of the second Adam was done*. The growing up through infancy, childhood, youth, manhood, from grace to grace, holiness to holiness, in subjection, self-denial, and love, *without one polluting touch of sin*,—this it was which, consummated by the three years of active ministry, by the passion, and by the cross, constituted '*the obedience of one man*,' by which many were made righteous. We must fully appreciate the words of this verse, in order to think rightly of Christ. He had emptied himself of his glory: his infancy and childhood were no *mere pretence*, but the divine personality was in him carried through these states of weakness and inexperience, and gathered round itself the ordinary accessions and experiences of the sons of men. All the time, the consciousness of his mission on earth was ripening; 'the things heard of the Father' (John xv. 15) were continually imparted to him: the Spirit, which was not given by measure to him, was abiding more and more upon him: till the day when he was fully ripe for his official manifestation,—that he might be offered to his own, to receive or reject him,—and then the Spirit led him up to commence his conflict with the enemy. As yet, he was in favour with man also—the world had not yet begun to hate him; but we cannot tell how soon this feeling towards him was changed, for he alleges (John vii. 7) 'me the world hateth, because I testify of it that its deeds are evil;' and we can hardly conceive such testimony in the years of gathering vigour and zeal, long withheld."

In these notes we see much of the healthy theological tone of old divines—of men who contemplated Scripture truth in breadth and comprehensiveness, and who knew that *all* the life and actions of the incarnate Son of God were replete with significance for us.

Mr. Alford well says that many "are apt to forget that it was during this time [of our Lord's secluded life] that much of the great work of the second Adam was done." Forgetfulness of this leads to a faint and feeble apprehension of the active righteousness of our Lord for us; and hence we find, even amongst professors of evangelical doctrines as to justification through faith in the blood of Christ, an overlooking of what he was in his life as man; just as though the cross by which our

souls as sinful are met, were the only thing which the Spirit sets before us as to the Son of God on earth. It is the privilege and the duty of Christians to contemplate with reverence of spirit all that the Scripture teaches as to the person of Christ—his proper Godhead—his real though sinless manhood—and as to his work, as having glorified God in keeping the Law for us, as having taken a place of special service as the one to whom the Father bore witness, and as dying as the sacrifice for our sins. In all his life here he was our surety, and it is full of blessing to our souls to contemplate him as such in all that he did and suffered.

To the notes on the parable of the good Samaritan, Luke x., Mr. Alford subjoins the following remarks :—

“The student accustomed to look at all below the surface of Scripture, will not miss the meaning which lies behind this parable, and which—while disclaiming all fanciful allegorizing of the text—I do not hesitate to say that the Lord himself had in view when he uttered it. All acts of charity and mercy done here below, are but fragments and derivatives of *that one great act of mercy* which the Saviour came on earth to perform. And as he took on him the nature of us all, being ‘not ashamed to call us brethren,’ counting us all his kindred,—so it is but natural that in holding up a mirror (for such is a parable) of the truth in this matter of duty, we should see in it not only the present and prominent group, but also himself and his act of mercy behind. And thus we shall not (in spite of the scoffs which are sure to beset such an interpretation from the superficial school of critics) give up the interpretation of the fathers and other divines, who see in this poor traveller going from the heavenly to the accursed city (Josh. vii. 26; 1 Kings xvi. 34)—*the race of man,—the Adam who fell*; in the robbers and murderers, *him who was a murderer from the beginning* (John viii. 44); in the treatment of the traveller, the deep wounds and despoilment which we have inherited from the fall; in the priest and the Levite passing by, the inefficacy of the law and sacrifice to heal and clothe us: Gal. iii. 21; . . . in the good Samaritan, *him of whom it was lately said, ‘Say we not well that thou art a Samaritan, and hast a devil?’* (John viii. 48)—*who came to bind up the broken hearted, to give them the oil of joy for mourning* (Is. lxi. 1 ff); who for our sakes became poor, that we through his poverty might become rich,—who, though now gone from us, has left with us precious gifts, and charged his ministers to feed his lambs, promising them when the chief Shepherd shall appear a crown of glory that fadeth not away (1 Pet. v. 2, 4). Further perhaps it is well not to go; or if we do, only in our own private meditations, where if we have the great clue to such interpretations—*knowledge of Christ for ourselves*, and a *sound mind* under the guidance of his Spirit—we shall not go far wrong. But minutely to allegorize, is to bring the sound spiritual interpretation into disrepute, and throw stumbling-blocks in the way of many, who might otherwise arrive at it.”

We are glad to see such a mode of opposing that meagre system of regarding the statements of Scripture. When our Lord speaks, we ought to feel a deep persuasion that there is a *depth* in all that he teaches; and thus whatever we find of moral excellence in any of whom he speaks, there is an indication of some portion of *his own* character. If we remember that Christ is the great subject of whom the Holy Ghost teaches us in the Scripture, we shall not go far astray if we apply (in illustration at least) to him, whatever we find in the Scripture which sets forth excellence, devotedness, suffering instead of others, etc., in such a kind as is not natural to the children of Adam.

In the exegetical and philological notes we have observed many things highly deserving of commendation: there is a certain deference to the opinions of others which leads him to state them fairly and fully, but without at all surrendering his own independent judgment. There is a continual endeavour to let the Scripture declare its own meaning *grammatically*; this is a point worthy of attention: not a few of the difficulties connected with exposition of New Testament passages arise from a want of due attention to the simple grammatical use and combination of words. We must, however, leave these notes, as well as other subjects connected with Mr. Alford's volume, without farther remark at present. It is not improbable that we may soon have to notice his second volume.

We believe that Mr. Alford does not profess to have his thoughts and opinions so stereotyped as to admit of no change or improvement; we therefore expect that in many points the remaining portion of the New Testament will be superior to the gospels. We are aware that he has found it needful to extend his plan so as to go no farther than 2 Cor. in his next volume. When he reprints the gospels we expect to see several excrescences and asperities lopped off, and we trust that the *tone* in which the authority of Scripture is discussed will more resemble that of some of the reverential notes than that of the theories in the Prolegomena.

We are also aware that as to the text itself, Mr. Alford now discards the idea of giving one merely "provisional;" he would give the best supported readings throughout: knowing this, we would suggest for his consideration whether he has not in various instances allowed internal considerations too much weight, in opposition to external testimonies. Internal evidence has its value, but when relied on *alone* or nearly so, it becomes a thing closely related to mere conjectural criticism.

L.M. & P.Q.

ON THE NATURE OF A MIRACLE.

FEW theological controversies have elicited more acute logic and profound thinking than that bearing on the proof of miracles. The subtlety of Hume was met by an equal subtlety on the part of his antagonists, combined however with a truer philosophy. The only marvel in looking back upon the controversy is, that a point apparently so plain should be involved by the ingenious sceptic in so perplexing a mystification. It may be safely assumed that the controversy, in this particular form, is now finally settled. It has, however, merged in a question of a far more difficult order, presented by another aspect of miracles. The old controversy referred mainly to the matter of human testimony. Its object was accomplished when it was shewn that the power of testimony could completely overbear the anterior improbability of any event arising from its infraction of a uniformity established by experience. It was taken for granted that a miracle could be certainly recognized by the observer; and the only question was, can testimony put us on an equal footing with the actual observer, or can it impart a conviction as rational as if we had ourselves seen the phenomenon. The question which now so prominently meets us on every side, is one of an entirely different nature, and one which requires deeper principles for its free solution. The problem which now perplexes so many thoughtful minds has reference to the *nature* of miracles.

In opening this subject, we shall start with the definition of Hume, which was taken as the admitted basis of the testimony aspect of the controversy, viz., that "a miracle is a violation of the laws of nature." This definition was sufficient for the restricted object in view. In this simple form it is almost useless in the question under consideration, for each of the terms employed may admit of various interpretations, according to the philosophical views held by the inquirer. The term *violation* may be explicated either by *contra naturam*, or *præter naturam*, or *supra naturam*. Again, indefiniteness attaches to the term *law*. Are we to understand by it only a uniform succession, or are we to include the causal element? Are we to use it in

* As there was an article on the *Characteristics of Miracles* in the last number of this Journal, it may be desirable to point out that the present article (by a different contributor) has no resemblance to it, the subject being contemplated from a different point of view. It is right to add, that the present article was in the hands of the editor before the other was published.—Ed. J. S. L.

such a sense that it may be applied (to take Dr. Campbell's illustration) to the regularity with which a boat crosses a ferry, or are we to restrict it to the sense in which it implies some property with causal action, as in the case of gravitation? Again, and this is by far the most important, may we use it in such a sense that a violation of a lower law may be in reality a conformity to a higher law? Lastly, the term *nature* requires a distinct definition: and this at once plunges us into those philosophical theories which endeavour to unfold the relation in which God stands to nature. The matter of definition is, however, much simplified if we proceed on the basis of a personal God. We shall thus get rid of the materialistic and pantheistic systems presented by German philosophy, which in their very nature exclude the possibility of miracles. Our present observations have reference merely to those who hold a scripture theism, but who at the same time maintain peculiar views regarding the nature of miracles. When it is therefore maintained by such, that an apparent violation of a lower is in reality only a phenomenon belonging to a higher law in nature, it is necessary so to define *law*, that we may know when we are dealing with the lower and when with the higher region of nature's laws. According to one definition of *higher law*, there would be no difference of opinion; according to another, there would be irreconcilable diversity.

It is plain, then, that the discussion of miracles, as to their nature, is involved in difficulties of no ordinary kind. This is not surprising, when we remember that the full analysis of the subject brings us face to face with those philosophical difficulties regarding God, nature, and man, which have in every age perplexed the human intellect; and which, in recent times, have been productive of so many transcendental systems of philosophy in Germany. The rationalistic school, represented by Paulus, denied the reality of miracles altogether. They entirely excluded the supernatural element. They admitted indeed the historical character of the sacred narratives, but endeavoured by ingenious interpretation to account for miracles on natural principles, that is, by the lower laws of nature fully known to us. Strauss has done a signal service to the cause of truth by shewing the absurdity and disingenuousness of such attempts. And we have in this a signal example of the manner in which God makes the wrath of man to praise him. Strauss deserves a prominent place side by side with Volney, Laplace, and other distinguished enemies of the truth, who have rendered valuable though unintentional service to the cause of truth. He has no difficulty himself in eliminating the supernatural element, for

by his theory of myths, the phenomena in question have no objective reality whatever. The new evangelical school hold the reality of miracles but they feel constrained by their philosophical systems to discard altogether the idea of a violation. This is repugnant to their ideas of God's government of the world, and they therefore take refuge in a higher law to explain the apparent infraction of the lower. The question immediately arises, does this theory of the miracle preserve intact its essential character? May it still serve the great end for which it was introduced as an element in the Christian system. This brings us to the teleological definition of a miracle. What is, then, the great end of miracles? What is that peculiar function, on account of which they are regarded of such vital importance in the Christian system? On this point, there is a fortunate unanimity among Christians, at least as to the general design. The great design of miracles is, adopting the definition of Dr. S. Clarke, to give "proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or attestation to some particular person." The function of the miracle is then to put the stamp of the divine attestation on a particular doctrine or particular person. Olshausen, indeed, strenuously contends that it gives only a personal attestation, and that it cannot be a voucher for the truth of a doctrine. With the characteristic subjectivity of the German mind, he holds that the only true touchstone of truth is in the depths of man's own nature, and that there is no need of miracles to vouch for any form of truth. His confusion of ideas on the subject of miracles is very great, and in his endeavours to assign some fitting end for them he is driven to statements, which after all imply that they vouch the truth of doctrine. One of the most marked features of the evangelical school is their extreme desire to depreciate the office of miracles. This is lamentably conspicuous even in Neander and Tholuck. The Christian consciousness is the key-note of their system struck by Schleiermacher. It plays so conspicuous a part that the external evidences are thrown completely in the shade: everything is viewed in subordination to the Christian consciousness, and miracles are looked upon as valuable chiefly as they serve to develop this internal principle. The Christian function of intuition is so extensive that there is little room left for the external evidences.

"As the intuitive consciousness of God," says Neander, "indicates to the human mind the existence of the omnipresent power and the self-revelation, so does the Christian consciousness testify that Christ lived, and that he continues by his spirit to operate upon mankind. The works of creation only reveal God to him who already has a consciousness of the divine existence; for he who has not God within can find him nowhere.

So it is only he who has a Christian consciousness that can recognize Christ in the fragments of tradition and the manifestations of history, or that can comprehend the history of Christ and his church."

The intuitive principle is made to cover so many points of controversy, that it forms a convenient refuge from the dialectic shafts of the controversialists; but it admits of a doubt, whether the defences of our faith are thus strengthened. If the assumptions involved in the intuitive principle were acquiesced in by the opposite party, the matter would be different; but when such is not the case, it is but trifling with the subject to start from a basis which must ultimately be surrendered, when the parties come to close quarters.

Assuming then that the design of miracles is to attest a doctrine or mission, it is plain that the external phenomena must present God as giving a special revelation of his will. God as it were stands behind the veil of natural phenomena in the ordinary course of nature, but the miracle rends asunder the veil, and we stand face to face with him. Nature veils, but it also serves to reveal: we have a revelation of God in his works. The revelation of nature is however general: that of miracle is special. On the platform of nature we stand as a unit amidst the mass, and listen to a monarch addressing his subjects generally: in the case of the miracle we are singled out from the throng, and obtain a personal interview. A miracle in the pantheistic system has no meaning, for there is no one behind the veil of nature to reveal himself. It is only on the supposition of a personal God that we can conceive of a miracle, for the pantheist holds that there can be no revelation above nature; God and nature being one.

Having seen that the external character of miracles must be such as to convince the observer that God is speaking specially to him, let us inquire what are the essential conditions for the accomplishment of this object. To reduce the problem to its simplest form, we shall suppose that the observer is a perfect observer; that he is subject to no delusion; that his senses report faithfully, and that he is acquainted with the known laws of nature; and the requirement of the problem is to shew how he may have a rational conviction that in an alleged violation of a law, God is making a special revelation of his will. There is here no question of testimony bearing on the consideration whether a person testifying to such a violation is to be believed. The whole matter refers to the conviction of the observer, in regard to the true nature of the phenomenon witnessed.

In inquiring into the essential character of a miracle, we cannot have a better guide than the three terms employed in

Scripture to designate its essential elements. By discussing these separately, we shall obtain a comprehensive view of the various aspects of the subject. The views which we shall have to combat are apparently gaining ground with much rapidity in this country; and though in many cases not explicitly adopted, they are evidently causing much doubt and perplexity. These views we owe to the importation of German theological literature, whose leavening influence is fast telling upon our home theology. It would be indeed strange, that the marvellous intellectual activity of the German mind should produce no valuable results; but while looking for the glittering grains of golden truth, we must be prepared to bestow no ordinary labour in sifting it from the accompanying rubbish. The subject of miracles has long engrossed the German mind, and every school has arrived at its own special results; but we have to do mainly with the views which are gaining currency in our own country, namely, those of the evangelical school. It is however extremely difficult to gather from their speculations a precise scientific statement of their views. In their war against dogma they have run into the opposite extreme of loose, vague statement, without those distinct formulas and definitions, so essential to scientific discussion. The pre-eminence given to the inductive philosophy in our country, has saved our theology from such a fate. The exact rigid canons of inductive science are imported into our theology, which instead of presenting a field for vague speculation, wears the aspect of a severe science. This contrast is strikingly illustrated in the *Notes on Miracles* by Mr. Trench. He has adopted the views in question, and has undertaken the task of expounding them in this country. He has translated the loose statements of his German authorities into a compact systematic form, and presented the subject with all the clearness and precision characteristic of the English mind; at least, where his own mind is clearly made up, there is no mistaking his meaning. Perhaps this work has done more than any other in propagating the new speculations in this country. We shall therefore in our discussion regard his book as the most distinct and authoritative exponent of the views in question.

The terms in Scripture designating the three elements of a miracle, are *τέρατα*, *σημεία*, *δυνάμεις*. And these three terms are nearly correlative with the three great questions in the discussion of miracles generally, namely, Can testimony prove a miracle? How and for what does it serve as a voucher? and lastly, What is the essential nature of a miracle, viewed as to the mode of causation. It is this last point that will chiefly

occupy our attention, but to be in a fit position to understand its various bearings, we must shortly glance at the other two elements.

The lowest element of a miracle is that designated by the term "wonder," *τέρας*. We call it the lowest, because in this aspect it does not transcend the region of natural causation. It is nothing more than a marvel, to arouse the mind to the contemplation of its real and deeper character. Our term *miracle*, in its strict etymological sense, looks only to that aspect, though usage has impressed upon it a more comprehensive meaning. But what is it that constitutes a phenomenon a wonder? What is it that fills the mind of the beholder with astonishment? The essential element is the singularity of the event. There may be accidental circumstances of an imposing character which contribute to the astonishment, but the real characteristic of a prodigy is, that it clashes with experience. It is implied that, *a priori*, there would be in the circumstances the strongest presumption against the occurrence of the event; and the astonishment arises from the actual fact clashing with this presumption. A uniform succession is implied, and the *τέρας* is the unexpected interruption of this uniformity. The events occurring in regular succession are linked together only in time, and the link broken is not one of causation. The terms of the series have no other connexion than the regularity of succession that constitutes them a series. The phenomenon in question may imply a violation of a causal sequence, but as a *τέρας* it is only an interruption of uniformity of succession in time. Now it is important to observe that in the controversy with Hume, or that bearing on the force of human testimony, it was only this special aspect of the miracle that was discussed. No doubt the essential character of the miracle was occasionally introduced, but as this was the point assailed by Hume, it was to this also that the defence of his opponents were chiefly directed.

One of the great difficulties in Hume's argument consists in the loose and ambiguous manner in which he uses the terms on which the whole controversy turns; but it is obvious from the tenor of his argument, that he holds the essence of a miracle to consist in its singularity, and that the interruption of the uniform succession might have no causal character. This is obvious from the case of a miracle which he supposes performed in such circumstances as to be susceptible of proof:—

"I own," he says, "there may possibly be miracles or violations of the usual course of nature, of such a kind as to admit of proof from human testimony; though perhaps it will be impossible to find any such

in all the records of history. Suppose all authors in all languages to agree, that from the first of January, 1600, there was a total darkness over the whole earth for eight days. Suppose that the tradition of this extraordinary event is still strong and lively among the people: that all travellers who return from foreign countries bring us accounts of the same tradition, without the least variation or contradiction: it is evident that our present philosophers, instead of doubting of that fact, ought to receive it for certain, and ought to search for the causes whence it might be derived."

In this passage Hume admits the possibility of a miracle being proved, but holds that the miracle after all might be traced to a natural cause. This proceeds upon the essential difference between *law* and *cause*: law being taken to signify uniform order. But according to Hume's philosophy no such essential difference exists, and therefore he could not explicitly fall back upon this distinction. He of course saw the necessity of drawing the distinction between an unusual phenomenon in nature and the real miracle; as in the case of the Indian prince refusing to believe in the existence of ice. The line of demarcation he made to consist in the distinction between what is not *conformable*, and what is *contrary* to experience; but Campbell clearly shews in his answer, that this distinction cannot serve his purpose and is inconsistent with his own views of miracles, as a violation of the order established by uniform experience.

In dealing therefore with Hume's argument, his opponents had only to deal with the miracle as a *τέρας*; an event wonderful on account of its infrequency. When an event is observed to occur with remarkable regularity, a presumption arises that this regularity will continue; and Hume's argument consists in the position that the experience of past uniformity may be so universal, and the consequent presumption against a violation of the order so great, that no testimony would be sufficient to give us a rational conviction of the occurrence of the event. Campbell's whole argument is directed merely against this view of Hume, and consequently the miracle is regarded merely as the violation of a regular order, not necessarily of a causal sequence. This is obvious from the illustration of the ferry-boat employed by Campbell; and as it is a convenient case for future illustration, we shall here quote it:—

"I have lived for some years near a ferry. It consists with my knowledge that the passage-boat has a thousand times crossed the river, and as many times returned safe. An unknown man, whom I have just now met, tells me in a serious manner that it is lost; and affirms, that he himself, standing on the bank, was a spectator of the scene; that he saw the pas-

sengers carried down the stream, and the boat overwhelmed. No person who is influenced in his judgment of things, not by philosophical subtleties, but by common sense—a much surer guide—will hesitate to declare, that in such a testimony I have probable evidence of the fact asserted."

The principle employed here in refuting Hume's argument is the obvious one, that testimony readily establishes an event which was very improbable before its occurrence. There was an improbability depending on the extent of the observed uniformity, that the boat should be lost the next time she attempted to make the passage; but the improbability was no more than could be met by an ordinary amount of testimony. The comparative improbability before and after an event is familiar in the every-day affairs of life. The improbability is immense, that a man in good health to-day should die at a given hour to-morrow; but we know that the most common testimony is sufficient to establish such a fact. This principle is clearly laid down by Butler:—

"There is a very strong presumption," says he, "against speculative truths, and against the most ordinary facts before the proof of them; which is yet overcome by almost any proof. There is a presumption of millions to one against the story of Cæsar, or of any other man. For suppose a number of common facts, so-and-so circumstanced, of which one had no kind of proof, should happen to come into one's thoughts; every one would, without any possible doubt, conclude them to be false."

Assuming then the miracles to be miraculous only in virtue of the rarity of occurrence, there is no difficulty in seeing how the enormous improbability arising from the mere element of unconformity, should be counterbalanced by the force of human testimony. The matter can with certain suppositions be submitted to accurate calculation. Mr. Babbage, in his *Ninth Bridgewater Treatise*, gives a calculation of this kind. He takes the case of a man rising from the dead, as the miracle in question; assuming the origin of the human race to be 6000 years ago, and thirty years to be the average length of a generation, we have down to the present day $6000 \div 30 = 200$ generations; and taking the average population as 1000,000,000, there have been born and have died since the creation 200,000,000,000 individuals. Such according to Hume are the odds against such a miracle. Enormous as these odds seem to be, they are counterbalanced by the testimony of a few witnesses if we but grant a very reasonable assumption. Suppose that there is an individual who speaks the truth, and who is not deceived himself in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred; then the weight of his testimony in meeting these odds can be estimated in

numbers. If we take six such individuals and combine their separate testimonies, it may be shewn by the calculus of probabilities that the improbability of their falsehood is five times greater than the improbability of a dead man rising from the grave. Mr. Babbage's machine gives a tangible illustration of the principle. This machine by the turning of its handle produces a regular series of numbers. He gives one particular series as illustrative of the subject, viz., that of the natural numbers. It will give the terms of the series in regular progression, up to a number expressed by more than a thousand places of figures, and then, without any new adjustment of the machine, the law will change. If one term of the series be produced every minute, then after a lapse of a million of centuries only the fifteenth place of figures would be reached. How enormous would be the odds against the violation immediately before it occurred, and yet this would be no such odds that testimony could not overcome it.

While we feel indebted to Mr. Babbage for his ingenious illustrations, we cannot acquiesce in his sweeping assertion that "Few arguments have excited greater attention and produced more attempts at refutation, than the celebrated one of David Hume respecting miracles; and it might be added that more sophistry has been advanced against it, than the author has employed in all his writings." We cannot sympathize with his depreciating remarks as to the scientific attainments of the Christian clergy. In the case of miracles they may not have thrown the prestige of exact science around their arguments, but their contributions, as far as they profess to go, are as sound and valuable as those which claim our attention under the sanction of an imposing philosophy. It is easy to throw out sweeping charges of sophistry, and a third party may be as ready to involve both the accuser and the accused in the same charge. We think Mr. Mill, in his *System of Logic*, intends that Mr. Babbage should share in the animadversion which he directs especially against Dr. Campbell:—

"Yet it has been considered by Dr. Campbell and others, as a complete answer to Hume's doctrine (that things are incredible which are *contrary* to the uniform course of experience) that we do not disbelieve, merely because the chances were against them, things in strict *conformity* to the uniform course of experience: that we do not disbelieve an alleged fact merely because the combination of causes on which it depends, occurs only once in a certain number of times. It is evident that whatever is shewn by observation, or can be proved from the laws of nature, to occur in a certain proportion (however small) of the whole number of possible cases, is not contrary to experience; though we are right in disbelieving

it, if some other supposition respecting the matter in question involves on the whole a less departure from the ordinary course of events. Yet on such grounds as this have able writers been led to the extraordinary conclusions, that nothing supported by credible testimony ought ever to be disbelieved."

We admit with Mr. Mill that there is a real distinction between what is contrary to experience, and what is unconfirmable to our experience; at least in the sense in which he uses the terms: but we deny that Hume could consistently avail himself of this distinction in arguing against the credibility of miracles. His own definitions and examples shew that he necessarily cut himself off from such a refuge. The miracle was assumed to be an event incredible, simply on account of its rarity; and consequently the arguments of Campbell and his followers were quite fair and to the point. Taking the miracle to be, in the language of Spinoza, *opus naturæ insolitum*, it was of course the aim of the theologian to shew that testimony could countervail the improbability of an event, improbable only from its unusualness. It is true that this did not touch the question of the reality of the miracle, but it bore upon that element which was singled out by Hume to shew that no testimony could prove a miracle.

If we look into the case (above cited) employed by Campbell to illustrate his position, we shall have no difficulty in seeing the precise bearings of the question. A boat crosses a ferry in safety, say on a thousand successive days. A presumption flowing solely from the regularity arises, that the same event will occur on the morrow. The longer the experience of the boat's regularity, the stronger is the presumption that the passage will be made as usual. But however long the experience may have been, although universal experience might be quoted in proof of the regularity, an interruption would not amount to a miracle. A miracle implies not merely a violation of uniformity, but of a law of causation. The illustration of the ferry-boat supplies us with two things totally distinct—a causal sequence and a casual series. Now it is only with the former that a miracle, in its highest sense, has to do. The sequence, the interruption of which would constitute a miracle, may be represented by the equation $A + B = C$, the sign of equality being regarded as the causal nexus between the antecedent and the consequent. $A + B$ represent the combination of causes concurring to produce the effect, C : these causes being the boat, crew, wind, tide; in short, all the conditions implied in the antecedent. The consequent, C , is the safe passage, necessarily following from the operation of the causes, $A + B$.

Now the true miracle consists in the violation of this sequence. If $A + B$ be once followed by C , then we necessarily infer from the universal law of causation, that the same antecedent will ever afterwards be followed by the same consequent. We shall not encumber the discussion by an enquiry into the origin of this our belief in universal causation; because the result will not be affected in the least, whether we assume it to be a primitive belief an ultimate law of our mental constitution, or formed by actual experience and consequent induction. It is universally allowed that this belief lies at the basis of all enquiries into the laws of nature. Every induction is indeed a syllogism in which the major premiss is the assumption of this universal causation, although it be not expressed. If then we find that $A + B$ is not followed in a future case by C , we infer a miraculous interruption; a miracle proper being a violation of a law of causation. If the conditions of the boat, weather, crew, etc., be identically the same as in a former occasion when a safe passage was effected, and yet the boat is lost, we must conclude that there has been a miraculous interference. If we suppose the loss to have been caused by a storm or leak, we have a quite different sequence, and the equation $A + B = C$ is not affected. A miracle can be inferred only when $A + B$ is not followed by C , although no new term has been introduced into the former. This was not however the point taken up by Dr. Campbell. He dealt only with the series $C + C + C + C$, etc., representing the uniformity with which safe passages were effected by the ferry-boat. He shewed that however far this series might be carried out, testimony could easily overcome the improbability of any alleged interruption; but although the interruption was fully established, it by no means followed that it fulfilled the idea of a miracle. Suppose that we represent the loss of the boat by D , we should have in the case of a miracle, $A + B = D$. But we could not infer a miraculous interference from the series, $C + C + C + \dots + D$, where after an indefinite amount of uniformity a break is occasioned, by the substitution of D instead of C . The miracle is the violation of the equation, not the interruption of the series. A violation of the equation would imply an interruption of the series, but the converse need not necessarily hold true; in other words, though a law of uniformity be disturbed, we are not warranted to conclude that a like disturbance has been produced in a law of causation.

Mr. Mill, while he smiles at the simplicity of theologians in confounding what is contrary and what is unconformable to experience, fails in our opinion to draw such a distinction, by

the cases which he has given, as may serve for a defence of Hume's position. He quotes cases of uniformity of coexistence, in regard to which very slight testimony would be sufficient. For example, he says :—

“ Not all the instances which have been observed from the beginning of the world, in support of the general position that all crows are black, would be deemed a sufficient presumption of the truth of the proposition, to outweigh the testimony of one unexceptionable witness who should affirm that in some region of the earth not fully explored, he had caught and examined a crow, and had found it to be grey. Why is a single instance, in some cases, sufficient for a complete induction ; while in others, myriads of concurring instances, without a single exception known or presumed, go such a very little way towards establishing a universal proposition ? Whoever can answer this question, knows more of the philosophy of logic than the wisest of the ancients, and has solved the problem of induction.”

Between the case of uniformity of coexistence which he quotes, and the uniformity which Hume supposes to be disturbed by a darkness of eight days, he would hold that there is an essential distinction. But both are breaches of mere uniformity, in which no violation of a causal sequence is involved : “ We have the warrant,” says he, “ of a rigid induction from considering it probable, in a degree undistinguishable from certainty, that the known conditions for the sun's rising will exist to-morrow.” That there is a moral certainty cannot be doubted ; but that it is a certainty that cannot be overcome by evidence after the event, does not by any means follow. The succession after all is only a uniformity of succession, not of causation : the night, though the invariable antecedent of the day, is not the cause.^b Should the face of the sun be darkened, so that night is not succeeded by day, it would not be necessary to conclude that there has been a causal violation ; at least the mere objective phenomenon would not necessarily force upon us this supposition : cosmical influences could be conceived adequate to the production of the effect. Hume argued that in such a case philosophers would naturally examine into the cause of so wonderful a phenomenon, and hypotheses could easily be formed from the analogy of variable stars and the probability of dark bodies floating in space. But we hold that such a phenomenon would not require so overwhelming an amount of proof as Hume supposes, and which no Scripture miracle can lay claim to.

^b We do not here use the term *invariable* in the sense of Brown. We would, with Mill, prefer the less ambiguous term *unconditional*, when speaking of a causal sequence.

Our object in these remarks is to shew that Hume has been met by his opponents on the precise ground which he took up, and that the contemptuous manner in which their efforts have been treated are by no means deserved. Hume avowedly dealt with only one element of the miracle, viz., that of *τέρας*. He regarded it as only a violation of a uniformity, not of a causal sequence; and on this ground we hold that he has met with a signal defeat. It has been triumphantly shewn that as far as the mere objective phenomenon is concerned, the strongest presumption arising from observed uniformity can be outweighed by the force of testimony.

We now proceed to the next essential element of a miracle, viz., that of *σημείον*. Though there is a unanimity among Christian divines as to the general function of a miracle, regarded as a sign, yet there is a very important difference in the two opposite modes in which it is conceived of. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the apologetics of Christianity, than the place assigned at different periods to miracles. In the earliest apologies they do not occupy a prominent place, as they were entangled with many false miracles, and science was not in a sufficiently advanced state to supply satisfactory criteria for the full disentanglement: the burden of the proof was consequently thrown upon the internal evidences. The deistical controversy of the last two centuries however served to elevate to the highest position the function of miracles: the whole burden of proof was now thrown upon the external evidences. Something like demonstration was aimed at; at least it has been attempted to deal with Christianity as we would with any of the inductive sciences. The subjective element was distrusted as a source of weakness; and nothing was deemed of sufficient account, unless it had that tangible objective form on which an unprejudiced jury would trust, in coming to a verdict. The adaptations of Christianity to the human heart were thus unfairly thrown into the shade, and the religious susceptibilities of our nature were looked upon with suspicion, as introducing an element of doubt, or at least a variable quantity, in the rigid formula constructed solely on the basis of the external evidences.

The movement in Germany, and which is also widely felt in this country, is a reaction from this view of miracles. The internal element is the only true centre, round which the defences of Christianity must be grouped; and the miracles are allowed no independent action, in the system of apologetics. The truth-organ in man is all-sufficient, and miracles can only set their seal upon what is already proved by an appeal to this

internal test. Instead of a miracle vouching a doctrine, it is the doctrine that vouches the miracle. The true value of a miracle depends not on its character as evidence of a doctrine, but as being itself a truth addressed to the religious consciousness. The miracle is regarded as a redemptive act—a manifestation of the character of Christ as redeemer; and the moral power which it is calculated to exert on the already believing mind, is the only function assigned to it in the Christian system. The perception of the divine in Christ is presupposed, and the miracles follow as a natural result from this genetic idea. In the words of Neander, the miracles of Christ “are intelligible only when considered as results of his self-revelation, or as St. John expresses it, as the manifestation of his glory.” Miracles are thus discarded as an independent ground of rational conviction: their whole significancy consists in their relation to the mind already impressed with the conviction of the truth of Christianity; and their whole value lies not in their evidential power as addressed to the intellect, but in their moral power as addressed to the heart. The following extract from Trench’s *Notes on the Miracles*, gives a fair view of the tone and position, in respect to miracles of the school referred to:—

“It is true that in this (theory of the design of miracles) there is an abandoning of the attempt to put the proof of Christianity into the same form as a proposition in an exact science. There is no more the claim made of giving it this kind of certainty. But this which may at first sight seem a loss, is indeed a gain; for the argument for all which as Christians we believe, is in any truth not logical or single, but moral or cumulative; and the attempt to substitute a formal proof, where the deepest necessities of the soul demand a moral, is one of the most grievous shocks which the moral sense can conceive; as it is one too of the most fruitful sources of unbelief. Few who have had books of evidences put into their hands, constructed upon this principle, but must remember the shock they suffered from them: how it took them, it may be, some time to recover the tone of their minds; and how only by falling back upon what they themselves had felt and known of the living power of Christ’s words and doctrines in their own hearts, could they deliver themselves from their injurious influences, the seeds of doubt and misgiving, which these books had now for the first time sown in their minds. They must remember how they asked themselves, in deep inner trouble of soul, ‘are these indeed the grounds, and the only grounds, upon which the deep foundations of my spiritual life repose? is this all that I have to answer? are these, and no more, the reasons of the faith that is in me?’ And then, if there arise at any moment a suspicion that some link in the chain of outward proof was wanting, or that any would not bear all the weight which was laid upon it—and men will be continually tempted to try the strength of that on which they have trusted all—there was nothing to fall back

upon, with which to scatter and put to flight such a suspicion as this. And that such arise, at least in many minds, were inevitable; for how many points, as we have seen, are there at which a suspicion may intrude! Is a miracle possible? Is a miracle probable? Were the witnesses of these miracles competent? Did they not too lightly admit a supernatural cause, when there were adequate natural ones, which they failed to note? These works may have been good for the eye-witnesses; but what are they for me? And these doubts and questions might be multiplied without number. Happy is the man, and he only is happy, who, if the out-works of his faith are at any time thus assailed, can betake himself to an impregnable inner citadel; from whence, in due time, to issue forth and re-possess even those exterior defences: who can fall back upon these inner grounds of belief, in which there can be no mistake, that testimony of the Spirit, which is above and better than all."

We cannot but sympathize with the author of these remarks, when he pictures the blessedness to the troubled mind, of a refuge in the depths of his own consciousness. To the mass of Christians this internal adaptation to their spiritual wants, must ever be the great stronghold against sceptical doubts and fears. Still it is possible to assign its proper place to this important source of evidence, without unduly depreciating the legitimate function of miracles. It is no proof that formal evidence is useless, to hold that something else is necessary to give stability to our convictions. One source of the author's misconception arises from the ambiguous use of the term *moral* in the above passage. This word has two very different meanings; and these two are confounded by the author. In the one case, it has an ethical meaning; in the other, it is contradistinguished from *absolute*. He holds that in dealing with rational beings, the evidence must be moral and cumulative. Now the most rigidly orthodox on the subject of miracles, would be willing to subscribe to this. They would hold that the evidence afforded by miracles is moral: that is, it is not absolute or irresistible. They would hold that although a man should rise from the dead, the evidence would not be such as to compel belief. But when he speaks of the deepest necessities of the soul demanding a moral proof, and of the moral sense being shocked at a formal proof, it is plain that he uses *moral* in its ethical sense, and as applied not properly to the evidence as distinct from the thing to be proved, but to the inherent elements of the thing itself. He would hold that a doctrine must be judged of on its own merits, and that it should owe nothing to any extrinsic evidence. But we hold in opposition, that we are so constituted, that we can appreciate evidence from these different sources. We have a moral sense to weigh one kind of evidence, but we have intellectual powers to

weigh another kind ; and our convictions may flow from a combination of both.

Much of the difficulty in assigning a distinct positive function to miracles in the apologetics of Christianity, arises from the difficulty of dealing with the miraculous interference of evil agents in Scripture. If the opinion be held that real violations of the laws of nature have been produced by such agents, then the simple principle that a miraculous interference implies that the seal of God is put upon the doctrines asserted by the worker of the miracles, must be abandoned ; for otherwise satanic agency might be employed in establishing erroneous doctrine. It is necessary therefore to take into account, as a necessary circumstance, the character of the doctrine to be proved ; and this must be done in such a way that our reasoning may not be circular : that is, that we shall not prove the miracle by the doctrine, and then the doctrine by the miracle. To do this, we must divide doctrines into three classes ; and in pointing out these we shall follow Dr. S. Clarke, who writes with admirable precision on the subject. He divides doctrines into good, bad, and indifferent. No miracle can prove a doctrine that our moral sense pronounces bad. Such a doctrine may be accompanied by a miracle, but the miracle is not a true one ; that is, it is not from God. When the doctrine is one which, by the natural light we possess, is obviously good, those miracles which accompany it are to be regarded as from God. It is however only the last kind of doctrine, viz., the indifferent, that presents an appropriate sphere for the action of miracles. The doctrines termed *indifferent* are those which our natural reason may pronounce possible, and it may be probable ; but the truth of which could never be independently ascertained. These are the peculiar facts and doctrines of revelation, which transcend the unaided reason of man. The marks of goodness may be discovered in such doctrines by man's reason ; but still the *truth* of the doctrines is supposed to transcend his powers. The office of the miracle is to step in and vouch the truth of that which mere human reason may pronounce possible or probable. A distinct positive function is thus assigned to the miracle, while anything like a vicious circle is avoided. The following curiously complex but comprehensive definition of Clarke (part of which we have already quoted) points out the various bearings of a miraculous interposition :—

“The true definition of a miracle, in the theological sense of the word, is this : that it is a work effected in a manner unusual or different from the common and regular method of providence, by the interposition either of God himself, or of some intelligent agent superior to man, for

the proof or evidence of some particular doctrine, or in attestation to the authority of some particular person : and if a miracle so worked, be not opposed by some plainly superior power ; nor be brought to attest a doctrine either contradictory in itself, or vicious in its consequences (a doctrine of which kind no miracle in the world can be sufficient to prove) ; then the doctrine so attested must necessarily be looked upon as divine, and the worker of the miracle entertained as having infallibly a commission from heaven."

Some would hold in order to get rid of the intricacy of proof, that the miracles ascribed to evil agents in Scripture are not real miracles. "In so far," says Olshausen, "as evil is the result of created powers, we may say that the miracles of the devil are mere illusory miracles: real miracles can be performed by God's omnipotence alone." This position can however be of no practical use, unless it can be shewn that the phenomena in question are merely illusory. If there is no objective criterion to distinguish the one kind of miracles from the other, we are not in the least relieved from the difficulty of dealing with the proof afforded by miracles. Others again would endeavour to simplify the matter, by holding that miracles may be performed by evil agents, but that even in such a case they are made subservient, although indirectly, to the establishment of the truth. This view, though apparently most consistent with the character of a righteous God, does not afford any practical facility for the discrimination of the truth vouched for. The more important points of the miracle, as a *σημείον*, we shall reserve for discussion under the next head. We would only remark here that the fundamental principle of the *σημείον*—the ligament that binds the miracle and the doctrine—is the assumed belief that God will unveil himself, not for the purpose of deception, but for the establishment of truth. This belief is derived from our knowledge of God, afforded by natural religion. A miraculous revelation then presupposes a revelation in nature ; and the miracle therefore presents one of the links, by which natural and revealed religion are bound together.

We now proceed to consider the last element of the miracle, viz., that which relates to the power by which it is wrought. The word which designates this aspect of miracles, is *δυνάμεις*. Miracles are called powers, in order to point to their source, viz., God. The great question is, what is the true idea of a phenomenon, objectively considered, which claims to be regarded as a miracle? The question refers not to its credibility, but to its nature. How is it related to God and nature ; and by what criterion can we recognize it as a miracle, supposing

the external phenomenon fully established? This forms the battle-field of the controversy, which recent speculation has stirred. This too is a point which must be thoroughly sifted, before we can deal with those competing wonders, which under the guise of a *quasi* science, threaten to throw the miracles of the Scriptures entirely into the shade.

The question of chief import to the Christian is, what must the nature of a phenomenon be to reveal God in a special manner, and to serve as a *σημεῖον*. We want an infallible token that God is rending the veil of nature, and speaking to us face to face. What must the nature of that work be, which will infallibly certify us of such a fact. Abraham Tucker, distinguished for his unmatched felicity of illustration on almost every subject, compares the miracle in the midst of natural causes, to a king convincing his subjects that there is a higher authority than the subordinate magistrates, with whom they come immediately in contact :—

“Were there a kingdom,” says he, “so well policed as that all things might be kept in order everywhere by subordinate magistrates fully instructed in their duty : yet if the people in some distant corner, seeing nothing higher than constables and justices among them, should grow refractory, as thinking these officers acted upon their own authority, would it not be more than credible that the prince should manifest himself by some signal interposition of power, to convince the mutineers of his dominion.”

Suppose then that God resolves to interpose in such a manner as to shew that we are not merely governed by second causes, how shall we recognize such an interposition, or what must the character of that demonstration be in external nature, which will infallibly declare that God is speaking to us face to face?

Spinoza's work on miracles is the armoury which supplies all the shafts, which the pantheist is accustomed to launch against the doctrine of miracles; and it has driven the defenders of Christianity to take refuge in theories of a very questionable character. The substance of his argument is, that God cannot contradict himself; but that the idea of a miracle necessarily implies such a contradiction. A law of nature being only the expression of God's will and order of its exercise, a violation of this will, by God himself, must amount to a contradiction. Here acts of will are represented as clashing with one another. This objection lies at the basis of all the difficulties connected with the possibility of miracles. It assumes a startling form; but we have only to look narrowly into it, and we shall find that the

strength of the objection lies altogether in our attaching a moral meaning to the term *contradiction*; when in reality only a physical or mechanical one is understood. It may be difficult to meet the objection on purely pantheistic ground, where the agent willing cannot be separated from the phenomenon willed; but when we conceive of a personal God possessed of moral attributes, it is apparent that the force of the argument lies in confounding an ethical with a merely formal law. God would contradict himself if he infringed the law of holiness belonging to his nature; but there is no contradiction in his altering or counteracting the laws of causation in the material world. A man does not contradict himself though his hands, actuated by one will, should pull in opposite directions, and counteract each other's influence: and there is no more contradiction in the idea that God, by an act of his will, should through a natural cause exert a certain power, and by the same act, though in a supernatural way, counteract that force. According to the pantheistic theory, the natural and the supernatural are both equally the acts of the divine will; but admitting this, there is no real contradiction, though they should counteract each other. If the use of the term *contradict* be insisted upon, then it must be held as having a different meaning. It must be used in the sense in which we would say that two bodies contradict each other, when, moving in opposite directions, they come into mechanical collision. We have no need to appeal to miracles for such contradictions; for the statical condition of the material forces around us, is just the sum of such contradictions.

Mr. Trench fully admits that Spinoza's objection is altogether fatal to the ordinary idea of a miracle. The following are his words:—

"The miracle is not thus unnatural, nor can it be; since the unnatural, or the contrary to order, is of itself the ungodly, and can in no way therefore be affirmed of a divine work, such as that with which we have to do. The very idea of the world, as more than one name which it bears testifies, is that of an order; that which comes in then to enable it to realize this idea which it has lost, will scarcely itself be a disorder."

Here we have again, in a still more palpable form, an illustration of the confusion regarding moral and physical order. We hold that there is no cogency whatever in the argument, that because the miracle is a physical disorder, it cannot be instrumental in rectifying the moral disorder of sin. The argument might be plausible, if the two things were homogeneous; but being totally disparate, there is no force whatever in it.

To evade the force of Spinoza's argument, the higher-law theory of miracles has been devised. According to this theory

the miracle is quite natural, but belongs to a higher and purer nature : it is not contrary to nature, because it is in accordance with a higher law. Augustine is regarded as the father of this theory. In the following passage he gives a general statement of the theory, and shews that he felt the force of the objection so powerfully urged afterwards by Spinoza :—

“*Contra naturam non incongruè dicimus aliquid Deum facere, quod facit contra id quod novimus in naturâ. Hanc enim etiam appellamus naturam, cognitum nobis cursum solitumque naturæ, contra quem cum Deus aliquid facit, magnalia vel mirabilia nominantur contra, illam vero summam naturæ legem a notitiâ remotam sive impiorum sive adhuc infirmorum, tam Deus nullo modo facit quam contra seipsum non facit.*”

Before examining the real significance of this theory, and deciding whether it is admissible, it will be important to glance at the various theories, in regard to the relation in which God stands to nature. Our own position will not be affected whatever theory may be adopted, if a personal God be admitted distinct from nature. Still it is plain that the particular theory embraced, has influenced very much the idea entertained of a miracle.

One of the most difficult problems that have taxed the human intellect, is, as already observed, to define the connexion between God and his works. Two classes of solutions have been given. The pantheist ignores altogether the idea of a real distinction between God and his works. He holds that God and nature are only two different aspects of the same thing ; and there are two distinct ways in which this view may be held. God may be conceived to be absorbed in nature, or nature in God. We have however immediately to do only with the second class of opinions, in which the distinction between God and nature is admitted. There is first the mechanical theory, according to which God, by the one great miracle of creation, summoned the world into being ; and having endowed its constituent elements with independent powers and properties, left it to the government of these. The world is conceived as a nicely-executed machine, which, being once set in motion, requires no further aid ; or if God be supposed still to sustain the motion, he is conceived as acting not immediately, but mediately through second causes. The next theory is directly opposed to this. It supposes God to act immediately, without the intervention of second causes ; or rather, second causes or laws of nature are defined to be the regular methods of God's acting. This immediate theory is the one adopted generally by those divines who hold the higher law theory of miracles. It is combined with the metaphysical doctrine that volition is the cause of all phenomena : that there is

no power in the world to produce effects but that directly emanating from a free agent. This theory is the one that seems to be making most progress and to exhibit most vitality at the present day. A third intermediate theory is, that God acts immediately on the world as a whole, and mediately or through second causes upon the parts. Other theories might be mentioned, but not specifically distinct. For example, the Hylozoic theory, as it is called by Cudworth, might be instanced. According to this Platonic view, the world is invested with life, called a mundane soul. This mundane soul is the link between God and the material world. To conceive God *αὐτοῦργεῖν ἅπαντα*, would be to conceive a miracle, and therefore to make God's action on the world natural. A mundane soul is conceived and is defended with great ingenuity both by Cudworth and Tucker. The former thus defines the difference between nature or the mundane soul and God: "Nature differs from the divine act or wisdom, as the masonry artificer from the architect." This is one of the many instances where the human mind has deceived itself by attempting to explain the inexplicable, by interpolating a *tertium quid*, presenting relations quite as mysterious as the original one.

Now we hold, that to admit the reality of miracles, it is not necessary to decide between the various theories regarding the connexion between God and his works. Each theory affords data sufficient for the establishment of a miracle in the ordinary sense. It is admitted by all, that the world is so constituted that we have a fixed order of causation: that the same unconditional antecedents are always followed by the same consequents. There may be different modes of conceiving of this universal law of causation, but we are only interested in the *fact* which is admitted by every theory. All we ask is, that the natural agents of which the world consists have fixed modes of action; and it is a matter of little consequence, as far as our argument is concerned, whether we call them *properties*, or *laws*, or *modes of volition*. There is a fallacy in the argument of Strauss, when he asserts that it is impossible to maintain the reality of miracles consistently with the idea that God acts immediately. "But to say that God acts immediately upon the world, but in some cases more particularly immediately, is a flat contradiction in itself. On the principle of the immanence or immediate agency of God in the world, the idea of the miraculous is impossible." He takes it for granted (as we have seen Cudworth did) that the immediate is synonymous with the miraculous. But no wise defender of miracles would make immediateness the *differentia* of a miracle. The essence of the miracle lies in the *violation* of a

law, not in the *mode* of its violation. From the manner in which some authors insist upon the immediate agency of God in the miracle, it is plain that they confound the mode of operation with the effect. The effect of the miracle is to give us a special revelation from God; to bring us as it were into his immediate presence: but it does not follow that to do this he must act immediately, without the intervention of some other agent.

We are now in a position to enquire, whether the higher-law theory satisfies the idea of a miracle. It is held that the ordinary notion of a miracle, as a violation of a law of nature, is totally derogatory to the character of God; and that although the outward phenomenon appear to be a violation, it is at the same time in accordance with some higher law. Now the question turns upon the meaning we are to attach to the word *law*. No one who entertains just views of God can deny, that even in working miracles he is guided by a law. All must admit that he acts in every possible case according to fixed principles of procedure, and that every miracle had a place assigned to it in the original plan of his government. It will be admitted by all Christians, that every miracle occurs according to a certain pre-ordination. In this sense then we can have no objection to the expression, that every miracle is in accordance with some higher law. The character of the miracle is saved, by holding that, although in accordance with a higher law in this sense, it is still a true violation of a law of nature. It is not however a truth so obvious as this that is meant when a miracle is referred to a higher law; and we now hasten to enquire what the meaning really is.

There are two senses in which a miracle is referred to a higher law. One of these is well defined, and we shall first examine it. The theory we allude to is that of Schleiermacher and his followers. The external phenomenon is a miracle only relatively to our knowledge. The higher law is held to be within the compass of nature, though still undiscovered. What is then a miracle at one period of the world is not so at another, when science has made further advances in unfolding the laws of nature. The feats of the electric telegraph, for example, would have been held miraculous a century ago, but not now, when the laws of electricity are understood. It is right however to observe, that those who hold this view, would not maintain the mere objective phenomenon constitutes a miracle. They would hold that the circumstances in which it occurs in reference to a religious doctrine or teacher form an essential element. For example, Neander says: "We must distinguish in the miracle a negative and positive element. The former consists

simply in this, that a certain event, either in the world of nature or of man, is inexplicable by any known laws or powers. Events however thus simply inexplicable, and even acknowledged to be so, are not miracles unless they bear upon religious interests." The miracle as a mere phenomenon in nature is thus only a *répås*, but its religious bearings elevate it into the region of the supernatural. Dr. Vaughan has adopted a similar view to this: and in his able work, *The Age and Christianity*, gives the following definition: "By a miracle then we do not understand even a suspension, much less a violation of natural laws, but simply such a control of natural causes as bespeaks the intervention of a cause to which they are all secondary and obedient." The question immediately occurs, does this theory fulfil the great end of a miracle? Does it serve the purpose of a *σημείον* by giving unequivocal testimony to a special interposition of God? Does it make bare the arm of the Omnipotent? Now we have no hesitation in saying, that a natural event may be so employed as to constitute a *σημείον*. An event occurring in the ordinary course of nature may be so *timed*, that the finger of God may be clearly manifested. This indeed constitutes the essential character of prophecy. The fulfilling event is so timed, that it amounts to a miracle though traceable to natural causes. Some of the Christian miracles can be regarded as miracles only in this light. For example, in the case of the piece of money found in the fish's mouth, it is not necessary to suppose that the money was created, or that any physical law was violated. The catching of the fish was however a miracle when viewed in connexion with the command of Jesus. It was the *timing* of it that constituted the miracle. In like manner, if the darkness that occurred at the crucifixion of Christ was presented to us without its concomitant circumstances, it would be difficult to shew that it was a miracle: but occurring at that precise juncture, it assumes another aspect, and we have no difficulty in recognizing the supernatural in it.

But although we hold that a mere natural event may be so timed as to serve the purpose of a miracle, we do not admit that this exhausts the idea of a miracle. The above view may serve when there is an assumed belief that the messenger is divine; and in the system of those who hold this view, the miracle serves no higher purpose than to develop the supernatural character of Christ to the believing mind. The matter is however different when we assign a positive and independent weight to miracles as an external evidence of Christianity. And we hold, that to view the miracle in this light, we must regard it as an actual violation of some law of nature.

But let us enquire if it is possible to hold a middle position between the view that regards the higher law as only a moral law of God's government, and that which regards it as a law within the limits of nature. Mr. Trench seems to think that it is. He would repudiate the one view as a mere platitude, and he would shrink from the other as by no means exhausting the idea of a miracle. We have endeavoured in vain to discover what his precise stand-point is. His views on this point want clearness and dogmatic precision; so that we can grope our way to what his meaning really is only by the illustrations which he incidentally gives. We think that much of his misconception arises from his confounding the physical with the moral laws of God's government. His theory of the immediate agency of God has led him to regard nature as having no fixity and no well defined limits. The laws of the physical world would shade off into those of the moral. We hold however that this is not a necessary result of the immediate theory, though the one has no doubt a tendency to lead to the other. Dr. S. Clarke, who held the immediate theory, yet had the clearest conception of the fixity and definiteness of the system of nature. Mr. Trench, on the authority of Coleridge, extols Thomas Aquinas' profundity in miracles; but we think the analogy which he furnishes, of laws ranged in ascending scale, is calculated to mislead. He compares the lower and higher laws of God's government to those we find in human society. We have, for example, the laws of the family, then those of the municipality, and lastly those of the empire: the higher being comprehensive of the lower. In the physical world we have the same order of *subsumption*—to borrow a term from the inductive philosophy. The whole design of physical science is to effect the subsumption of lower under higher laws. But then, however high we ascend, the scale must be homogeneous. By no possible scale of generality can the laws of chemistry, for example, be subsumed under those of sociology—the departments being totally disparate. It may be said, the will of God operating in the physical as well as in the moral world, is a ground of homogeneity; but then the will of God may have aspects and modes of operation totally distinct; and nothing can be conceived more distinct than the dynamical and the ethical. They are indeed perfectly co-ordinate and correlative; but this is very different from the position that they are ranged in one ascending scale, and that the laws of the one must be subsumed under those of the other. With these premises we can consistently hold that a miracle may be in perfect accordance with a moral, while it is a real violation of a natural, law.

Mr. Trench imagines that he has gained a footing between the two extreme views; but let us see if he can establish his position by actual cases. He gives us a very decisive case illustrative of his views. "The comet is a miracle as regards our solar system; that is, it does not own the laws of our system: neither do those laws explain it. Yet is there a higher and wider law of the heavens, whether fully discovered or not, in which its motions are included as surely as those of the planets which stand in immediate relation to our sun." No better case could be given to illustrate Schleiermacher's relative theory than this; shewing that it is really this theory Mr. Trench rests in, though he would fain rise above it. Schleiermacher would call the phenomena of the comet miraculous, because they are inexplicable to us, though they will probably be perfectly understood in the next generation. One cometary phenomenon after another has yielded to the investigations of the astronomer, and we should say that there is no part of the unknown in nature that presents so promising a field of discovery. If he alludes to the shortening period of Encke's comet, then the existence of a resisting medium is all but established; and if established, should we call it a miraculous power in nature? Perhaps he refers to the development, motion and direction of the tails of comets; or if his illustration was penned since 1846, he may have in his eye the phenomenon which in that year filled all the astronomers of Europe with amazement, viz., the separation of Biela's comet into two distinct bodies. Now, however anomalous these phenomena may be, no astronomer would ever dream of regarding them as miraculous. He would treat them as he would any inexplicable phenomena demanding explanation; and our increasing knowledge of polar forces affords every hope that they will soon be referred to their natural laws. There is every probability that our system is related dynamically to the stellar worlds around us. It is clearly established by the observations of Herschel, Argelander, Struve, etc., that our system is advancing towards a point in the constellation Hercules; and Maedlar has even attempted to point out the central sun round which our system revolves. Now no one in investigating this subject would ever think of treating the forces which bind our own to other systems, in a different way from that in which he deals with atomic relations of chemistry. However far researches might be carried, we should have still to deal with the same ascending scale of subsumption; we should still be within the domain of natural law.

We shall give only one other illustration of Mr. Trench's higher law theory. In the case of the stater found in the fish's

mouth, we have seen that the objective phenomenon may be regarded as natural ; its connexion with the command of Christ rendering the transaction miraculous. Mr. Trench however contends, with a liberality that is at first surprizing, that there was something miraculous in the phenomenon itself ; but his very liberality destroys altogether the character of a miracle. "He himself (Christ), by the mysterious potency of his will, which ran through all nature, drew the particular fish at that moment to the spot and ordained that it should swallow the hook." Here the character of the miracle is reversed. Instead of being miraculous from its exceptional character, its claim to be regarded as a miracle rests on its being a normal instance of the power that pervades nature generally. It would appear then that this theory of miracles rises no higher than the doctrine of a special providence.

We have all along used the term *violation* in designating the objective character of a miracle. We have however employed it only in a provisional sense : let us now proceed to define its precise meaning. Very much of the misconception on the subject arises from the erroneous ideas attached to this word. The strong repugnance to its use manifested by the school whose opinions we have been reviewing, shews that they attach to it a meaning which is by no means implied in the use of it, even in its highest significance. We have seen, in quoting Spinoza's objection, the absurdity of giving to it a moral import when applied to the physical laws of nature. Yet we have no doubt that it is some lingering idea of this kind that causes the repugnance of so many who would not discard the miracles as one of the external evidences. But the term does not and cannot imply anything derogatory to the moral government of God, whatever meaning we attach to the word as applied to a mere physical phenomenon. Others however object to it on purely physical grounds ; that it does not express the true rationale of a miracle ; that it implies a suspension or transgression of the laws of nature, when no such thing is intended by the miracle. We doubt not that the term *violation* has been sometimes used as if it meant an annihilation of the properties of natural agents ; but no wise defenders of the miracle in its highest sense occupy this ground. We use the term as equivalent to the counteraction of a natural cause or law by a supernatural agent. Let us in illustration again take the case of a causal or unconditional sequence, $A + B = C$. $A + B$ represent the cause or causes forming the antecedent, and C is the effect. Let us now suppose that there is a violation of this sequence ; let the sequence be $A + B = D$. Here we have the same antecedent followed by a different consequent.

But this is against a special law of causation, or in other words, a violation. Now there may be two suppositions made to explain this violation, and both these are based on the higher principle, that the abstract law of causation can never be violated even by a miracle. The one supposition is, that in the case of violation, $A + B = D$, there was really an additional natural cause C , which escaped our notice: or that the additional cause was supernatural—that is, not comprehended in the constitution of nature. The equation will then be, $A + B + C = D$, where C is the violating cause. Now the question is, how does C conduct itself in reference to $A + B$, in producing the phenomenon D . It is by no means necessary to suppose that C destroys or suspends $A + B$. These terms still act, or exercise a tendency to act, and C exercises only a balancing or counteracting power. When C , the interpolated cause, is a natural one, the scientific term is *counteract*. When, on the other hand, C is a supernatural one, we use the term *violate*. The difference lies not in the *mode* but in the *source* of action. Let us take for illustration the case of a stone suspended in the air. Here $A + B$ represent the stone and the earth, related to one another by gravity, and C is the fall which ensues when the antecedent is allowed to operate. Let the hand be interposed to prevent the fall. The action of gravity is not suspended—it is only counteracted. The full effect of gravity is expended in the tendency felt by the hand of the stone to fall to the ground. Now the case is precisely the same when some supernatural cause is interposed instead of the hand; when, for example, the immediate will of God, or some angelic agent, sustains the stone. Gravity still acts, but is counteracted, by the supernatural cause. We in this case call the phenomenon a violation or miracle, because there is a supernatural interposition. We can now see the bearings of the terms *supra-naturam* and *contra-naturam*. *Supra* points to the *source* of action, *contra* to its effect, as counteracting some natural law.^c

Let us take as another illustration the familiar sequence, "Fire burns." If we have once seen fire burn, we immediately conclude, from the law of uniformity of causation, that it will ever afterwards burn. At the last meeting of the British Association, M. Boutigny amused the members by an apparent violation of this

^c There can be no objection to *contra* in its strongest sense of *law=mere uniformity*, and not the causal law from which the uniformity proceeds. It may be also used in this sense, when we conceive a supernatural power conferred on a natural agent, as in the case of the human will. In this case *law* has only a negative sense. In no case however is it necessary to suppose that any causal law or property is actually suspended or destroyed.

sequence. He went to a smelting-furnace and there, to the great astonishment of the spectators, passed his hand freely through the incandescent molten stream of metal, without being in the least injured. This is then an apparent violation of the sequence, "Fire burns;" but it is really not so. All causal sequences are universal, only on the supposition that there is no counteracting cause; and new powers in nature are usually discovered by such apparent violations. We should not however in this case be entitled to conclude that it was a real violation, till we could shew that no power in nature could account for the result. The counteracting cause in this case is the spheroidal state of water. The natural moisture of the hand is converted into this peculiar state, and effectually protects it from burning. This natural interposing cause does not destroy the power in fire to burn; it only counteracts this power. And in exactly the same way it would be quite a gratuitous supposition, to hold that if the cause was supernatural, it would necessarily destroy the burning power, instead of merely counteracting it. In our future remarks we shall use the term violation as indicating the naked objective phenomenon; and it may be represented by the equation: violation = counteraction + a supernatural cause. The term miracle is more comprehensive, and may be represented by the equation: a miracle = a violation + moral circumstances. The term *moral* is here used in its most comprehensive sense, as opposed to physical.

The chief question still remains for consideration. It is the one with which the assertor of the miracle in its highest sense, has chiefly to do at the present day. The early apologists had chiefly to disentangle the genuine from the false miracle. Competing wonders, professing to be wrought by supernatural power, required to be disposed of, before the full force of the Christian miracles could be felt. The competing wonders of the present day profess to be perfectly natural, and yet to rival the miracles on which the Christian builds his faith. We have a thaumaturgy at the present day, that aims at works even greater than those of Scripture; and a call is therefore made upon us, to disentangle the divine from the merely natural.

The great question that must be answered is, can we certainly recognize the miraculous in the mere objective phenomena? The question is not, can human testimony establish the fact of the phenomena; but can human wisdom certainly pronounce the phenomena to be violations of the laws of nature? The eye-witness of the event in question, is supposed to be a perfect observer, free from all tendency to error. Can such a man certainly ascertain whether the event implies a real vio-

lation of the laws of nature? Are we entitled to say, that a given phenomenon can be explained neither by the known, nor by the unknown laws of nature? Can we, in short, prove a miracle in the sense in which it is defined by Thomas Aquinas: "Miraculum, quod fit præter ordinem totius naturæ creatæ." This question has been variously answered. The pantheist holds miracles to be impossible. Kant finds convenient refuge, as in all such questions in his antinomies, and holds, that the possibility of miracles cannot be denied, but at the same time that the reality of miracles cannot be proved. Those who hold the higher-law theory, do not require to prove the reality in an objective sense; neither is it necessary for the apologetic use which they make of the miracle. Again, in the case of many who hold the miracle in its highest sense, it does not very clearly appear whether they would maintain that a violation could be established, *per se*; or whether they would hold the concomitant moral circumstances as essential to the proof. The difficulty of dealing with the case of violations effected by evil agency, has inclined some to insist on these circumstances as absolutely necessary.

It appears to us, that to assign a due apologetic worth to miracles, it is necessary that we should be able to establish a violation in nature, solely on the ground of its objective character. We do not mean to say that we are not to admit any transaction as miraculous, without we are able to shew in the naked phenomena un mistakeable proofs of a violation; but we hold that the miraculous evidence of Scripture will be greatly strengthened, if we can prove a violation irrespective of the concomitant moral circumstances. At first view, apparently insurmountable difficulties present themselves. How can we apply an objective criterion which will be valid, not only for the known, but the unknown laws of nature? We are constantly surprised by marvels in science, which at a former period would have been regarded as miraculous. When an apparent violation then presents itself in nature, how are we to decide whether we are to assign a natural or supernatural cause. As new powers in nature usually appear as apparent violations or limitations of known laws, how are we to know whether at some future period science may not reveal the natural cause of that which we are disposed to ascribe to the supernatural? Can any criterion be applied, so that the difference may be detected between the mere counteraction and the real violation. Partial criteria have been devised applicable to physical phenomena; but it is curious to observe how advancing science has proved their futility. Dr. S. Clarke gives such a partial criterion. He says: "If we

should see a stone suspended in the air without any visible support, it would be a miracle." When he wrote this, he thought there could not be a clearer case; but science has actually performed this feat. There is a well known electro-magnetic experiment (Mahomet's coffin), by which a piece of iron is suspended in equilibrio without any visible support. Professor Thomson, the editor of the *Cambridge and Dublin Mathematical Journal*, has shewn in the May number for 1847, that there is a similar point of equilibrium for dia-magnetic bodies, such as a stone; and though a magnet may never be obtained powerful enough to shew this phenomenon, still it has been proved with mathematical accuracy, that there is a power in nature adequate to the task.^d Clarke's criterion would therefore fail at the present day. Again, Leibnitz held that it would be a miracle for a body to act where it is not; and therefore rejected Newton's theory of gravity as miraculous. He held that the sun in the centre could not act upon the distant planet, so as to bend its course into a curve; and held that Newton's theory required the miraculous supposition, that angels were stationed round the planet's course, to push it into an elliptical orbit. No one now doubts Newton's theory; and no philosophic mind will now assert that a body can act only where it is.

Is it impossible, then, to devise a criterion which will apply to the Christian miracles, and which will enable us to pronounce them violations, without any danger of having our decisions reversed by the advance of science? Let it be observed that we deal with the question in the simplest form, that we take the case of an individual mind witnessing a physical phenomenon, and the question to be answered is, can that mind ever have any rational evidence that the phenomenon is miraculous? Can a violation, *per se*, give indubitable proof to the observer that it is a real violation? To answer this question, it is necessary to glance at the real cause of the difficulty in the physical phenomena of nature. In the phenomena produced by purely physical

^d The conditions of this curious phenomenon are that the sustaining power be a hollow cylindrical bar-magnet of great power, held with its axis vertical; and that the dia-magnetic substance be a very small and very light sphere. If a be the radius of the cylinder; and if it be very great compared with its thickness, and very small compared with its length, then the distance of the point of equilibrium from the end

will be $\frac{a}{\sqrt{2}}$. Since writing the above we have learned from the author of the paper,

that he thinks the nearest approach to the actual phenomenon would be the suspension of the body in a solution of sulphate of iron. The body, which would otherwise sink, would be supported in equilibrio, at a certain point beneath the surface, by external magnets. Faraday has also suggested the ingenious idea of shewing the phenomenon by means of a soap-bubble of nitrogen surrounded by an atmosphere of oxygen.

or material agencies, the difficulty in tracing the effect to its cause arises from the circumstance that there may be a combination of causes producing any given effect. Besides, there may be a plurality of causes for the same effect. The equation $A + B = C$ holds only in one way, though $A + B$ be the invariable antecedent, it does not follow that the consequent must always have the same antecedent. When any inexplicable phenomenon occurs in nature, we hesitate to pronounce it a violation of a causal sequence, because that, along with the known antecedents, there be some cause or condition beyond our detection. If we were perfectly sure that we had all the antecedents, we could infallibly predict the consequent, and if it did not follow, or if something different followed, we should with confidence call it a violation. In the spontaneous phenomena of nature, it is by the long and tedious processes of inductive science that we can arrive at the real cause of inexplicable phenomena. By the methods of Agreement and Residue the effect of known causes is allowed for, and the new power is gradually traced to its source. The same doubt, however, does not exist when the antecedents are controlled by voluntary agency. By the method of Difference and the *Experimentum Crucis* the antecedents can be definitely ascertained. Instead of waiting for such a concurrence in nature as will produce the phenomena in such circumstances as to decide the point in question, voluntary agency brings the causes together under the precise requisite conditions, so that the antecedent is perfectly defined. It is because we can thus arrange and control the agencies of nature to suit our purpose, that experiment is so valuable, and that it has been called extended observation. It is thus that one good experiment will be sufficient to establish the most marvellous powers in nature. For example, when Faraday announced the discovery of dia-magnetism, the bare announcement of his own individual experiments was sufficient to convince the whole scientific world, though the discovery strongly clashed with previous conceptions. Voluntary agency, then, by controlling nature's antecedents, furnishes a high source of certainty in regard to nature's sequences. Now, in the miracle proper we have voluntary agency combined with nature's objective sequences, and consequently that source of doubt is removed which would exist if the violation was to be proved from the mere spontaneous phenomena of nature. A voluntary agent, for example, anoints with clay the eyes of one born blind: here the antecedents are precisely defined. The nature of such obstinate blindness is known, the properties of clay are known, and from these defined antecedents the appropriate consequent may confidently be predicted. If a totally different result follows, then a causal violation

may be asserted. But we would not rest our case merely on this; there is a source of far higher certainty in the Christian miracles than the mere circumstance that voluntary agency can define with precision the physical antecedents. It may be held that, even in the most careful experiment, some condition may escape our notice, and that, while we think we have the whole antecedent, a most important element may be overlooked. So that while we think the consequent is a violation, it may be quite in accordance with the antecedent. Now, we hold that the Christian miracles rise above this ground of uncertainty, and repose on the same basis as the deepest convictions of our nature. They appeal to the ultimate test of all human certitude—consciousness.

We have seen that additional certainty is gained, when we can, by our voluntary agency, arrange physical causes, so as precisely to define the antecedent, but the highest of all certainty is obtained when the volition itself is the causal antecedent. It is this immediate contact of the volition itself with the external world, that we would regard as the source of the highest certainty. When a mechanical effect is produced by a direct act of volition, the strongest possible conviction of causal sequence is afforded to the mind. Indeed it is plausibly argued by many, and by none more convincingly than Sir John Herschel, that our idea of cause and effect is solely due for its origin to the consciousness of causation, when a volition is followed by a mechanical effect—when, for example, the arm is raised by an act of will. Here the causal agent is the mind, acting in its mechanical capacity, and the consciousness at once attests that it is the true and only cause. The uncompounded character of the will excludes the doubt arising from a composition of causes. Let us take a case to illustrate our position. Let us take the one we have formerly imagined, that of a stone suspended in the air. If we viewed this phenomenon solely in relation to physical or material causation, we might long be bewildered before we could come to the conclusion that it was an actual violation, and our doubt would arise from our ignorance of the whole of the antecedent. But, suppose that we arrested the stone in its descent by a simple volition, there could be no more doubt that our volition was the cause, than that our arm moves at command of our wills. No causal sequence in nature could be better established to the mind willing. Now, we hold that this is the nature of the conviction afforded by the Christian miracles of their reality, and consequently the highest evidence of which the human mind is susceptible is thus given.

We have now to inquire what is the nature of the violation of which so powerful a source of evidence is afforded. Here, also,

the deepest elements of our nature are touched. The violation is against the highest of all kinds of generalization with which we are acquainted. The Christian miracles imply an infraction of an order on which the whole system of nature is based. If there is one fact that lies deeper than another in the constitution of nature, it is this, that the only point of contact between man's mind and the external world of nature, is his animal organism. According to this fact in the constitution of nature, man can produce effects in the world around him only through the material organs with which he is endowed. In the case of the stone suspended in the air by a volition, we have a violation of this fundamental law. Here all doubt is excluded as to possible hidden physical agencies. Consciousness testifies to the real cause, and excludes the possibility of all others. Consciousness vouches in the most complete manner for the law that is violated, and also, at the same time, for the fact of the violation. We have, then, an objective criterion to apply, and we find that the Christian miracles can stand the test. There are some of them susceptible of proof on other grounds, to which the test cannot be directly applied, but the greater part can be referred to physical and physiological effects produced by volition. There were, indeed, some external signs usually employed, but these were rather indicative of the volition than instrumental in producing the effect. It may be said that the objective phenomenon is not, after all, proved to be a violation, as the circumstance of a moral agent is taken into account. But then the volition of this agent is part of the objective phenomenon. We look upon the agent not *qua* moral, but only as a source of physical phenomena. In the case of the suspension of the stone, the antecedent is the will in relation to the stone, and the effect the suspension of the stone; it is to this whole sequence consciousness testifies. Our great object in this investigation has been to point out the inlet by which the objective element in the miracle may be brought home to the human consciousness. We have endeavoured to supply a criterion based on the deepest principles of our nature, by which the reality of the violation is tested. The manner in which belief in the miraculous may be extended from the conscious mind to other minds is a matter that belongs to the ordinary principles of testimony, and forms a totally distinct question.

We were led to investigate the subject of miracles chiefly with the view of being in a better position to meet a new and formidable mode of attack upon the Christian miracles; we allude to the pretensions of mesmerism. In this country, mesmerism has not, as yet, obtained the position which it has long enjoyed in Germany; it has there a literature of its own; and, in regard to its bearings on Scripture, it contests the palm with the myth

theory of Strauss. Weisse, in his Gospel history, regards Christ as a good man with an unusual charge of the magnetic fluid. He is nothing more than a galvanic battery, guided by benevolent feelings, to apply the magnetic influence to therapeutic purposes. Even in the exegetical works of more orthodox divines, mesmerism plays an important part; Olshausen, for example, is a firm believer in its wonders, and Mr. Trench seems to sympathize with his views. There would seem, indeed, to be a considerable affinity between mesmerism and the higher law theory. Our country, for some time back, has been agitated, throughout its whole extent, by the exhibition of mesmeric wonders, and we doubt not that more minds have been unhinged by these pseudo-miracles than by the subtlety of Hume. There is a superstitious reverence for science at the present day, and anything that wears the garb of science is sure to be regarded with respect. There was profound policy in the recent assumption of the name of electro-biology, instead of mesmerism, as it bore a scientific aspect, and was sure to command respect for its pretensions; the consequence is that the wildest superstitions are now proclaimed and believed under the apparent sanction of science. It is understood that Mr. Colquhoun, the patriarch of mesmerism in Scotland, is engaged on a work in which he will establish the truth of all the superstitions of past ages—sorcery, divination, witchcraft, oracles, &c.—by shewing that they can all be explained by the theory of mesmerism.* The love of the marvellous, and the secret superstition of the heart, will be thus gratified under the pretence of scientific research. It is plain, however, from the deep root it has gained in Germany, and even in this country, from the distinguished names that grace its ranks, and from the institutions founded to carry out its therapeutic influence, that it is based on some substratum of truth, as every error that gains currency in the world must be. In order, therefore, to deal with its pretensions, it will be necessary calmly to estimate this basis of sound scientific truth, at the same time that the source of its delusions is exposed. The most important aspect of mesmerism, in a theological point of view, is its bearing upon the Christian miracles; and the criterion at which we have arrived was the point from which we intended that the various mesmeric phenomena should be viewed, in order to estimate their real character. The field is very curious and inviting, as well as important, but our paper is already too protracted to enter upon it at present. V.

* This work is now published under the title of *Magic, Witchcraft, and Mesmerism*.

RECENT TRAVELS IN PALESTINE.

1. *Recollections of Scenes and Institutions in Italy and the East.* By JOSEPH BELDAM, Esq., F.R.G.S., Barrister-at-Law. 2 vols. London: Madden. 1851.
2. *Eight Years in Syria, and Palestine, and Asia Minor.* By F. A. NEALE, Esq. 2 vols. London: Colburn and Co. 1851.
3. *Thoughts on the Land of the Morning, a Record of Two Visits to Palestine.* By the Rev. H. B. W. CHURTON, M.A. London: T. Hatchard. 1851.

THE Spanish proverb, that "He who would bring home the wealth of the Indies, must carry the wealth of the Indies with him," is applied by Johnson to travel, with the application, "A man must carry knowledge with him, if he would bring home knowledge." If this be true in general, more especially is it true of travel in Palestine. There is no country respecting which so many books have been written; nor are any books produced which with so much force of suggestion as these set forth the character of the authors, the state of their feelings, the nature of their opinions, and the measure of their knowledge. One cannot take up one of these books, and even skim the pages for a few minutes, without realizing a very distinct impression concerning the author's standing as a traveller; and a little further search enables one to form an exact estimate, from the knowledge he brings home from "the glorious land"—so fruitful in knowledges, of the depth or shallowness of the knowledge he took thither with him. The result of this exercise may go far to satisfy us of the very little knowledge that is needed to produce travels in Palestine; and, at the same time, to astonish us by the audacious hardihood of the writers, who so unconsciously expose the nakedness of their heads, by laboriously advertizing in this way to all the world that they have been able to traverse "The Land of the Morning," without bringing any of its milk and honey home.

The requirements for good and effectual travel in that land seem to us so great, and the responsibility of writing a book thereon so serious, after what has been already done, that a man of large acquirements might well shrink from the task. They are, indeed, more likely to do so than others, on the principle that "Fools rush in," etc. We believe that we have, first and

last, read all the books of travel in Palestine which any age or language has produced; and we should say that since Jerome, who lived in the country, and was well versed in its language and local traditions, no man has taken so much knowledge to Palestine as Professor Robinson, of New York. He took to it the preparation of a life's study and reading in sacred things, with an accurate knowledge of all that had previously, either historically or topographically, been made known of the country. As he sowed, so he reaped. As he took out, so he brought in. And the result appears in a great and noble work, which, carp at parts of it as you may, is the only one of the kind—no, not of the kind, for there is none of the kind in our language—but the *only* work of travel in Palestine which is likely to be held of any account beyond the age that produced it.

When that work appeared, we did hope that it had extinguished the whole tribe of small prattlers about Palestine—or at least that in its presence they would not venture to appear. We were in part, but not wholly mistaken. The effect *was* salutary; the tone of travel in Palestine was materially raised, and the travellers knew that the public would no longer tolerate the inanities which they had been used to put up with in the absence of something better. There have in the intervening ten years been three or four books of travels in Palestine, which, although different from each other in structure and character, and although none of them to be named in the same day with Robinson's performance, are entitled to high praise, and claim the first place among the works since produced. Three or four more might be named with commendation, not indeed as adding much to our knowledge, but as interesting us by the manifestation of careful judgment or keen observation in the writers, and by their occasionally presenting the old familiar objects under fresh points of view. The rest—and already their number is large—are the productions of those, who, having been in the Holy Land, seek to fill the air with their twitterings about it, in happy unconsciousness of the smallness of their notes, and undismayed by the knowledge that deep and grand voices have been eloquent with its venerable names.

To which of these three classes the books before us belong, we know our art too well to say abruptly; but we purpose to give such an account of them, as will enable the reader himself to classify them.

They are all the productions of men who took knowledge with them to Palestine, and are, in consequence, enabled to bring knowledge home. The knowledge is not, however, all of the same kind, and is in fact very different. The first is evidently

the work of a well trained scholar, and Christian gentleman, possessed of much more than the average knowledge of sacred geography and antiquities, and well versed in the historical topography of the regions he traverses. He observes accurately, investigates narrowly, and thinks and judges for himself. He sometimes indulges in breaking a lance with Dr. Robinson, but in him, as in the many who seek to win a little consequence to themselves by this show of venturesome proceeding, this is not presumption. The points are well taken, and are becomingly if not convincingly maintained. His conclusions tend generally to the sustainment of the local or ecclesiastical traditions which Robinson has impugned; but there are indications that he does not belong to that school in theology which this tendency has been supposed to denote. This is a work for one's own library, if, as we think, a decent library should contain a good selection of books of travel in Palestine.

The second work in our list is more for the circulating library, being decidedly lighter reading. It wants all that the other has, but it possesses something of its own that entitles it to attention. Of the knowledge to be derived from books, Mr. Neale shews very little, and that little is not always accurate, even when the allusions are to common Bible facts, with which a school boy might be supposed conversant. However, Mr. Neale appears to know his weakness, and generally abstains from venturing upon ground where he is not assured of his footing. The real merit of the book is that the author has lived in the country, as "attached to the consular service in Syria," and has thus been enabled to realize a familiar and accurate acquaintance with many facts in the state of the people, and condition of the country, of which passing travellers, ignorant of the vernacular Arabic, could only speak uncertainly, and often erroneously, from mere impression. This is Mr. Neale's strength, and he has thus been enabled to furnish a readable and interesting book, containing many particulars of recent history of the physical condition of the country, and of the character and habits of the people, not to be found in works of greater pretensions. There are many graphic pictures of the different phases of Syrian life, such as have never before been furnished.

Mr. Churton's work belongs to a different class from both of these. It will be seen that it is called "*Thoughts on the Land of the Morning*," which sufficiently indicates the meditative no less than the descriptive character of the work. It is the result of two visits to Palestine at an interval of three years. The author's interest in that land is mainly spiritual; and it bears reference not only to the past, but to the future—for in his

view, the future of this land is greater than its past. He says that his object has been "to give such a view of the Land of the Morning as may not only describe its present darkness and desolation, but also point to brighter days to come." From this it will be gathered that Mr. Churton is of the large and increasing body who believe in our Lord's personal pre-millennial advent, and is of the less large number who connect his coming with the restored glory of not only the city, but the temple of Jerusalem. He is, therefore, of those who give the most literal interpretation to the closing chapters of Ezekiel's prophecy, as well as to many others which are more generally supposed to refer to the Messiah's spiritual kingdom. He declares that "it is his belief, from twenty years' study of the Scriptures, that light is yet to shine forth mediately from Jerusalem, and from her people, and immediately from her king, in a perhaps yet darker day of the Gentiles, 'when darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the nations.' Then will an unwonted morning break upon the earth, when 'it shall come to pass that at eventide there shall be light.' And, as the writer is led to believe, then, through the infinite mercy of God, will a brighter morning once more appear, issuing from the Jews, and 'beginning,' as of old, 'at Jerusalem.'" These views give a peculiar colour to Mr. Churton's book; but apart from this, on which there will be differences of opinion, the book is interesting from the frequent references to Scripture, and from the spiritual tone of the author's mind. Nor is it without value as a book of travels; the descriptive touches, though mostly brief, being accurate and well defined, and frequently set forth by comparative allusions which evince an observant eye and a well furnished mind.

Having now introduced our authors to the reader, we may proceed to gather up some of the notabilia of their works for his entertainment.

None of these books are exclusively occupied with Palestine, and it is only with those parts which relate to that country that we mean at present to deal.

Mr. Beldam enters the country on the south, from Egypt, towards the close of his first volume, and quits it at Beirout near the end of the second. Joining company with him in the desert, between Egypt and Palestine, Mr. Beldam entertains with some observations on the numbers of the Israelites on quitting the land of Egypt, and the passage furnishes a fair specimen of the qualities for which we recommend his production to our readers:—

"How is it possible to account for an adult male population of

600,000 persons in the short space of 210 or 215 years? For to that period the sojourn is manifestly limited by the Apostle Paul, who adopts, in this respect, the Samaritan and Septuagint versions. It appears to me, that able men, in discussing this question, have overlooked the obvious answer. They have argued, on the presumption, that this multitude represents the actual descendants of Jacob alone, and have not taken into the account the descendants of that far more numerous body—equally Hebrew, and equally in the covenant of Abraham—who formed the households of the patriarchs in Canaan, and went down with Jacob and his sons into Egypt.

“That those who came out of Haran with Abraham, or were afterwards born in his house, or in the houses of his descendants—who, furthermore, underwent the seal of circumcision, and shared in the covenant of the Passover—were always esteemed part of the congregation of Israel cannot, I think, be doubted. The Scripture passages to this effect are too numerous and explicit to be disputed.

“It is of the whole congregation, then, in this sense—Hebrew masters and Hebrew retainers; the retainers being reckoned, according to the Eastern custom, as part of the families of their masters—that the sacred writer speaks, in giving the total number of those that went out of Egypt.

“The Hebrews in Canaan were, in fact, a tribe or clan, like the Arab tribes of the present day; and the patriarchs were their chiefs or emirs. When they came out of Egypt this clan had grown into a great nation, of which the descendants of the patriarchs were the aristocracy; but the whole together formed the congregation or people.

“Any other supposition than this is involved in one of three inextricable difficulties: either this vast body of Hebrew retainers, now placed by a common slavery on the same level with their masters, and being by far the largest number, were left behind in Egypt; or, in the numbering of the congregation in the desert, Moses, unaccountably, left them out of the calculation; or they formed part of the multitude, who accompanied the Hebrews in their exile; but who, as their name imports, could not have been, as these Hebrew retainers were, of purely Hebrew race. The rejection of these alternatives leads to the conclusion that they were included in the muster of Hebrew adults. Let us now endeavour to ascertain the number of the actual descendants of Jacob; and, unless I am mistaken, the account given of the tribe of Levi will enable us to discover this also.

“From the Book of Numbers, chapter 6, it appears that within a few months, after the Exodus, the total number of the male Levites, of a month old, was 22,000; and, consequently, not more than 11,000 could have been adults at the time of the Exodus.

“Now, we have no independent reason whatever to believe the tribe of Levi either more or less prolific than the other tribes. Reckoning them all, therefore, at the same rate, the males of the other tribes must have amounted, at the same time, to about 264,000, and the adults, at the Exodus, to 132,000, to which, if we add the Levites, the sum total of the male adults would be only 143,000.

“The surplus of 457,000, therefore, was made up of the descendants

of the Hebrew households. And it will hence appear that for national purposes all classes of Hebrews were included in the general estimate, as they were included in the general covenant. While for the office of the priesthood, the lineal descendants of Abraham alone, as represented by Levites, were specially set apart and preferred.

"We thus at the same time explain the apparent disparity of increase among the tribes; and are able to account for the sum total that went out of Egypt, in a manner which accords perfectly well with the natural increase of the entire Hebrew community at the end of eight or nine descents."—*Beldam*, vol. i., pp. 296—9.

This seems to us an interesting suggestion, to which we invite the attention of our correspondents, as one very suitable for discussion in the pages of this journal. It escapes Mr. Beldam that the presence, along with the Hebrew people, "of a mixed multitude," mentioned with no great respect, and described as always prone to murmuring and discontent, is very pointedly indicated in the books of Moses; and these we have always regarded as including, though not wholly composed of, the retainers and followers whom he wishes to include among the Hebrews of the covenant. It may appear that the promises to Abraham, including that of large increase in numbers, was more restricted to his own descendants by Isaac than our author supposes. Abraham himself seems at one time to have thought that the promise might be designed for fulfilment in this very way—by the increase of his retainers through the family of his house-born servant Eliezer; and we all know how he was driven from this conclusion, as well as from his disposition to rest on Ishmael, "the son of the bondwoman," to rest all his expectations upon the progeny promised him through his son Isaac. If this promise was to be in any way fulfilled through his retainers, the motives and reasons of this studied and careful concentration of the promises upon the son of Sarah lose much of their force, and we cease to find the emphasis to which we have been accustomed in the declaration that "In Isaac shall thy seed be called."

During a halt in the desert, our friends question a sheikh in the hope of collecting some local information or tradition to illustrate the story of the Exodus. The result was not very satisfactory, except that a negative was the best answer that could be given to the principal questions:—

"'Could the Israelites have easily gone from Cairo to the Red Sea by the route to Suez?'—'They might have gone that way; there is no continued vale however in that direction; several vales are connected together.'

"'But would that have been the most convenient way?'—'From Tal el Wady, they would have had a vale all the way, and there are several wells of water in that route, though they are all brackish.'

“‘Did you ever hear of any leaf, berry, or twig that could sweeten bitter water?’—‘No, but lemon or orange juice would make it palatable.’

“Here we described the nature and appearance of the manna which fell about the camp, and enquired if any such substance was now found. He had never heard of anything of the kind, and did not seem quite to understand it, but added that ‘there is a plant [probably a mushroom] of a round form, and of the size of a cake, which is pleasant and good, and people gather and eat it.’

“‘Are you acquainted with quails in the desert?’—‘Oh yes, there are plenty of them about the time of wheat harvest [in March or April]. They come from the sea in flocks of a hundred or two together.’

“Are there any ancient ruins in the vale running from Tal el Wady to the sea?’—‘Yes there are the remains of two old cities [probably Hieropolis and Serapion or Rameses].’ He then told us he knew very well the mounds of the Jews near Belbeis; but they were all covered with sand, and people had carried away the stones. But as to the places about the Red Sea, his father could give us better information, having seen more of them than himself.”—*Beldam*, vol. i., pp. 304-5.

The following observations on the soil and culture of the Philistine plains claim our notice:—

“The occupation of the people of Yebne and the other villages of the plain, is, as it ever must have been, chiefly agricultural—though the vine is now, from religious motives, discouraged. Large flocks of sheep of the large-tailed breed, and goats, with numerous herds, brouse the meadows; and tillage, such as it is, and such in quality as it seems ever to have been, was still going on. Nothing can be more primitive than the Philistine plough, formed of a rude piece of wood pointed with iron, and attached to a short upright handle, which the labourer holds in one hand, while he urges the cattle with a pole in the other. It is usually drawn (as from Samson’s simile, we may conclude it was in his days) by a couple of small bullocks, or heifers; though I think that more than once, we saw a bullock and a donkey ‘unequally’ yoked together. And the peasant commonly carries for his personal security, in addition to his agricultural implements, a knife and a gun. The river Rubin is stated by Volney, to be the only stream in these plains which never dries in summer. My impression is, that when we were there, there was no running water; certainly there was but very little, though this was immediately after the spring rains; but the width and depth of the channel, and the length of the bridge, shewed that in some seasons, considerable floods descend.

“It is on these periodical rains, therefore, and the heavy night dews, that the agriculture of this region mainly depends. The extreme fertility of the plain is matter of astonishment to every traveller; and wherever the rapid torrent has worn its way, it reveals an extraordinary depth and richness of soil.

“So enormous are the bulbs of the squills or lilies, and so stiff and strong the growth of the thistles, with which whole tracts are covered, that the husbandman, with his feeble instrument, prudently avoids them, and ploughs only in patches, where the surface is most free.

"It must be borne in mind, however, that the thistle here is not the mean and offensive weed of our own climate; but a stately plant six feet high, striped, and handsome—the 'holy thistle;' the stem of which the Arab often plucks, and eats as he passes along.

"How often, in passing over this fine country, did we deplore the short-sighted and intolerant policy of its rulers, which suffers such great national resources to run to waste. For it is to the uncertain tenure of the land, and the cruel exactions practised on the tenants, much more than to the scantiness of the population, that this misfortune may be traced. In the hill country, the case is materially better, for there the estates are often held in fee-simple, by persons of property, and with less of oppression on the part of the government; the result of which is very apparent in the pains and expence bestowed on very inferior soils, and the abundant compensation which follows.

"Yet, notwithstanding this drawback in the plains, considerable tracts were under cultivation; and fine crops of wheat and barley were growing by the side of luxuriant and well stocked-meadows—so that even now the language of the Psalmist might often be adopted, and the husbandman could still exclaim, 'The pastures are clothed with flocks, the valleys are covered over with corn: they shout for joy, they also sing.'"—*Beldam*, vol. i., pp. 367—9.

Mr. Beldam has his first combat with Dr. Robinson at Ramleh. It is well known that the latter disputes its claim to be regarded as the Arimathea of Scripture. He says—1. That the present name "er-Ramleh" and "Ramah," or Arimathea, are not synonymous names, nor etymologically the same. 2. That certain of the early pilgrims make no mention of this locality. 3. That Ramah or Arimathea, being in the Thamnitic region, lay much more probably to the east of Lydda than to the south-west, which is the position of er-Ramleh. 4. That William of Tyre expressly rejects this identity, and adopts the expressed opinion of the Arabian writers that the city of Ramleh was founded by Mohammedan princes. Dr. Robinson, however, admits that Ramah must have been somewhere near Lydda; that the tradition from the twelfth century downward is in favour of the received opinion; and that Christian churches existed in Ramleh previously to the Crusades.

The objections of the learned professor are thus met by our author:—

"Admitting 1st, that 'Ramleh' and 'Ramah' have a different meaning, the latter designating 'an elevation,' and the former 'sand,' yet both these descriptions equally apply to the same spot; nor is there anything uncommon in a site varying its name. Admitting 2ndly, the total silence of the earliest pilgrims on the subject, yet as the real Ramah could not be far off, it rather argues an indifference to the subject, than a doubt of any particular locality; for the objection, if available at all, must shew

that no Ramah existed in that region. Admitting, 3rdly, that Ramah was in the Thamnitic region, the actual boundaries of that region are unknown; and the territorial divisions in Palestine have always been too complicated and irregular, to allow of a conjecture founded on such premises, having any great weight in such discussions.

"But, finally, Dr. Robinson mistakes in supposing that William of Tyre expressly rejects this identity, and adopts the opinion that Ramleh was *first* founded by Mahomedan princes. His own language is simply this, in reference to the place, '*hujus antiquum nomen non reperi*,' which so far from denying the previous existence of a site, merely expresses a want of conviction as to its previous name. Moreover, the conclusion of the Arabian writers, as to the first founding of a city there by Mahomedan princes, is not quoted by him as his own, which would indeed be inconsistent with what he had just said, but merely as a common opinion, '*frequens habet opinio*,' of those times.

"To sum up the arguments on the affirmative side—we have the admitted proximity to Lydda, and the tradition running back to the twelfth century, and only doubted, not denied, by William of Tyre, with this important addition, that Christian churches existed there before the Crusades; and almost certainly, therefore, before the Arab invasion; a circumstance which, in connection with the law of Omar, prohibiting the building of new churches, is nearly conclusive, in my opinion, of the question; for what other holy sites existed near to Lydda except Nob and Ramah? But to these probabilities we may farther add an inference from the narrative of Paula's journey, as given by St. Jerome. The route of that lady ran, it seems, from Antipatris to Lydda; from Lydda to Arimathea; from Arimathea to Nob; from Nob to Joppa; and from Joppa, '*repetito itinere*,' to Nicopolis. Now if Arimathea or Ramah was on the site of Ramleh, from whence she proceeded to Joppa, the force of the expression, '*repetito itinere*,' 'retracing her steps,'—nowhere else, I believe, to be found in the narrative—would be plain, since in proceeding from Joppa to Nicopolis, she must have retraced her steps to Ramleh; whereas if Ramah lay to the east of Lydda, and nearer to the mountains, the significance of the expression is lost; and the journey moreover must have been needlessly circuitous. For these reasons, I adhere to the received opinion, that Ramah and Ramleh are identical."—*Beldam*, vol. i., pp. 375—7.

It must be admitted that these reasons afford considerable support to the received opinion which Dr. Robinson impugns. We do not however see that the anterior existence of Christian churches at Ramleh proves it to have been "a holy place." Churches were not confined to "holy places," nor did they always exist at "holy places;" nor besides does it appear how the assumed fact of its having been the birth-place of Joseph of Arimathea would entitle it to the distinction of "a holy place." Mr. Beldam's argument from the proximity of Lydda, was some years ago urged in the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* (art. ARIMATHEA), where there are other points in support of his view which our traveller has not noticed. Dr. Robinson pro-

duces the testimony of Abulfeda that Ramleh was built by the Sultan Abdul Malik, about A.D. 716; and this is, in the article referred to, met by the remark that this statement may mean no more than that this sultan *rebuilt* the town which had previously been in ruins, just as Rehoboam is said to have "built" many towns, which are known to have been in existence long before his time; and by reference to the fact that Moslem princes rarely build towns but on old sites and out of old materials, so that there is not in all Palestine a town which is *certainly* known to have been *founded* by them.

That Ramah means a height, while Ramleh is in a plain, might be met by Dr. Wilson's remark, that a slight swell in a valley, such as seen at the town of Ramleh, might be comparatively a height. But in truth there is no evidence that the Hebrew names of places were always significant and appropriate. This may have been the case in early times when towns were few; but not afterwards, when they became numerous and took names from one another without regard to local circumstances. A native of a place called Ramah might, for instance, build a town which, although situated in a plain, he might call Ramah after his native place.

At Jerusalem Mr. Beldam enters fully into the question respecting the site of the holy sepulchre, and his conclusions are very decidedly in favour of the traditionary site. For ourselves, we have always felt that the historical and traditionary evidence is so strong, that it could be shaken by nothing less than the *impossibility* that the site, now much within the city, was in the time of our Lord beyond its walls. It is on this accordingly that Dr. Robinson mainly relies in his argument against the traditionary site—and it is here that he has been met by a number of powerful opponents, to whom Mr. Beldam must now be added. He devotes a chapter to the topographical argument, through which we cannot now follow him. Whether the site was within or beyond the ancient city depends upon the course and the extent of Accra wall. This wall is so laid down by Robinson as to include the alleged site; and our author labours to shew that the professor is wrong as to the course of this wall, and greatly wrong as to its extent. This extent Robinson makes no less than 3,700 feet, which Mr. Beldam contends is not much less than double the actual length, which he finds by the historical number of the towers, and the distances between them, could not have been more than 2,100 feet. The conclusion which he thus reaches is that, "so far far from any topographical impossibility standing in the way of the alleged site of the holy sepulchre, we have the strongest topographical possibilities in its favour."

Another chapter is given to the historical evidence. This has been so often stated that it must be familiar to all our readers. There is one argument however of peculiar interest, which will be new to them, as it has only recently been produced, in application to this question, by Mr. George Finlay, in his pamphlet *On the Site of the Holy Sepulchre*. It is thus reproduced from that work by our author:—

“Can it be needful to carry the historical evidence further? It seems superfluous to me. Yet there still remains a fact to clench the whole, shewing that even though tradition and general history might fail, yet a class of official proofs existed, sufficient of themselves to establish the disputed identity.

“We owe this confirmation to the talent and learning of Mr. Finlay, who, in a pamphlet not long since published on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, establishes the historical fact, that Constantine ‘must have had documentary evidence that the Temple of Venus, or the idol which stood over the spot fixed upon by his officers as the site of the Holy Sepulchre, really stood over the Sepulchre known of old as that of Christ.’ In order to prove this, Mr. Finlay shews that in the time of Constantine, the census of the Roman Empire was so complete, that every private estate throughout its wide extent was accurately surveyed, and maps existed so minute, that even the number of trees upon each estate was marked—that every municipality was in like manner surveyed and mapped—and that the whole was engraven on brass, and deposited in the imperial registry, while copies taken on linen were placed in the hands of the local administrators, and in the provincial archives. He further shews, that this system was extended to Palestine, as far back as the days of Augustus; that plans therefore of Jerusalem must have existed before the siege of Titus, accurately defining the position of Calvary, the tomb of Joseph, and the walls of Accra; and that in like manner there must have been surveys and maps of Elia Capitolina and its new buildings. That in addition to these surveys and maps, registers of all properties must have been made, and must have been renewed from time to time; and that from these surveys, maps, and registers of public and private property, all the admeasurements requisite to decide a question of identity could be obtained.

“He infers, that in a case of such acknowledged importance to the credit of Constantine, as the verification of the Sepulchre, his officers could not fail to adopt the means afforded by the administration of the Empire, for ascertaining the identity of a doubtful locality; and that the only circumstance which could have prevented this method of verification, must have been the previous destruction of at least three copies of the documents above mentioned—a circumstance of which there is no proof, nor any probability: the conclusion from the whole being, ‘that if history can prove any fact by collateral evidence, it must be admitted that it has proved that Constantine could not possibly have been mistaken in identifying the site of the Holy Sepulchre.’”—*Beldam*, vol. ii., pp. 140—142.

The scene of our Lord's ascension has always been assigned to the summit of the Mount of Olives. This was disputed by Dr. Robinson, who argues that the ascension took place at Bethany, because St. Luke (xxiv. 50—53), has stated in his gospel that our Saviour led his disciples out as far as Bethany, and "there" ascended; and he contends that this statement is unqualified by the subsequent narrative of the Acts, which, according to him, only records the spot from which the disciples returned, and not that from whence the Saviour ascended.

The learned Professor's opponents in this matter affirm, that the text of Luke's gospel does not contain the important word "there," as stated by him, or any other adverb of place, necessarily fixing the event at the town. Further, that the word "Bethany," in this instance, means not the town itself, but the district, or as we might say, in modern language, "the parish of Bethany;" and, again, that the subsequent account in the Acts, not only shews the spot from whence the disciples returned, but by the introduction of the word "then," which Robinson omits, proves that this must have been the place also of the ascension.

These arguments against Robinson's view have been advanced chiefly by the Rev. George Williams in his *Holy City*, and by the late Lord Nugent in his *Lands Classical and Sacred*. Mr. Beldam approving the conclusion to which we are thus led, adds the following remarks in confirmation of it:—

"It must be obvious to every one who has carefully studied the gospels, that the sacred authors, on many occasions, manifest but little care about minute accuracy in local description, and no intention to preserve a strict and closely connected sequence of events. Unless this be borne in mind, indeed, it will be sometimes quite impossible to reconcile the sacred writers with each other, or even the same author with himself.

"Thus, for instance, in the account of a previous visit of our Saviour to Bethany, St. Matthew (xxi. 1) and St. Mark (xi. 1), both represent a circumstance as having occurred when Jesus had actually come to Bethphage: while St. Luke (xix. 28) relates the same event to have occurred when Jesus had only *come nigh* to Bethphage. Now here, either a minute accuracy was not intended, or else the two former writers must have spoken of the parish, and the last of the town. So St. John (xi. 8), stating that Bethany was *nigh* to Jerusalem, about fifteen furlongs off, uses the expression, 'when Jesus was *come*;' and Martha repeats, 'The master is *come*.' Yet the same evangelist presently adds, 'Now Jesus was *not yet come* into the town, but was in the place where Martha met him.' Shewing that the first expression required qualification.

"The description of the ascension appears to me a similar case. It can scarcely be imagined that St. Luke meant to say, the incident occurred within the town. We can infer nothing more than that it was

somewhere near; for the occasion was a strictly private one. The ascension was intended as a manifestation to disciples only. And though a miracle might have concealed the ascending Saviour from the public gaze, even in the town of Bethany, it is much more probable that it took place beyond the reach of common observation.

“Even should the walk have extended to Bethany, and a farewell visit have been paid to Lazarus, this would not increase the likelihood of the ascension having taken place there. It might, then, with much greater probability even, be referred to the homeward journey. The evangelist’s narrative is short, the sentences are separate, and not necessarily in close sequence with each other. The account runs thus:—‘And he led them forth as far as to Bethany. And lifting up his hands he blessed them. And it came to pass while he blessed them he was parted from them.’ An interval may have elapsed between the walk to Bethany and the lifting up of hands, filled with incidents which the evangelist thought it superfluous to mention. In alluding to the same event in the Book of Acts, he passes abruptly from the charge given in Jerusalem to the scene of the ascension, without adverting at all to Bethany. The exact spot is not determined by St. Luke, in his gospel. But, in the Acts of the Apostles, it is so, though incidentally; and the latter must be held to explain and complete the former.

“In the gospel, it was St. Luke’s object to describe the direction, and, possibly, also the extent of the walk, as well as the fact of the ascension. In the Acts, an important prediction was to be added, and its narration brings out the scene of the ascension. For we are there told, that *while* the disciples were still watching the Saviour, as he went up, two angels appeared to them, and declared the manner of his second coming. And that *then*, the disciples returned to Jerusalem, from the mount called Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a sabbath day’s journey”

“The spot from whence the Saviour ascended, and that from whence the disciples took their steps homeward, was identical.

“The scene of the ascension, therefore, took place about five furlongs from Jerusalem. This could not, indeed, have been designed as a general description of the mountain, since its western side actually descends to the brook Kedron, within a few yards of the city; and the mountain must have been well known to Theophilus, through the previous narratives of the gospel.

“It indicated, therefore, the summit, and this exactly corresponds with the distance and the traditionary site.

“If any thing were needed to fortify such a conclusion, it would be the uniform opinion of antiquity. The earliest Christians held this tradition. It is confirmed by Eusebius and Jerome, men thoroughly read in the Scriptures, accustomed largely to quote them, versed in the niceties of philological criticism, acquainted with the ancient territorial boundaries, and having no known motive to deceive. But here, again, Mr. Finlay brings to our aid the strong presumption of an official examination. And if, in the opinion of the most competent judges of those early times, the language of Scripture required that the spot should be laid at Bethany, it may be considered certain, that the limits of that town extended thus

far; and it cannot be reasonably doubted, that the officers of Constantine, possessing all the evidence that tradition, local knowledge, and imperial surveys could afford, and engaged to do honour to an event not less important to the Christian faith than the nativity and the resurrection, actually took the same pains, and with the same success in this as in other instances, to determine the fact of local identity."—*Beldam*, vol. ii., pp. 143—7.

In the progress of his journey, our traveller finds further occasion of controversy with Dr. Robinson. He thinks that the current opinion, that Mount Tabor was the scene of the transfiguration, is uncontradicted by any insuperable difficulties. He endeavours to set Robinson right as to the interpretation of the texts on which he bases the conclusion, that Neby Samwil could not have been the Ramah of Samuel. He will not allow the professor to change the site of Cana of Galilee, from Kefr Kenna to Kana el Jelil. He demurs to the conclusion that the feeding of the five thousand (and probably also that of the four thousand) took place on the east side of the lake; and could not therefore have been at Hejar en Nusara, to which tradition points as the scene of the miracle. He deems the evidence for the identity of the cave of the nativity at Bethlehem "as strong as tradition can make it, and seems to be weakened by no intrusive improbability." On all these points and on some others, Mr. Beldam is at issue with Dr. Robinson, to the great merit and value of whose labours he however bears emphatic and willing testimony. On most of these and other points on which objections to his views have been taken, we shall probably in no long time obtain the final judgment of the professor, who has probably by this time again landed on the shores of Palestine. If however we rightly understood him, when lately in this country, his views have not hitherto been altered by any of the arguments which have from time to time been advanced in opposition to them; but those who have the advantage of his acquaintance, will rest assured that his mind will remain fully open to any further light upon the matters in dispute, which his renewed researches may yield. These researches have however for their object rather the exploration of the region beyond the Jordan and other districts but little known, than the re-examination of sites already visited and described in the former journey.

We have already given more than proportionate attention to Mr. Beldam's work; but cannot dismiss it without presenting the reader with his closing remarks upon the state of Syria, which as coming from a man of his clear observation and correct judgment, will be perused with heedful attention:—

“Adieu to the pleasant but degraded shores of Syria and Palestine! What might not such countries become under a wise and paternal administration? On all hands we heard complaints of the Turkish Government, and unfavourable contrasts drawn between it and the Egyptian. The exactions of Mahomet Ali were not denied; but then he would allow no other than his own, and the people at least enjoyed some equivalent in the general security of their persons and property. Whereas now, they had all the evils of bad government without the alleviation. We were told, that at Beirout, English influence was very much on the decline; the assigned cause being, that the tribes of the Lebanon had been encouraged to expect many advantages from the recent political change, of which English insincerity had defrauded them. There could be no doubt that French intrigues were employed to circulate such notions; and that the convents attached to the See of Rome were willing instruments in disseminating mischief. It was high time, therefore, that some new arrangements should be made to check such proceedings. And the recent establishment of direct political relations between the Sultan and the Pope, may possibly tend to that object.

“In taking leave of Syria, I am not about to write a character of the Asiatics; but I may express an opinion which probably will not be thought singular, that they have been generally underrated by Europeans. We have been taught from our youth to regard them as equally effeminate and demoralized: and to whatever extent this may now be true, we have too little considered the causes. All that ages of delusion and misrule could possibly do to deteriorate human beings, has certainly been done and suffered in the East. But it is impossible to read the achievements of the past, or to study the portraits sculptured on the enduring marble, by that elder race of mankind, without perceiving that nature at least has done them no wrong. Those muscular forms and decided physiognomies which appear on the walls of Nineveh, while they prove the noble parentage of the present generation, argue the possession of the highest physical and intellectual energy, needing only a wise and moral culture to turn them to the best account. To suppose, indeed, that part of the human family, among whom all arts, sciences, and religions flourished and grew old, before they were known to the western world, could be naturally inferior to the rest of their species, would be the extreme of egotism and bigotry. That their inherently great qualities have been miserably degraded and disparaged, cannot be questioned. And how to restore them to the rank they have lost, is an enigma which Providence alone may possibly be able to solve.

“Meanwhile, it is allowable to contemplate some of the most probable means by which, if ever, that event will be accomplished.

“No one will deny, that the first want of society is a pure and elevating religion, with the means of popular instruction: since these are the only guarantees for a paternal government, and for the proper enjoyment of liberty. The Asiatics, under Mohammedan rule, I need scarcely say, do not possess either of these advantages; and a large proportion of them labour under the additional disadvantage of being a conquered and proscribed race.

"I do not intend to descant here on the religion of Mahomet: but I am not to be deterred by the eccentricity of some professedly Christian writers, from avowing my belief, that until that fanatical and demoralizing creed—a compound of the hyena and the sloth—shall have finally disappeared before a more ennobling and charitable faith—a faith calling forth the energies of free-will, under free institutions—the social condition of mankind in those regions cannot be greatly raised.

But it is with much concern I express my fear that the existing forms of Christianity in the East, are but little calculated to aid in the accomplishment of this object. Not that the theological dogmas of the Greek or Oriental Church are so corrupt as many have imagined. On the contrary, it is vastly superior, in this respect, to the Church of Rome: and would be entitled to the appellation of a Protestant Church, if it did not lay claim to the higher distinction of being an original and apostolic one."

"The Oriental Church, properly so called—not being in communion with that of Rome—acknowledges, for instance, the supremacy and sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures, though demurring to the right of private judgment. It ordains the reading of the Holy Scriptures in its daily services, and in a language that can be understood. It recognizes but one Supreme and Spiritual Head. It denies the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. It administers the Eucharist in both kinds. It expresses no opinion on transubstantiation. It disallows the doctrine of purgatory; though it admits of prayers for the dead. It altogether repudiates the use of images; but it substitutes pictures in their stead—recognizing, in this respect, the absurd distinction between an object that casts a shadow and one that does not. It permits, moreover, of prayers to the saints, but yet affirms the sole mediation of the Saviour. It allows the marriage of the clergy, and indirectly recognizes the right of the people to the choice of their pastors.

"In theory, therefore, the Oriental Church approaches much nearer to the Scripture standard than that of Rome; but in practice, it may be feared that the difference is small between them. The Syrian clergy, for the most part, are chosen from the lowest classes; and in education, habits, and manner of living, are but little distinguished from them. They are probably not less superstitious and fanatical, and certainly are far more ignorant than the Romish priesthood; and an illiterate, domineering, idle clergy must ever be averse to popular improvement. There may be patriots among them, but as a whole they cannot sincerely desire the education of the people. It would involve too much labour and self-sacrifice; too great hazard of losing influence and the means of aggrandizement. Policy, indeed, may have led them in some instances to effect the contrary. Self-defence, or emulation, may also ultimately compel them to co-operate. But, from the Greek Oriental Church, I am afraid that the regeneration of the Christian sects in Asia must never be expected. The movement in such a case must begin with a body beyond their pale. Hence the value of a Protestant Christian mission, undertaking the important task of popular education in the East; gradually preparing a native agency for the great work, and creating meanwhile an appetite for

instruction, which no amount of influence will hereafter be able to withstand. I know of no institution which has more successfully carried out those ideas, than the American mission at Beirout. But others are treading in their steps; and the Society for improving Female Education must be numbered among the benefactors.

"I have already described the physical condition of the Christian peasantry in Syria and Palestine, as being most deplorable. But the remedy for this would be comparatively easy, could the government be prevailed on to adopt it. We have seen that in those regions, there are vast tracts of inexhaustible fertility, wholly uncultivated; yet sufficient not only to supply the necessities of a starving population, but to enrich the markets of Europe. The permanent welfare of the Christian population, would be secured by the cultivation of these districts on a fair and remunerative principle. A Franciscan monk, and a fellow-traveller, who had spent some years in Palestine, remarked to us, that if the Turkish government would but consent to lease such lands to the Christian peasantry, and allow them a fair share of the produce, their condition would at once be ameliorated, and the Turkish revenues greatly increased."

"Alas! the benevolent monk had not sufficiently reflected on the hereditary policy of the Turkish government towards its Christian subjects; a policy which has indeed been considerably modified of late, but not reversed; resting still on the tyrant's plea of necessity, as being essential to Mohammedan supremacy and empire. Yet, surely, it behoves a power that claims under no better title than that of the famous Saladin, who declared that 'he held by the sword what had been won by the sword,' to remember, that the tenure of those regions is now solely by the sufferance of the parties from whom they were taken.

"Let us then indulge the hope, that while Christian states tolerate the existence of Mohammedan authority, over countries which were the birth-place and the cradle of the Christian faith, they will at least require better guarantees for the protection of the native Christian population; and see to it, that the Lebanon, which has so long proved the natural bulwark of Christian liberty, shall be again permitted to flourish as the home of an industrious and thriving people."—*Beldam*, vol. ii., pp. 293—9.

It is now time to turn to Mr. Neale's work, for some particulars in substantiation of the judgment we have passed upon it.

This traveller begins somewhat abruptly at Gaza, without informing us how he got there, or whence he came. He remained some months in the town, of which he gives an interesting account, embracing many particulars new to the public. The following account of the condition of the people could only be drawn from more extensive knowledge of the country than is open to the mere traveller:—

"The surrounding country, though anything but fertile, yields abundant supplies of grain, the greater portion of which is either transported by camels to Jaffa, or shipped at Gaza itself, for Algiers and other ports

of the Mediterranean. The whole of the grain produced, is the property of the wealthier ayans or Turkish nobles; who after laying by a sufficiency for their own household wants, sell the remainder of their crops to merchants, who warehouse some portion of it for the consumption of the town itself, and the rest is disposed of to speculators; but so indolent and impoverished is the greater mass of the population, that whole families of them exist entirely for eight months in the year upon the fruit of the prickly pear, which in Gaza attains a perfection unrivalled even in India. The Arabs call the prickly pear *saboor*, which also signifies *ballast*, and the name is singularly applicable in this instance. Many a morning, strolling in the environs of Gaza, I have wondered to see the complacent air with which an Arab and his family, decidedly in distressed circumstances, would squat themselves under the shade of a prickly pear hedge—and each furnished with a stick having a crook at the end, set earnestly to work gathering the ripe fruit, and peeling them in such a scientific manner as could only be accomplished by long experience. They were in fact *ballasting* themselves for the day, and had evidently nothing better in expectation. During the winter months, these poor creatures subsist on marshmallows and many edible herbs and grasses unknown even to cattle. These they boil down into a pulp, which being seasoned with pepper and salt, and perhaps an onion, they render palatable, and it answers the same end as the *saboor*. Owing to these facilities for supporting life by the spontaneous produce of the soil, I never saw a man begging. The mildness of the winter also in a great measure accounts for this, they have no fear of frost before their eyes, no bitter biting cold to dispirit them, no forethought for those two indispensable requisites in colder climes, fuel and clothing.”—*Neale*, vol. i., pp. 3—5.

This reminds us of the passage in which Job (xxx. 4) describes the poor people of his time as cutting up “mallows by the bushes, and juniper roots for their meat;” and as “dwelling in the cliffs of the valleys, in caves of the earth, and in the rocks. Among the bushes they brayed; under the nettles they were gathered together.”

In regard to the prickly pear, which is in fact no pear at all, but the fruit of the *cactus opuntia*, or common Indian fig, and which is so common in those parts, as to be free for the use of any that will take them, and are thus largely used as food by the poor—we may remark that it last year found its way to our markets as a costly delicacy. We observed a basket of them for sale last season at a west-end fruiterer's—the first we ever saw for sale in this country—and they may have been noticed by many on their way to the “Great Exhibition;” but we know not whether they were of hothouse culture, or imported from abroad. If the latter, Messrs. Keeling and Hunt may be obliged to Mr. Neale for informing the public where a good quality of the fruit is to be found.

Mr. Neale saw two things at Gaza that made him wonder

exceedingly. One was a camel eating prickly pear leaves, biting off and crunching them as though they were cucumbers; direful looking leaves, a foot long and two inches thick, covered with thorns as big as spikenails. We remember to have read the same remark, made by some traveller in South Africa, respecting the rhinoceros's feeding on plants strongly armed with thorns, till the animal's mouth was filled with its own blood; but he thought that they seemed to relish it, and suggested that the blood, although their own, served as a sauce or condiment to their food, the taste and pricking combined having much the same effect to their palates as mustard to ours.

Our author's other wonder was an incredibly large flight of doves, that came across the sea towards the end of August. Quails he had often seen in flights, but doves never. These birds arrived in such an exhausted state, that they alighted by thousands on the beach, and there fell an easy prey to the natives. Twenty sold for ten paras (about a halfpenny). "Men who had well nigh forgotten the taste of meat, fell to and had a feast of a fortnight's duration; and when this strange fall of flesh was over, they went back to grass again." This, by the bye, is no bad illustration of the supply of birds (quails indeed, not pigeons,) which the Israelites obtained on the borders of the Red Sea.

Whatever may have been the preference of the people of Syria, according to Mr. Beldam, for the Egyptian government over that of the Turk—the people of Egypt are clearly of a different opinion; Mr. Neale informs us that the people of Gaza are chiefly runaway Egyptians and Copts. "Daily caravans arrive at Gaza from Egypt, consisting of whole villages migrating from the grinding sway of the viceroy to place themselves under the milder despotism of the Turks." It must however be borne in mind, that the present Egyptian government is not that of Mehemet Ali, with regard to which the Syrians frame *their* comparisons.

We remember some sharp animadversions which were administered to the editor of the *Pictorial Bible* for the interpretation which he, many years ago, gave to the transaction between Abraham and Ephron the Hittite; but it has been confirmed by travellers and others who have studied oriental character. Mr. Neale thus alludes to the subject:—

"I was particularly struck, during this excursion, with the undeviating resemblance in manners, feelings, and customs, of the people of this day, in Palestine, to the ideas and descriptions conveyed to us, in Holy Writ, of their early fathers. Should you bargain with a Jew or Arab of Hebron for his field or tenement, rest assured he would, as of old, dis-

claim all thoughts of a valuable consideration in exchange; your favour and good opinion is all he would covet, at least in the first stages of the compact. But as Abraham finally paid five hundred shekels of silver, which was in all probability ten times its value, for his burial place, so surely will your worthy traveller of the nineteenth century pay the modern inhabitant of Palestine over-value for his generously-proffered possessions.

“Ephron answered Abraham, saying unto him, My Lord, hearken unto me. The land is worth four hundred shekels of silver; what is that betwixt me and thee? Bury, therefore, thy dead.”

“Everything is *Mishan Katarak* (for your pleasure). Syrians, especially those of the northern parts, will profess to be ready to sacrifice anything to promote your worldly enjoyment, even their own lives. Trust them if you are credulous, and you may long live to repent the day.”—*Neale*, vol. i., p. 54.

There is no mention of breakfasts in Scripture; and there is much to imply that the Hebrews never took that meal. Samuel sends Saul away in the morning without giving him any breakfast first; and the Levite of Bethlehem-Judah is taking his departure without breakfast, when his father-in-law invites him first “to comfort his heart with a morsel of bread.” And when does he get it? “They tarried till the afternoon, and then they did eat, both of them.” (Judges xix. 5—8.) Correspondingly, Mr. Neale correctly states that “nobody ever breakfasts in these parts before noon: a small cup of coffee is all that is to be expected or hoped for; and you would be looked upon as an ogre or a ghoul if caught munching a crust of bread before that hour.”

Mr. Neale’s raptures are at times somewhat ludicrously misplaced—from his wish to appear to know something of matters of which he really knows little and feels less. And this we think is almost his only affectation. He is on the high ropes at Joppa—of all places in Palestine, evidently unconscious that there is nothing to excite particular enthusiasm in the facts that Jonah embarked here, and that Simon the tanner lived here by the sea-side.

“What indescribable emotions I experienced to find myself actually in Joppa!—in Joppa, whence Jonah embarked on his prophetic embassy! and now in this very Joppa was I, poor mortal of the nineteenth century, standing on the ruins of Simon’s house, and watching the ‘Grand Turk’ steamer as she hove in sight, coming possibly from the very spot where Jonah again reached the land.”—*Neale*, vol. i., p. 102.

Now we will venture to say that Mr. Neale did *not* experience any “indescribable emotions;” for he is very quiet at Gaza and other places where this exquisite susceptibility might have fully as good or even better materials than at Joppa. But

there is no use in being too strict with a young and lively writer, who after all tells us much that is worth knowing.

Our author devotes a page or two to the bird which he calls Hadji Leg-legs, a name which he supposes them to derive from the cries they utter. He does not seem to know that this bird is the stork. Its Arabian name is not Hadji Leg-legs, but Hadji Lug-lug, which is not supposed to be derived from its "cry," but from the sound produced by striking the mandibles together.

At Jerusalem, Mr. Neale has little to say. The theme is not a congenial one for his pen, and he evades it by declaring that all there is to be said has already been said wearisomely often. This is no valid excuse; for nothing has ever been so often described, but that a fresh and sympathizing mind may draw new lights from it, and cast back new lights upon it. However, we are not sorry to be spared, for what he does say begins with a blunder: "Here then is the city that was promised unto Abraham, and his successive generations," etc.

Every one is now so well informed about Jerusalem—is so much better acquainted with it than almost with any other town in the world which he has not himself seen, that no one is expected to be surprized or disappointed when he comes there. When Mr. Neale, however, arrived at Jerusalem, it still remained for him to be disenchanted of the ideal:—

"I found it a difficult task, nay an utter impossibility, to reconcile to my mind the astounding fact, that the very ordinary common-place looking Turkish town, filled with soldiers and Jews, Arabs and Greeks, Armenians and Syrians, and merchants, shopkeepers and shorn priests, whose streets and bazaars were so ill constructed, and as crowded with beggars and miserable-looking dogs as ever were the streets of Damascus or Aleppo, or any other town in the Turkish dominions, could actually be the very Jerusalem, the same majestic Holy City, of which I had so often from my earliest childhood read and dreamed. It was difficult to separate the reality from the ideal, yet I knew there could be no possible doubt as to my being actually on the very spot where the greatest boon of mercy had been bestowed upon mankind—the great work of Redemption completed, though everything about and around me was purely of a very modern date. I asked for the Temple, and the finger of my guide pointed to a minaret. I thought that at least the Holy Sepulchre, hewn out of a rock, would be aloof from the busy hum and infidel touch of the Gentile races that thronged the street; but, on the contrary, it was situated in the very centre of the noisiest and most crowded part of the city. Here vendors of every kind of saleable article drove, to all appearances, a thriving trade. The speculative hadji, not long since returned from Mecca, was making ample amends for the hardships endured in his pilgrimage, in the profits yielded him by the sale of his coloured beads, and fans, and spices, oil

of roses, and sandalwood, all articles much in demand amongst the *Humum* (vapour-bath) going ladies of the various Turkish harems. Long-bearded Jews were squabbling with money-changers about the intrinsic value and weight of Turkish gold coins which had been undergoing in their hard grip that scientific process vulgarly called sweating, *i. e.*, being placed in some terrifically strong acid, whereby about a farthing's worth of gold-dust was gained upon a sovereign. Old women were selling sweetmeats, in form and colour not unlike the misshapen clay pellets that ragged children in dirty puddles are addicted to on a rainy day. Meagre dogs were engaged in deadly conflict over some well-gnawed bone. Men and women and children of all nations, and in every costume of the Levant, were laughing and talking and quarrelling, while camel-drivers in sheep-skin cloaks, old and filthy, brushed by you rather too closely for your personal comfort. The heat of the day and the clouds of tormenting flies, added to the busy scenes of life, barter, and of uproar, effectually dismantled the place of sacred associations, and made it still more difficult to believe that this spot was, beyond all contradiction, the site of that greatest of all great miracles, the vanquishing of death and its thousand terrors."—*Neale*, vol. i., pp. 127—130.

Our author describes the Protestant cathedral on Mount Zion as "a beautiful structure, and stands out strikingly from among the uncouth specimens of Ottoman architecture that surround it. During the Easter season, I was told that the congregation occasionally amounted to nearly three hundred souls, Protestants by baptism, birth, or inclination."

We are informed of a strange product—not, we apprehend, mentioned by any other traveller—as being collected in large quantities near Jerusalem, and in the country round Beirout. These are—petrified olives! "and these, when slit, form rare and curious pavements for the terraces of the wealthier Jews. Some of these have been shipped to Europe for the same purpose, and I was informed that the first speculator in this article amassed a considerable fortune." On this we have only to remark, that the process of petrification must be more rapid than is usually supposed, if it could take effect before a fresh fruit has had time to shrivel up or to be decomposed. They are probably pebbles bearing some resemblance to olives.

The following observations respecting travelling in the East are correct and important, and claim the best attention of intended travellers in those countries:—

"I may here be permitted to offer a few words of advice to young and inexperienced travellers in Palestine. Young men fresh from college, and ever accustomed to one of the most healthy climates in the world, forget on reaching the East that they have there to contend with many hitherto unknown evils, and vainly imagine that they can engage in the same violent exercise, and in some cases excesses, which they were wont with im-

punity to indulge in at home. Hence, they over-heat and over-exert themselves; their main object in prosecuting their travels apparently being a wish to accomplish a long journey in as short a space as is practicable, and they gallop over parched plains and scorched mountain-passes during the very hottest hours of the sultriest day. They encamp or bivouac when overcome with fatigue and heat under the cool shade of some umbrageous tree, where the insidious breeze tempts them, heated and perspiring though they be, to throw off their coats and heavier garments, and revel momentarily in the luxury of shirt-sleeves tucked up to the elbow, and shirt-collars thrown carelessly open; while others, unable to resist the temptation offered by some river or stream, plunge in its waters, and in the temporal enjoyment of its refreshing coolness, forget the many serious consequences that may, and, in almost every instance, do inevitably ensue. Go and look over the thickly set tombstones in the churchyard attached to the American Mission Chapel at Beyroute, and every third stone will mark the early doom of some thoughtless young man, who from want of common care in diet, in exercise, and in exposure to a climate ever baneful to English constitutions, has paid a heavy tribute indeed for imprudence and sheer thoughtlessness.

"In travelling in Syria and Palestine persons should adapt themselves as much as lie in their power to the customs of the native inhabitants: mark for instance the wary carefulness with which a Turk will set out on ever so short a journey. His head is carefully enveloped in the folds of a white turban, with, may be, a *Boshéa* or large silk handkerchief tied loosely over it, and his body is enveloped, during the hottest weather, in cloaks and *Meshlahs*, a species of light over-all. The hotter the weather, the more numerous will be these coverings; and the result is, that however fierce the rays of the sun may be, they become impotent before reaching his skin. The Turk never suffers from that scorching feverish heat to which Europeans are exposed by their lighter clothing; and when he rests under some cool and inviting shade, in place of stripping off his many apparently superfluous coats, he will in all probability put on an additional one, and wait till the circulation is restored to its natural flow. Then and only then will he commence, and that by degrees, to divest himself of cloaks and coats, so that he has nothing to fear from any sudden check caused by too hasty exposure to the air. Then mark his diet: frugal in the extreme, during the heat of the day. At sunrise he will content himself with a small cup of coffee and an atom of bread, or perhaps a bowl of fresh milk; at mid-day or thereabouts he stops for his breakfast, a few dried fruits, a piece of a water-melon, and another small cup of coffee will satisfy his cravings; and he then waits till night-fall, and when he has fairly encamped for the night, and placed everything in its proper position, his horse, his bed, his saddle-bags, his pipe, he bestirs himself about his dinner. If good meat be procurable in the village where he finds himself he buys it: if not, a fowl, and with stewed flesh and boiled rice, he makes one good and hearty meal, after which he washes his hands and feet, performs his orisons, smokes a meditative pipe, and then tucks himself up in his bed, wisely determined to sleep in spite of the invading army of fleas which are only waiting the signal of his

lying down to commence a general attack. But Turks and Asiatics are accustomed to fleas from their earliest youth, and their stings are to them in every sense a mere fleabite, besides which nature and the climate they inhabit have rendered their skins almost invulnerable; and by early dawn they are up again and doing, as fresh and as lively as larks. Ill-health is among them scarcely known, and they seldom or never fall victims to those fevers which are so fatal to our own countrymen. Let the English traveller watch how the Turk journeys; and the best advice I can offer him is, 'Go thou and do likewise.'—*Neale*, vol. i., pp. 147—150.

The traveller however finds himself subject to occasional annoyances, from the absolute impossibility of an Oriental's understanding what motives but business, of some kind or other, any man can have for travelling and the expenditure it involves:—

"Their general opinion of an English traveller is, that he is either a lunatic or a magician: a lunatic, if on closely watching his movements, they discover that he pays little attention to anything around him; a confirmed lunatic if he goes out sketching, and spends his time in spoiling good paper with scratches and hieroglyphics; and a magician when inquisitive about ruins, and given to picking up stones and shells, gathering sticks and leaves of bushes, or buying up old bits of copper, iron, and silver. In these cases, he is supposed, by aid of his magical powers, to convert stones and shells into diamonds of immense price; and the leaves and sticks are charms, by looking at which he can bestow comforts upon his friends, and snakes and pestilence upon his luckless enemies. If a traveller pick up a stone, and examine it carefully, he will be sure to have at his tail a host of malapert little boys deriding him, though keeping at a very respectful distance, in deference to his magical powers. Should he indeed turn round suddenly, and pursue them a few steps, they fly in an agony of fear, the very veins in their naked little legs almost bursting, and they never stop to look back till they have got well amongst the crowd again, where, panting for breath, they recount to their auditors the dreadful look that devil of a Frank gave them, making fire come out of his eyes, and adders out of his mouth."—*Neale*, vol. i., pp. 202-3.

From Jerusalem, Mr. Neale returns to Gaza, and proceeds thence in an Arab felucca to Caipha, of the rising prosperity of which formerly obscure place he gives a lively and interesting account. We are also furnished with excellent accounts of the monastic establishment of Mount Carmel, and of the present condition of Acre, the fortifications of which are in progress of rapid repair, so that in a few years not a vestige will remain of the ruins which still mark the prowess of the British arms, unless it be the disfigured tops of the many minarets, all of which have been reduced to a deplorably tottering condition since the great bombardment. The author is indeed remarkably strong on the coast, probably from his position having given him much and

unusual opportunity of being well acquainted with its towns. There is thus also a good account of Sidon, and a very ample one of Beirout; the useful information being however, as usual in this work, mixed up in a large quantity of lively "patter," personal, anecdotal, and descriptive, about matters of infinitely small intrinsic interest. The author does indeed venture, now and then, to touch upon topics of great interest to the public, but which he is himself little capable of understanding. A single sentence in what he says of the excellent American missionaries at Beirout, reveals the shallow and flippant man completely; and entitles us to some praise, for the pains we have taken to find out the good there is in his book:—

"At a little distance from the nunnery, rises over the trees and foliage that surround it, the belfry of the American Missionary Chapel. Divine service is performed every Sunday morning in English. In the absence of any chaplain of the Church of England, most of the Protestants attend this chapel. The missionaries are a very good set of men, and one or two of them extremely clever. *There are others, however, who are a little fanatical, labouring under a gloomy conviction of the sinfulness of human nature, who look very wretched and ghost-like, and are much addicted to sneering only the while of their eyes.* They make very few converts amongst the native population, though their schools have done much to enlighten them, and this, perhaps, is not small success. Strangers are surprized at the numbers of men and boys to be met with in the streets of Beirout, who speak English as fluently, and pronounce it as well, as an Englishman himself, and this is all owing to these indefatigable missionaries. The ladies have several girls' schools, and there is one doctor and his wife who have twelve or fourteen orphans, whom they have reared almost from infancy, and who I believe are sincere Protestants. They are educated, fed, and clothed at the private expense of these excellent people, and it is to be hoped that when the girls marry and settle in life, which they will now soon be doing, they will prove very exemplary characters."—*Neale*, vol. i., p. 241.

So far as Palestine is concerned, we might leave Mr. Neale at Beirout, for the second volume is occupied with his further travels in Syria and Asia Minor. We shall, however, just turn to it for a few extracts, illustrative of the state of these countries, and the habits of the people.

The account which is given of the cheapness of living at Antioch, may make many of us sigh:—

"Antioch is, beyond dispute, the cheapest place in the world, as well as one of the healthiest; and if it were not for the ragged little boys, who hoot at every stranger, and throw stones at his door, annoying you in every possible way, I should prefer it, as a place of residence, to any spot I have visited in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America.

My house was of perfectly new construction, well planted, and well

situated, and proof against water, as well as wind. I had four rooms—a sitting-room, a dining-room, a bed-room, and a dressing-room. I had a walled enclosure of about eighty feet square, where roses and geraniums vied in beauty with jessamines and lilies. There was also a poultry-yard, a pigeon-house, stables for three horses, a store-house, a kitchen, and a servants' room. I had in the garden a grape-vine (muskatel), a pomegranate-tree, a peach-tree, a plum-tree, an apricot, and a China quince; and, in addition to all these, a fountain perpetually jetting up water, and a well, and a bathing-room. For all this accommodation, I paid three hundred and fifty piastres—about three pounds sterling—and this was a higher rent than would be paid by any native. Of course, the house was unfurnished, but furniture in the East is seldom on a grand scale: a divan, half a dozen chairs, a bedstead, a mattress, a looking-glass, a table or two, and half a dozen pipes, and narghilies, are all one requires. Servants cost about three pounds a head per annum. Seven and a half pounds of good mutton may be had for a shilling. Fowls—and fat ones too—twopence each. Fish is sold by the weight—thirteen *rotolos* for a *besklik*, or about seventy pounds weight for a shilling. Eels—the very best flavoured in the world—three halfpence each. As for vegetables, whether cabbages, lettuces, *des asperges*, celery, watercresses, parsley, beans, peas, radishes, turnips, carrots, cauliflowers, and onions, a pennyworth would last a man a week. Fruit is sold at the same rates; and grapes cost about five shillings the horse-load. Game is also abundant. Dried fruits and nuts can be obtained in winter. In fact, living as well as one could wish, I found it impossible—house-rent, servants, horses, board, washing, and wine included—to exceed the expenditure of forty pounds per annum.”—*Neale*, vol. ii., pp. 47-48.

There are, however, things better even than cheapness, and these are not to be found at Antioch; and what our author further states is well calculated to give a sudden check to the inclination to pack up our boxes, and hurry off to this happy spot:—

“Under these circumstances, it may appear marvellous that many Europeans, possessed of limited means, have not made Antioch their temporary home; but every question has two sides, and everything its *pros* and *cons*. The *cons*, in this instance, are the barbarous character of the people among whom you live; the perpetual liability of becoming, at one instant's warning, the victim of some fanatical *émence*; the small hopes you have of redress for the grossest insults offered; the continual intrigues entered into by the Ayans to disturb your peace and comfort; the absence of many of the luxuries enjoyed in Europe; the want of society and books, and the total absence of all places of worship, which gradually creates in the mind a morbid indifference to religion, and which feeling frequently degenerates into absolute infidelity. It is better to choose with David in such a case, and say, ‘I would rather be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord than dwell in the tents of iniquity.’”—*Neale*, vol. ii., p. 48.

The following passages offer the best picture of the life of a Turkish gentleman we have ever seen in print :—

“The life of the Turkish Effendi, or gentleman, at Antioch, is rather of a monotonous character. He lives in his own, or rather in two houses—for the harem, though part of the same house, is entirely partitioned off, and no one but himself and his slaves know where it is, or how to get in and out of it. He always keeps the door-key in his pocket, and when the ladies want anything, they rap, like so many woodpeckers, at a kind of revolving cupboard, which is securely fastened into the wall. Through this cupboard, at which neither party can see the other, the lady speaks to the servant, and tells him what to fetch or buy for her at the bazaars; and the article is brought and placed in the cupboard, which is wheeled round by the lady inside, so that she may take it out. When they are desirous of walking in the garden, or going to the bath, the key is delivered into the charge of some old duenna, and the Effendi sees nothing more of it till the party has returned, and the ladies are safely locked up again.

“The Effendi is, generally speaking, an early riser, and seldom sits up till a late hour at night. On issuing from his harem, he is waited upon by half a dozen slaves, who assist in his ablutions: one holds the ewer, another the soap, a third the towel, and a fourth and fifth assist him with his clean apparel. Having washed and dressed, he goes through his morning devotions at the nearest mosque. Returning home, his servants serve him with his cup of bitter coffee and pipe of real gibili, by which time it is about seven A.M., the fashionable hour for a Turkish gentleman to call and receive visits. Acquaintances and friends saunter in, and salute the host, who salutes them. Beyond this, there is little conversation; for Turks hate talking; and still less joking, for they detest laughing. They inquire like a parcel of anxious doctors, very kindly after each other's health, and after the general salubrity of their respective houses, for no one ever dreams of asking how his friend's wife is; that would be considered the grossest breach of decorum. Draft-boards, and pipes, and coffee are introduced. Some play, others look on, and, save the rattling of the dice, very little is heard to interrupt the silence of the room. The Effendi's clerk comes in occasionally, with a batch of unanswered letters in his hands, and whispers mysteriously to the Effendi, who either goes off into a violent fit of rage, or nods his consent in approval of what has been done, just as the contents of the letters are pleasing or the reverse. Most of these letters are from the overseers, or labourers in the Effendi's silk-gardens, or olive-plantations; some few from people craving his assistance, others demanding repayment of loans of money; for there are but few of the Effendis of Antioch, though all rolling in riches, that are not indebted to some person or other for cash loans, as, such is their strange avarice, that though they possess (to use an Oriental expression) rooms full of money, they are loth to extract one-farthing from their treasures for their daily expenditure.

“About ten A.M., the Effendi orders his horse, and followed by his pipe-bearer who is equally well mounted, takes a sedate ride in the en-

virons of the town. On Saturdays, in lieu of riding, he goes to the bath, but in either case he is pretty punctual as to the hour of his return. On reaching home, more pipes and coffee are produced, and he affixes his seal (for a Turk never signs his name) to the various business letters that his secretary has prepared, ready for dispatching. The cry from the minaret now warns him that it is the hour for mid-day prayer. Washing his hands, face, and feet, he proceeds to the sami (mosque), where he remains till it is time to breakfast; and when the breakfast is served, he goes through the forms of ablution again. After his meals, he is required to wash once more.

"I may here remark, for the guidance of strangers, that there is nothing a Turk considers more degrading than the want of this scrupulous cleanliness in Europeans; and considering the climate, and the wisdom of doing in Rome as Rome does (apart from all other arguments), travellers, although seldom obliged to use their fingers as Turks do at their meals, ought strictly to adhere to this custom whilst amongst Orientals.

"The effendi, after his breakfast, which is generally a very good one, and is prepared by the careful hands of the fair ladies of the harem, retires into his seraglio for a couple of hours' siesta, during the heat of the day. In this interval, if a pasha, or a bosom friend, or the devil himself were to appear, and ask of the servants to see their master immediately, they would reply that he was asleep in the harem, and that it was as much as their heads were worth to disturb him.

"At about two P.M., the effendi is again visible. He then occupies his time in playing drafts, or reading a Turkish newspaper. At four, he goes once more to the mosque, and thence proceeds to the secluded garden, on the banks of the Orontes. Here several other effendis are sure to meet him, for it is their usual evening rendezvous. Carpets are spread; baskets of cucumbers and bottles of spirit produced; and they drink brandy, and nibble cucumbers, till high upon sundown. Sometimes cachouks, or dancing boys, dressed up in gaudy tinsel-work, and musicians, are introduced, for the entertainment of the party. By nightfall, every individual has finished his two—some more—bottles of strong *aqua vite*, and they return homewards, and dine—and dine heartily. Coffee is then introduced, but nothing stronger—as they never drink spirit or wine after their evening meals. The nine o'clock summons to prayer, resounds from the minaret, and nine minutes after that, the effendi is fast asleep, and nothing under an earthquake would bring him forth from the harem again, till he rises simultaneously with the sun next day."—*Neale*, vol. ii., pp. 24—30.

There is, further on, a companion picture of the life of a peasant in the Lebanon mountains, which we must hang up beside the other. The parts omitted, for lack of space, refer chiefly to the culture of silk:—

"The natives are always industrious. In winter they stop at home and spin cotton, or weave coarse cloth for their own consumption. In early spring, while attending to their other avocations, they hatch the silk—

worm eggs, by carrying them about, wrapped up in cloth, under their arms. When the worms are hatched, they are handed over to the women, who feed them, and their husbands are occupied in gathering leaves for them. As the worm grows larger the labour increases, and by the time that the cocoon is formed, every branch on every mulberry-tree has been lopped off."

The cares connected with the worms, their food and their silk, occupy the peasant until the commencement of the grain harvest.

"It is a fine sight at Suedia during the month of May, when all these wheels [for reeling off the silk] are whirring merrily away. The peasants look happy and contented, and from morning to night are working and singing in all the glory of a fine spring day. About the end of the month, the mousoum is completed, and the medium quantity of silk produced for market may be reckoned at about seven hundred Turkish cantars, or three hundred and ninety thousand pounds of silk, which selling at twenty thousand piastres per cantar, yields a return of somewhere near one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds per annum.

"The silk mousoum is hardly over, ere the peasants are occupied reaping the grain harvest. The men reap and the women and children glean. After the wheat harvest is past, all the gardens and grounds require to be ploughed, and towards the end of July everybody has occupation in the vineyards, which are plentifully spread on the surrounding hills. The grapes are gathered; and quantities are sent to the Antioch market daily for the consumption of the inhabitants, while a portion is converted into wine. Some is distilled into spirits; some is boiled down and becomes becmaze, a kind of saccharine matter, very much resembling, only infinitely better than molasses, and the remainder of the vine crop is dried as raisins, of which vast quantities are in demand, as the natives subsist almost entirely upon dried fruit and bread during their lengthy and oft-recurring fasts. By October, the mulberry-trees have sprouted out again, and this time the branches are not lopped off; but the leaves are carefully gathered and given to the oxen and cattle, and then the peasant bethinks him of the approaching winter, and takes the precautions requisite for providing against the wants of man and beast.

"He knows to a measure how much wheat is required for his household, and adds a little more for the purposes of hospitality or charity. The women are busy making burgull, boiled wheat dried in the sun, and then ground to a substance like grits. Men are gathering olives, and extracting oil from some, and preserving the rest in salt and water. The sour pomegranate is boiled down into a substance, called nahr bekmaze, an acid much resembling the Indian tamarind, and made to serve for very much the same purposes. Enter a peasant's hut about the middle of November, and you will see him in the midst of all these preparations: a mountain of onions is in one corner, round which are jars of various dimensions and ages, containing the household supply of oil, vinegar, wine, spirit, salt, butter, molasses, nahr bekmaze, olives in salt and water,

and dried cream-cheese. On strings that are stretched all across the room are hung festoons of dry red chillies, garlic, and mint. In a huge deal-box, with a monster padlock, the raisins and dried figs are safely stowed, beyond the reach of the children; and half the cottage is blocked up with fire-wood. In uncouth-looking baskets, covered with mud and lime, and which, in the dark, look like so many stout men wrapped up in sheets, the wheat and barley, etc., are kept. The space left to be occupied by the family is not very extensive; but the floor is cleanly swept, and the mattresses are piled one above another all round the hut, and answer the purpose of cushions to lean against. A sheep-skin or two is spread here and there, to serve as seats for the most distinguished visitors.

"The sun has just gone down, and the night is setting in chilly; so a glorious wood-fire is lit in the fire-place, which imparts a pleasant warmth to all the hut. The peasant and his family are seated in a circle, eating their evening meal—the principal repast of the day—and which consists of a goodly pillauf, made of burgul, and garnished with divers pickles, with the addition perhaps of a little fried meat or fish. The two cats, and the old dog, are quite distracted by the savoury odour of the feast; and whilst waiting as patiently as they can for the share they are sure to obtain, the old cock, accompanied by his half dozen wives, stalks coolly in, and picking up grains of pillauf *en route*, goes to roost on the top of the pile of fire-wood. The repast is finished; the cows have been milked; and locked up with the rest of the cattle for the night. The peasant has finished his evening pipe; the cottage door is locked; and darkness has scarcely set in, before the whole family give indisputable signs of their being fast asleep.

"Such is the every-day life of the peasant at Suedia—Christian and Fellah, with very little variation."—*Neale*, vol. ii., pp. 65—72.

And here we must quit Mr. Neale, with a general impression that the second volume, on which we have scarcely touched, is considerably superior to the first, to which we have been mainly limited by the scope of our survey. The ground, also, is less common than Palestine; and the information here given respecting beautiful parts and important towns of Syria, rarely visited by travellers, and of which we possess little recent information, is most acceptable, and will be much more referred to hereafter, as authority, than anything he has written respecting Palestine.

We have but small space left for Mr. Churton's *Land of the Morning*, which is, indeed, one of the kind of books that it is sufficient to characterize, as we have done in the early part of this article.

Mr. Churton went from Egypt to Sinai, and thence to Palestine, *via* Petra, singing as he went.^a We shall not attend

^a The work is interspersed with hymns, etc., composed at, or referring to, the chief localities. Some of them are above the common level of such compositions.

him here, but hasten with him to Jerusalem. It seems to have struck him as an unsavoury place:—

“On Wednesday the rain still continued. The streets of poor Jerusalem were still filthy, almost beyond description—mud and deep dirt being added to the usual heaps of human ordure, dung of dogs, sweepings of various filth and dust, that one sees at every angle and corner of frequented as well as of unfrequented streets. In the midst of some streets were gutters of filth and off-scourings: this is especially the case just below the Holy Sepulchre. Here the stench of raw hides, and public privies, etc., are combined. I would fain not enter upon this unpleasant subject, but it seems in some measure needed to illustrate prophecy (*e.g.* Isaiah iv. 4; iii. 26; and li. 23; and also Luke xxi. 24); and the glory of the Lord in Jerusalem, and Jerusalem’s glory in her Lord, shall one day be all the more conspicuous and remarkable, from the contrast with her present humiliation and pollution. As yet, I never saw streets abounding in the worst kinds of filth, as the streets and winding lanes of Jerusalem. Far different shall it be when her name is, “The LORD is there.” (See also Zech. xiv. 20.)—*Churton*, p. 136.

We very much approve of the sensible remarks which Mr. Churton offers, respecting the “holy places.” They agree very considerably with the view of this matter which we have always ourselves entertained. He is speaking of the Holy Sepulchre:—

“As this may be considered (supposing it to be the actual locality) as among the most holy spots to be found anywhere in Palestine, I would here state, once for all, that, to my mind, too much exactness seems sought for, both in this, and many other instances. The exact site of Calvary, and of the Holy Sepulchre, is a point more curiously interesting than really profitable to know. The words of the angel to the women apply even now: ‘HE IS RISEN: HE IS NOT HERE.’ Having read several works on the subject (Williams, Robinson, Wilson, Ferguson, Finlay, and others), I still incline to believe that the generally received site (though now so far within the walls) is probably correct. London, Oxford, and other cities, in their places of execution, such as Smithfield, and Bishop’s Gate, and Broad-street, seem to afford analogous cases. To my own mind, however, I confess that the general locality, and general (not precise) identities of spot, afford all that, in this respect, the heart can wish. Of the Sea of Tiberias, of the general locality of Nazareth, and of Bethlehem, and of Bethany, of the Mount of Olives, and even of the general identity (as a site) of the Garden of Gethsemane, there can, I think, be no reasonable doubt. Within the platform and area of the Harèm of the Mosques of Omar and El Aaka, stood, no doubt, the temple of Solomon. The Jordan, though probably with diminished stream, is the Jordan still, and little if any doubt can be entertained as to the lesser waters of Siloam. But so soon as the mind seeks after exact identity, nothing can ensue but chagrin and disappointment. The very ground-level on which we tread may be raised ten,

sixteen, twenty, or it may be thirty feet above the then level of these

‘ Holy fields,
Over whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage to the bitter cross.’

Rather let us look forward to the bright future, when this city shall indeed be the ‘joy of the whole earth,’ and Israel’s land ‘the glory of all lands’—even ‘Thy land, O Immanuel.’”—*Churton*, pp. 136-7.

There is a general impression that by means of cisterns, etc., Jerusalem is well supplied with water. From its elevated situation the place is necessarily deficient of natural supplies, and it appears the rain water is less profusely collected than has been assumed. The supply, altogether, is scanty ; and Mr. Churton’s party paid more for washing here than anywhere during their travels. Mr. Ewald (the Bishop’s chaplain), in the latter part of the autumn of 1842, paid two shillings daily, and upwards, to ten shillings, for the daily supply of water. This may have been an unusual case however ; for further on, with reference to the year of his visit, our author remarks that—“It is said at the present moment, as the latter rains have been unusually plentiful, Jerusalem has water sufficient for at least three years.”

There is an interesting observation respecting the absence, at Jerusalem, of the usual effect of familiarity with venerated scenes upon the mind :—

“Several of the English residents spoke of the effect of the scenes of Jerusalem, such as Gethsemane, the Mount of Olives, etc., as it were, growing upon them, the longer they stay in the place, rather than decreasing ; that at first it was difficult to realize—everything seeming confused : but that subsequently daily sight, and repeated visiting them, only enhances the interest. Mrs. V. said that, at first, when their children came in from a walk, and said, ‘We have been to Gethsemane,’ or, ‘We have been up to the top of the Mount of Olives,’ it caused a sort of feeling of profanation, and she was almost inclined to blame them for, as it were, profaning such consecrated names. But certainly, in none of the parties that we have seen at Jerusalem, does there appear, about such things, any unbecoming levity.”—*Churton*, pp. 188-9.

We learn the curious fact “that very offensive slaughter houses are purposely placed in the Jewish quarters of the city. The filth is not removed, but the offal is burnt in fires.” In the times of the Bible such offal and other refuse of the town were indeed removed, but only to the Valley of Hinnom, to be burned there, fires being continually kept up for the purpose. The illustration of the ancient practice at the same spot is certainly remarkable, such not being a usual mode of disposing of refuse by the Orientals.

Our author is more observant than almost any recent tra-

veller of the plants and animals of the country; and we should have liked some account of the conversation he says that he had with the Consul at Jerusalem on the flowers and climate of Palestine. We should have desired to collect and digest the observations scattered through this work, had not the kindness of Dr. Robinson secured for us an unpublished document on the subject, which we hope to find an early opportunity of presenting to our readers.

Mr. Churton's handsome volume—with its various attractions of engravings, poetry, Scripture illustrations, and cheerful piety—will probably find much acceptance in families, being one of the very few books of travel in that country, in all respects, suited to this service.

Z.

THE EPISTLE TO DIOGNETUS.

Introductory Remarks.

At a time like the present, when the first Christian authors are grossly misrepresented by two widely different classes of persons, such statements of doctrine, and such exhibitions of its proper effects upon their religious life, as they have left us in their own words, should be disentombed, and more generally circulated in an English dress.

The two classes referred to, are—

1. Romanists and Romanizers. These (taking the sound for the sense of the words of Horace) thus express themselves:

“Vir bonus est quis?”

Qui consulta patrum, qui leges juraque servat.”

And yet they take very little pains, clearly and candidly, to tell us what the *earliest* of the said fathers believed and said, or whether they gave us any laws and ordinances at all. Brief extracts, detached phrases, and passing references, are generally all we have of these—unless perhaps in the case of the corrupted text of Ignatius; though even that is frequently a very doubtful supporter.

2. The persons who delight to honour the “living present,” at the expense of the “dead past.” The others would have all life in the past, and none in the present; these would have all life in the present, and none in the past; (we believe they both

are fraught with life;) so they attempt to throw discredit upon all the early Christian writings, inspired and uninspired alike. What, forsooth, could such men know! They scarcely had learned the alphabet of the doctrine of Jesus: they were therefore most inapt at combining the scattered letters and syllables thereof into the breathing forms of words, and the intelligible sentences of the religious life! Whereas, we contend, and summon the evidence of their writings into court, that they were not mere dull scholars in the school of Christ, but men who had received the divine instructions so well, and imbibed the inspiration of Christianity so thoroughly, that they were able to produce in their lives such a work that, compared with it, the results of rationalistic and neologistic teachings as similarly exemplified in the life, are too often such as to prove that the tyro in the school of the Great Teacher, is verily living in these days after all.

While these observations apply in all things to the writers of the New Testament, they are more or less applicable to those who immediately followed them, but lay claim to no such inspiration.

The translator of the following epistle, brief, but beautiful in its earnestness and simplicity—though evidently touched by the hand of the innovator—has executed his task in the hope that some who have not done so, may be induced to examine well these remains of apostolic men,—men whose names may perish, as we see, but whose record is on high. Let such men have due honour. Amid circumstances of unparalleled difficulty they so lived as to prove the world unworthy of them, and gave such a turn to the tide of human affairs, that their influence will be felt to the remotest ages.

In the translation of the epistle the rendering is generally literal, and always meant to give the true sense of the Greek; of which no complete English translation with which the writer is acquainted, has before appeared.

Prolegomena. [For the most part condensed from the edition of Hefele.]

In 1592, Henry Stephens first published, with notes and a Latin version, this very valuable epistle; which has been called one of the most precious remains of Christian antiquity. The authorship is by many assigned to Justin Martyr, and is therefore often bound up with his works. But many think it much more ancient; as Tillemont, Nourri, Galland, and Lumper. Since then, G. Böhl, C. Semisch, and Otto, have discussed the question of authorship; the last for, the others against, the

claim for Justin. Semisch and Böhl, and those who take that view, argue from the difference of style: that Justin often quotes the Old Testament, with which he was familiar; while here it seems almost studiously avoided, even when as in sec. 1, 3, 4, almost necessary. "Besides," says Semisch, "this author differs from Justin in his views and treatment of idolatry." Justin believed that there really existed in the statues of the pagan gods, spirits, which he calls *δαίμονες*, and supposes to receive the offerings made to them. Semisch says all that is necessary upon the style of the epistle, as compared with that of Justin. While that of Justin, says he, partakes of the mixed character which the Greek, after the age of Alexander the Great, gradually and almost universally assumed, the style of this epistle approaches the purity of classical diction. While Justin is negligent of rule and often incorrect, great exactness of expression is displayed in this epistle. While Justin ordinarily limits himself to familiar and common terms, the writer of this epistle aims at lofty flights, and expresses himself in antithesis which is measured, select, and attractive. While Justin often breaks away from his subject by the interposition of some irrelevant idea, and speaks without logical sequence, the author of this epistle develops his ideas in regular logical connexion. Hence we altogether miss the peculiar manner of Justin, and find many words and phrases which he nowhere employs.

Otto could not weaken this argument from style.

Galland collects the arguments of others. *First*, The author professes to have been a hearer of the apostles; sec. 11. *Second*, He often speaks of Christianity as of recent date; sec. 1, 2, 9. *Third*, This epistle is never named in enumerations of Justin's works.

Galland thinks the epistle was written before 70 A.D., from the reference to Jewish rites in sec. 3, 4, as if the temple still stood. But why could not any later Christian say this, when speaking against Judaism? Hefele thinks with Böhl that the author lived near apostolic times, from the simple and scriptural character, both of the doctrine and its mode of exhibition; which seems not so much to have flowed from studied imitation, as to be the true expression of the apostolical instruction which he had enjoyed.

The authorship has been assigned to Clemens Romanus, and to Apollos. But Möhler, with more probability, ascribes it to the time of Trajan, from the reference to the persecutions in sec. 7, and from the antipathy to Judaism, which savours of the second century.

It is unknown who Diognetus was. M. Aurelius Antoninus had a tutor of the name, but this would be too late; the epistle dates nearer the apostles' times.

Böhl, Semisch, and Hefele, think sec. 11, 12, spurious; for which the following reasons have been alleged:—

a. The argument of the epistle closes with sec. 10.

b. What follows in sec. 11, 12, is unconnected with what precedes.

c. The praise of *γῶσις* in sec. 12, is inconsistent with what is said of *πίστις* in sec. 8.

d. The two last sections do not address one reader only, but more.

e. In sec. 11, the author professes to write by divine command; while in sec. 1, the epistle is said to be designed merely to answer the enquiries of a friend.

We may add that the style of sec. 11, 12, is far inferior, and the expression much less free, indicating a flow of ideas much more constrained: indeed, in all respects, these two sections are considerably below sec. 1—10.

The Epistle.

1. Most excellent Diognetus: inasmuch as I perceive thee to be very zealous in learning the religion of Christians, and in making very minute and sedulous enquiries concerning them, in what God they confide, and how they worship; since they all despise the world itself and condemn death; do not regard as gods those who are so reckoned by the Greeks, nor observe the Jewish superstition: also what that affection is, which they have towards one another; and why at length this new race (*γενος*) or profession has come into being now, and not before: I approve of this your desire, and I pray God who vouchsafes unto us both to speak and to hear, that it may be given to me so to speak, that you may be profited when you hear; and to you so to hear, that the speaker shall have no cause of regret.

2. Come therefore, having purged thyself of all thoughts which preoccupy thy mind, repudiating custom which deceives thee, and becoming as it were a new man once more, since, as thou hast confessed thou art about to become the hearer of a new doctrine.

See not only with thy eyes, but with thy understanding, what material or form they are of, whom you call and account gods. Is not one stone, like what is trodden under foot? Is not another brass, no better than the vessels which are made

^a This suggests the early date assignable to the Epistle.

for our use? This is wood, and already rotten! That is of silver, needing a man to guard it lest it be stolen! One is iron eaten by rust! another earthenware, in nowise superior to what is formed for the meanest purpose! Are they not all of corruptible matter? Are they not fabricated by means of iron and fire? Did not the sculptor make one of them, the brazier another, the silversmith another, and the potter another? Before being changed into this form by these men's skill, was not each variously wrought by them, and is it not so now? Could not vessels which have been made of the same material be fashioned like unto them, if they fell into the hands of the same artificers? And again, could not these which are worshipped by you, be changed into vessels like to those, by human art? Are not all of them dumb, blind, inanimate, senseless, and motionless? Are they not all corruptible and perishable? These ye call gods! worship and serve! and in the end resemble!⁴

Ye hate Christians, because they do not count these gods! when, do not ye, who yet regard and think them such, treat them much more contemptibly than they? Do not you much more insult and reproach them, who worship those of stone and earthenware unprotected: while you shut up those of silver and gold by night, and by day station keepers by them, lest they should be stolen? And by the honours which you think to pay them, you rather afflict them if they are endued with consciousness; and if they are unconscious you convict *yourselves*,^c by worshipping them with blood and the fumes of burnt fat. Which of you would endure this? who would suffer this to be done to him? But indeed no man would voluntarily bear this infliction, because endowed with sense and reason. A stone bears it because it is unconscious. Wherefore ye prove [them destitute of]^d consciousness. I could say much more as to Christians not being subject to such gods; but if this should seem insufficient to any one, I think it would be superfluous to say more.

3. In the next place, I think you particularly desire to hear about their not worshipping the same as the Jews.

The Jews then, even if they abstain from the aforesaid worship, and would venerate and regard One God the Lord of All, yet, if like them, they render to Him the same service, are in error.^e For if in what the Greeks offer to unconscious and dumb things, they present a specimen of folly; these, who think to

^b cf. Ps. cxv. 8.

^c or condemn *them* by worshipping them with such things. The pronoun in the text is supplied.

^d A lacuna in MS. as elsewhere when brackets, [], are employed.

^e See Note ^a.

offer the same to God, as though he were in need, might reasonably count them foolishness rather than godliness. For He who made heaven and earth, and all things which are in them, and who supplies us with all we need, requires none of these things himself, which He himself gives to those who think they give to him. Now they who think they offer sacrifice unto him by means of blood, the fumes of burnt fat, and holocausts, and that with these honours they grace him, appear to me—by thinking to confer something on him who needs nothing—not to differ from those who shew the same respect to dumb things, which cannot enjoy the honour.

4. But as it regards their sensitiveness (*ψοφοδᾶς*) about meats, and their superstitious observance of the Sabbath, their boasting of circumcision, and their pretence (*εἰρωνείαν*) about fasting and new moons—things which are ridiculous and unworthy of mention—I do not suppose you will need information from me. For how can it be right^f to receive some of the things which God created for the use of men, as created good (*καλῶς*), and to reject others as useless and superfluous? And to belie God, as though he forbade any good to be done on the sabbath-day, how can it be otherwise than impious? And to glory in circumcision as a proof of election, as if on this account pre-eminently beloved of God; how is it not worthy of contempt? And the making themselves attendants upon the stars and moon, in the observance of months and days; and [the accommodating] the arrangements of God, and the changes of the seasons some to feasting and others to mournings, according to their own inclinations, who will not account this the token much rather of foolishness than of piety.

That Christians rightly abstain from the vanity and deceit of both, as well as from Jewish punctiliousness (*πολυπραγμοσύνης*) and haughtiness, I think you have been sufficiently informed. But do not expect to learn from man the mystery of their peculiar religion.

5. For Christians are not distinguished from the rest of men, either by their country, or speech, or customs. For they neither dwell in cities by themselves, nor use some strange dialect, nor is their mode of living remarkable. This system, moreover,^g is not one invented by the ingenuity or thought of innovators; nor do they (Christians) propound a human dogma, as some do. But while they inhabit both Greek and foreign cities, as the lot of each is cast, and follow the national customs in clothing, food, and whatever else pertains to ordinary life, they exhibit the

^f In MS. *οὐ* is inserted, but clearly superfluous.

^g i.e., of Jew and Greek alike.

^h *μαθηματι* in MS., probably for *μάθημα* τι.

admirable and confessedly original institution of their own polity. They inhabit their own fatherlands (*πατρίδας*), but it is as sojourners. They take their part in all things as citizens, and suffer all things as foreigners. Every strange country is their fatherland, and every one's own country is a strange land.⁴ Like all men they marry and raise children, but do not abandon their offspring. They display a common table, but not a common [bed]. They are in the flesh, but do not live after the flesh. They dwell on earth, but are citizens of heaven.⁵ They obey the laws which are enacted, but their private lives are superior to the laws. They love all, but are persecuted by all. They are unknown, and yet condemned: put to death, and made alive: poor, and making many rich: destitute of all things, and abounding in everything:⁶ they are dishonoured, and in their dishonour they are glorified; they are defamed, and justified: they are reviled, and bless:⁷ they are reproached, and give honour: well-doers, they are punished⁸ as wicked: punished, they rejoice as those who are made alive: by the Jews they are warred against as aliens; and they are persecuted by the Greeks: and they who hate them cannot name a reason for their enmity.

6. But, to speak plainly, what the soul is in the body, that Christians are in the world. The soul pervades all the members of the body, and Christians all the cities of the world. The soul dwells in the body, but is not of the body; and Christians dwell in the world but are not of the world.⁹ The soul, invisible in itself, is detained in a visible body; and Christians are known to be in the world, but their piety remains invisible. The flesh hates the soul and wars against it—in nothing wronged by it, but because it forbids it to enjoy its pleasures; and the world hates Christians—in nothing wronged by them, but because they resist its pleasures. The soul loves the flesh, which hates it, and the members; and Christians love those who hate them.¹⁰ The soul is shut up in the body, but itself preserves the body; and Christians are detained in the world as in a prison, but they preserve the world.¹¹ The soul immortally dwells in a mortal tabernacle; and Christians sojourn among the corruptible, expecting incorruptibility in heaven.¹² Though afflicted by food and drink, the soul grows better; and Christians oppressed, daily multiply the more.¹³ In such a position has God placed them, and one which it is not lawful for them to refuse.

⁴ cf. Heb. xi. 13—15; xiii. 13.

⁵ Rom. viii. 13; Phil. iii. 20; John xvii. 16.

⁶ 2 Cor. vi. 10.

⁷ 1 Cor. iv. 12.

⁸ i.e., put to death.

⁹ cf. Joh. xvii. 11, 14, 16.

¹⁰ cf. Matt. v. 44.

¹¹ Matt. v. 13.

¹² 2 Cor. v. 1, seqq.

¹³ cf. Ex. i. 12.

7. For, as I said, this thing was not confided to them as an earthly discovery, nor are they anxious to observe thus carefully a human invention, nor have they been entrusted with the stewardship of human mysteries; but the Almighty, the all-creating and invisible God himself, sent down from heaven among men, and established in their hearts the Truth, and the holy, incomprehensible Word. He did not, as one might have expected, send to men some servant, or angel, or ruler, or any of those who manage earthly things, or any of those to whom administrations are committed in heaven; but the Maker and Framer of all things himself, by whom he created the heavens; by whom he confined the sea within its own bounds; whose mysteries [*i. e.* laws] all the elements[†] faithfully observe; from whom the sun received the measures of its daily courses, to keep them; whom, commanding it to shine by night, the moon obeys; whom the stars obey, following the course of the moon; by whom all things are arranged, and limited, and governed,[‡]—the heavens, and what is there, the earth, and what is there, the sea and what is there; fire, air, and the abyss; what is on high, what is in the depth, and what is in the midst: Him he sent to them. Was it, then, as any man might suppose, for tyranny, and terror, and dismay? Nay, verily, but in clemency and gentleness. He sent him, as a King sending his son a King: He sent him as God (Θεόν). He sent him as unto men: He sent him as a Saviour; to persuade us, not to constrain us, for God does not compel; as inviting, not persecuting, he sent him: He sent him as a lover not as a judge—yet he will send him as a judge, and who will abide his coming.”

[Do you not see] them (*i. e.* Christians) thrown to wild beasts that they may deny their Lord, but not overcome? Do you not see that the more they are who suffer, the more the rest increase?” This does not seem to be the work of man; this is the power of God; these are the tokens of his coming.

8. For what man perfectly knew what God is before his coming? Dost thou receive the vain and silly sayings of these trustworthy[§] philosophers, some of whom said God is fire?—whither they are themselves journeying, that they call God! others, water; others, some other of the elements which God created.^{||} Now, if any of these sayings is admissible, it might

[†] στοιχεῖα, *i. e.* Stars, or the twelve signs of the Zodiac; as often in Lat. and Gr. Fathers.

[‡] *cf.* Col. i. 16, 17.

[§] *cf.* 2 Thess. ii. 8. Rev. vi. 17.

^{||} This passage seems to point to the times of Trajan. *Conf. Mart. Ignat.* sec. 6, etc.

[§] δξιωστων, trustworthy, really, or in pretence, here the latter.

^{||} Vid. Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.*, passim.

be shewn of the rest of the creatures, that each one is similarly God. But these are the marvels and tricks of jugglers. No man ever saw or declared Him; He himself manifested himself. Now he manifested himself by faith, to which alone it is conceded to see God (*cf.* Heb. ii. 27).

For the Lord and Creator of all, God, who made all things, and arranged them in order, was not merely loving toward man, but long-suffering. Now such he ever was, and is, and will be,—kind and good, gentle and true: and He alone is good; and He conceived a great and unutterable idea, which he communicated to his Son alone. Now as long as he kept his wise counsel secret and undivulged, he seemed to neglect and forget us. But when, through his beloved Son, he revealed and manifested what had been prepared from the beginning, all things together (*πάνθ ἅμα*) he granted to us, both to share in his beneficence, and to see and handle him.^y Who among us ever expected so much? In himself, therefore, he, together with his Son, knew all things administratively.^z

9. Wherefore, during time past, he permitted us to be carried as we would, by irregular impulses, being led by pleasures and lusts; not, however, in any way gratified with our sins but enduring them,^a nor well pleased with that time of unrighteousness, but preparing the mind^b of righteousness; that, at that time proved unworthy of life, by our own works, we should now be counted worthy, through the goodness of God; and (having shewn it to be impossible of ourselves to enter into the kingdom of God) that we might now become able by the power of God. When our iniquity was full,^c and it was fully manifest that its wages, punishment and death, awaited us; and when the time came which God ordained finally to display his kindness and power—how that, of his surpassing affection and love for us, he did not hate us, neither rejected us, nor recalled our sins to mind, but was long suffering and patient,—He himself bore our sins;^d He himself gave up his own son a ransom for us, the Holy for the unholy, the Harmless for the evil, the Just before the unjust, the Incorruptible for the corruptible, the Immortal for the mortal. And what else could cover our sins but his righteousness? How can we, unholy and

^y *cf.* Luke xxiv. 39. 1 John i. 1.

^z *οικονομικῶς*. Hefele's Latin version, is, *juxta œconomiam* [*divinam*], but no word seems so nearly to convey the sense as the one above.

^a *cf.* Acts xvii. 30.

^b *τὸν νοῦν τῆς δικ.* If this is the true reading, it denotes apparently a *scheme* as existing in the mind. But if *νοῦν* be adopted, with *καρπὸν* understood, better sense would be made, and the construction more regular; the same as in the next clause.

^c Matt. xxiii. 32. 1 Thess. ii. 16.

^d *cf.* Is. liii. 4, etc.

godless, be justified, but by the Son of God alone? O sweet exchange, inscrutable designs, unlooked for favours!—that the iniquity of many should be hidden by One righteous, and that the righteousness of one should justify many sinners! Therefore having proved, in time past, the inability of our nature to attain unto life, and now having exhibited a Saviour able to save even the impossible (τὰ ἀδύνατα), by both he willed us to confide in his goodness, to account him our Supporter (τροφέα), Father, Teacher, Counsellor, Physician, Wisdom, Light, Honour, Glory, Strength, and Life, and not to take anxious thought for raiment and for meat. (Matt. vi. 25, 28.)

10. If thou also shouldst desire and receive this faith, first [thou wouldst obtain] the knowledge [of the goodness of God]. For God loved men, for whom he made the world, under whom he put all things which are therein;^e to whom he gave reason and mind;^f whom alone he permitted to look towards himself; whom he fashioned after his own image;^g to whom he sent his only begotten son,^h and to whom he has promised a kingdom in heaven, and will give it to those who have loved him.ⁱ When thou understandest, with what joy dost thou think to be filled! How wilt thou love him who first loved thee!^j And, loving him, thou wilt be an imitator of his goodness. And wonder not if man can become the imitator of God.^k If He wills, he can. Now to be happy is not to have power over one's neighbours, nor to wish to possess more than the feeble, nor to be rich and to compel those who are subordinate: neither in these things can any one imitate God. But these are separate from his Majesty. But he, who bears his neighbour's burden,^l who, in that wherein he abounds, wishes to benefit him that therein is deficient, who holds, as from God, whatever he has received and ministering the same to those who need,^m is the god of the receivers—he is the imitator of God.

Then shalt thou who art on earth, perceive that God governs in heaven;ⁿ then shalt thou begin to utter the mysteries of God; then thou shalt love and admire those who are punished for refusing to deny God; then shalt thou condemn the imposture and deceitfulness of the world—when thou hast learned that the true life is in heaven; when thou shalt despise what here seems to be death; when thou fearest that which is death indeed, which is reserved for those who shall be condemned to the eternal fire, that shall torment to the end those who are

^e Ps. viii. 6.^f Job xxxii. 8.^g Gen. i. 27.^h John iii. 16ⁱ 1 Cor. ii. 9; Jas. i. 12.^j 1 John iv. 10, 19.^k Eph. v. 1.^l Gal. vi. 2.^m Rom. xvi. 2; 1 John iii. 17.ⁿ Or, ἀνθρώποις, among men.

delivered up unto it. Then, when thou dost know of that fire, thou shalt admire and count happy those who for righteousness' sake^o endure the fire [in this world.]

11. I do not discourse of what I know not, nor rashly persuade, but having been a disciple of apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles. That which has been committed to me, I minister to those who become worthy disciples of the truth. For who that has been rightly instructed, and been begotten by the loving Word,^p does not seek to learn the things which have been clearly shewn by the Word unto the disciples, to whom the Word manifested them when he appeared, speaking plainly (but not understood by unbelievers) when he declared them to the disciples? Those who were accounted faithful by him, were taught the mysteries of the Father, wherefore he sent the Word to appear to the world—He, who having been despised by the people, and preached by the apostles, was believed on by the Gentiles.^q He who was from the beginning, was recently manifested and found [in the flesh,] and is ever born afresh in the hearts of the saints; who is eternal, but to-day reckoned as a son: by whom the church is enriched, and grace extended, is multiplied among the saints—grace, which gives understanding, makes mysteries manifest, declares the times, rejoices over the faithful, and gives to those who seek—by whom the boundaries of faith are not broken through, nor the landmarks of the fathers transgressed.^r Moreover, the fear of the law is commended, and the grace^s of the prophets is known, the faith of the gospels is established, the tradition of the apostles is observed, and the grace of the church is exultant. If you grieve not that grace, you shall know what the Word speaks; by whom he will, and when he will. For whatever we were moved to utter by the will of the Word commanding us, we diligently communicated with you, for love of the things revealed unto us.

12. Which things, if you diligently read and hear, ye shall know how great things God confers on those who love him aright, who become a paradise of delight, producing in themselves the tree; which bears all manner of fruit, flourishes luxuriantly, and is adorned with varied fruits. For in this place^t

^o Matt. v. 10, 12; Jas. v. 11.

^p Or, *φροσφιλής*, in nominative, *Verbo amicus factus*, Maranus. *cf.* Col. i. 21, 22; and 2 Cor. v. 19.

^q *cf.* 1 Tim. iii. 16.

^r "Decrees unanimously agreed to by the Fathers."—Böhl. Rather, the opinions which those who preceded generally regarded as orthodox, *comp. expression* in Prov. xxii. 28.

^s i. e. the grace which they received.

^t In paradise.

has been planted the tree of knowledge and the tree of life. Now the tree of knowledge does not destroy, but disobedience destroys. For that which is written is not uncertain, how God, from the beginning, planted the tree of knowledge in the midst of paradise;* by knowledge directing to life, which the first men did not properly use, and so were made naked through the deceitfulness of the Serpent. For life was not secure without knowledge, nor knowledge without true life. Wherefore they were planted near to each other. Which influence (i. e. for mutual security, and arising from their proximity) the apostle observing, and finding fault with the knowledge which is applied to life without the condition of truth, says, "knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth."^y For he who thinks he knows anything, without the knowledge which is true and attested by life, knows it not, is deceived by the Serpent, and has not loved life.^z But he who understands with fear, and seeks for life, plants in hope, and looks for fruit. Let knowledge be unto thee a heart, and true doctrine,^z when received, thy life. Producing the tree and bearing the fruit whereof, thou shalt always gather what is approved of God, what the serpent does not handle, nor deceit touch; neither is Eve [then] corrupted, but as a virgin is trusted.^y Salvation is shewn, and apostles are instructed, the Lord's passover advances, the choirs assemble, and are orderly arranged; and, teaching the saints, the Word is glad, by whom the Father is glorified: to whom be glory for ever: Amen.

B. H. C.

* By means of true knowledge, God shewed the right way to life; but man abused the privilege, and fell.

^y 1 Cor. viii. 1. ^z cf. 1 Cor. viii. 2. ^z Or, wisdom, λόγος.

^y Those in whom this true knowledge obtains a place will find it a constant preservative from sin, and a source of perpetual blessing.

ISRAEL AFTER THE FLESH.

Israel after the Flesh; the Judaism of the Bible separated from its Spiritual Religion. By WILLIAM HENRY JOHNSTONE, M.A., Chaplain of Addiscombe. London: John W. Parker. 1850.

THE question, *Whereto serveth the law?* has always been one of great interest, and has, perhaps, obtained a full solution in but few minds. The Mosaic institutes have not been understood either by Christians or Jews. By the former they have been considered in too mystical a point of view; by the latter, in a point of view too literal. The Jew, we are sure, is the more widely removed from the true interpretation, because he looks not to Him who came to fulfil the law; at the same time, the Christian does not discriminate that which is essentially Jewish, and, consequently, fails of the true meaning. It may safely be said that the greater number of those writers who have applied their attention specially to the Pentateuch have had their own collateral objects in view, by which they have been biased. The Romish Church has always aimed at transferring the splendour of Levitical ceremonies, and the authority of the Levitical priesthood to Christian worship, and to the Christian ministry. A new Jerusalem has in that system been reared in Rome, and each of their houses of worship presents a mimicry of the temple of Solomon. Those who follow in the wake of the Romish interpreters, we mean all those who are anxious to give an overstrained importance to sacramental acts, and generally to the sacerdotal order, find in the Jewish rites a convenient argument to forward their purpose. The old Puritans, on the other hand, and with them all in recent times who exaggerate what they term "the headship of Christ over the Church," revelled in the notion of a theocracy. The Mosaic law was found to admit of most extensive application to modern affairs, and when the sturdy warriors fought for liberty of conscience against the Prelatical royalists of their day, they wielded, according to their favourite expression, "the sword of the Lord, and the sword of Gideon." There is another class of writers, differing widely from either of the above, who under-rate the importance of the Mosaic system altogether. They almost question the inspiration of the Old Testament Scriptures, and would recommend their investigation only so far as light might be afforded to the writings of Evangelists and Apostles. Their favourite idea is that all the law has been fulfilled by

Christ, that he has in all respects superseded it, completing in his person all the types, and in his acts fulfilling its obligations, so that henceforth the believer may regard the law as that with which he has no concern, and is bound to rejoice alone in the promises and privileges of the Gospel. The tendency of these views is, in the strictest sense of the term, *antinomian*.

We say that most of the writers who have investigated the Mosaic institutes, have been prompted by an extraneous object. Mr. Johnstone, whose work we now commend to our readers, is an exception to this remark. He has applied himself with singular impartiality, and with a degree of patient research that is evident in every page, to ascertain, if possible, the nature and spirit of the Levitical system. His labours have been rewarded by his being enabled to suggest an original line of thought upon this perplexing subject of inquiry, and though his results do not amount, as he seems to think to *discoveries*, and are, in many instances, dependent on nicely balanced reasoning, we may consider the entire argument as highly valuable, indicating, as it does, an enterprising spirit of inquiry duly held in check by a cautious habit of thought.

Before we proceed to notice Mr. Johnstone's mode of treatment, we may be permitted briefly to enunciate some of our own views, which we had always held in reference to the nature of the Mosaic covenant. We think it the more necessary to do this as Mr. Johnstone is disposed to overrate the novelty of this position. Thus he remarks in his introductory chapter:—

“When I commenced this investigation, I confess I did so with the vague impression that the Old Covenant meant an engagement entered into, wherein God promised to give life and immortality on condition of performing the whole law. But when disregarding human theories, I looked into the Bible, I discovered (and I do not hesitate to say I was *startled* by the discovery) that the Old Covenant, everywhere spoken of in both the Old and the New Testaments, which, when the Epistle to the Hebrews was written, was ‘ready to vanish away,’ was, in plain words, nothing of the kind.”—p. 7.

But to proceed with an enunciation of our views. The Mosaic covenant appears to have been intended to serve only a temporary purpose. So far from its being a “development” of patriarchal religion, it was a retrogression, as respects the privilege of the worshipper. Many hindrances which had not previously existed, the exclusiveness of the priesthood, and the cumbrous nature of the worship, kept him “afar off.” The law, we say, was inferior to that which went before. We are expressly told that the covenant that was confirmed before (*προκεκυρωμένην*) of God in Christ, the law which was four

hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect. (Gal. iii. 17.) Moreover, the Christian dispensation is, in the inspired argument of St. Paul, made to approximate more closely with that of the patriarchs. "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise." (ver. 29.) Now the law came from God, and yet it contained elements that admitted of decay and waxing old. Not one jot nor one tittle of it was to pass away until all was fulfilled; but it would appear that a few centuries sufficed for the establishment, for the use, and for the dissolution of some of its provisions. On the other hand, it enunciated principles that were eternal; "weightier matters" there were, on which the hand of time could have no dissolving influence. These considerations would suggest to any thoughtful mind a comparison with the dispensations that respectively went before and followed after, whereby it will be found that that which is peculiar to the Mosaic system, is an addition of ceremonials, a suppression of certain doctrines, and the observance of customs which implied a nation of small extent, and bound by the closest social ties; and these customs enforced by the sanction of temporal rewards and punishments. At the same time, we observe that the patriarchal religion was not lost. The law in itself made no direct allusions to a future state, or to the immortality of the soul; but the example of Abraham was universally familiar, to whom promises were made, but only partially in this life fulfilled; who looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Job's evangelical faith, too, was on permanent record; graven, we might say, with an "iron pen and lead in the rock:" and with this harmonized the language of David in the Psalms, and of Daniel, at the close of his prophecy, clearly shewing that a faith which was not expressly propounded in the Levitical code, had really been transmitted from patriarchal times. In other words, vital spiritual religion, which "looked not to the things which were seen, but to those which were unseen," was to be found in the midst of a dispensation which appeared to be, in a great degree, of a carnal and temporal character. The doctrine of a future life, we might add, was received by the majority of the nation, even in our Lord's time; and if a particular sect repudiated it, its scepticism was not the result of any deficiency in the Scripture, but of an infusion of pagan philosophy. The moral law, moreover, was less Jewish than patriarchal. The two commandments, on which hung all the law and the prophets, had been promulgated as much to those who lived ages before Moses. Even the fourth commandment, which too many unhappily are apt to

regard as an arbitrary statute of the theocracy, began with the word "remember," to couple it with the laws of an antecedent dispensation. Another feature has never escaped us ; that as a more privileged system of religion had existed before the law was established, so at the introduction of Christianity it was not authoritatively made to cease, but survived until the destruction of the temple and city, and the dispersion of the Jewish people, made a continuance of Levitical rites impossible. It would appear also, that our Lord during his ministry, and his apostles subsequently to his crucifixion, adhered as Jews to the ordinances of Moses ; whilst it was decreed by the first council of Jerusalem, that not even circumcision could be enforced upon Gentiles ; implying that these observances were national, but not universally essential ; requisite to the Jew as such, but not to the seeker of eternal life.

We give this slight sketch of the subject, as it had presented itself to our mind before entering upon a perusal of Mr. Johnstone's pages. We do so in order that we may, with greater facility, point out the special features on which this acute investigator has laid the greatest stress. Throughout the work he strongly insists on the exclusively temporal character of the Levitical covenant, a position which he endeavours to establish in his first chapter. We are disposed to admit, with him, that the law was never intended as a covenant of individual justification ; indeed the idea that it was so intended may have, in a great degree, originated in a mistaken apprehension of the apostle's reasoning against the Jewish view of this point. Supposing that a covenant of works could have yielded an eternal reward to man in his sinless state, had he stood firm, it would be nugatory in the case of all those who bring a sinful nature under its requirements, and these are necessarily coextensive with the entire race. What, then, was the Levitical covenant ?

Let Mr. Johnstone answer for himself :—

"That covenant had nothing whatever to do with eternal life (except by way of type or suggestion) ; it had nothing whatever to do with any, except with the nation of Israel ; and nothing whatever with any mere individual in that nation. It was made with the nation collectively, and was entirely temporal. God promised to give the land of Canaan to the nation of Israel, only so long as the nation collectively acknowledged Jehovah as the one God."—p. 7.

Many will find a difficulty in acknowledging this proposition, just as it stands, because there is much in the law which is of eternal import, and there are many cases mentioned in Scripture history of God's dealing with individuals, on account of their

particular sins. The covenant is acknowledged by Mr. Johnstone to have been originally made with Abraham. With him it was a matter of individual concern, "I am the Almighty God: walk before me, and be thou perfect, and I will make my covenant between me and thee, and will multiply thee exceedingly." (Gen. xvii. 1, 2.) And when the patriarch had manifested his faith and obedience by his cheerful readiness to offer Isaac upon the altar, the covenant was renewed in him. "In thy seed shall all nations of the earth be blessed, because *thou* hast heard my voice." (xxii. 18). It is the same patriarch who discerns, in the temporal promise of the land of Canaan, the revelation of future glory in a spiritual state; "He looked for a city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God." (Heb. xi. 10.) We can understand that Mr. Johnstone is not unmindful of these points, apparently at variance with his argument, as he has subscribed to the doctrine that "the Old Testament is not contrary to the New; for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to mankind by Christ, who is the only Mediator between God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises." (Art. ix.) We say that these points are *apparently* at variance with Mr. Johnstone's argument, although they admit of being traced to an independent principle. The national covenant and the moral law are blended, and yet not so entirely but that we may distinguish between them. Besides, the national covenant always prefigured the new and better covenant, being a shadow of good things to come, so that there was not an ordinance connected with it that had not a spiritual meaning, and which does not become associated in the mind with heavenly realities. It requires, therefore, some caution before we sever them from these higher relations, and interpret them exclusively in connexion with a political system. On this account Mr. Johnstone's theory, although it is in many respects well founded, occasionally indicates a recklessness bordering on irreverence. This is only too consistent with his views of the inspiration of Scripture; views, which do not hinder him from using such expressions as "with the same design, the Lawgiver *took advantage*," etc. (p. 82), and, "The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, with his extraordinary intimacy with every turn in the Old Bible, would appear not only to have used the Greek version, but *not to have known* the Hebrew." (p. 180.)

We are most glad, notwithstanding, to stand upon Mr. Johnstone's platform and consider the Levitical covenant as a national treaty, the possession of the Land of Canaan as the stipulated

national privilege, circumcision as the national sign of the covenant, the sacrifices (reserving the holocausts as offerings for sin, appointed previously to the Levitical system) as federal rites, connected with the holding of the territory, and the great law of the covenant to be "Thou shalt have none other Gods but Jehovah." It is quite clear that God continually dealt with the nation as such, not always visiting the sins upon the individuals who committed them, or even upon the nation in their own day, but reserving the punishment for the third or fourth generation. It is clear, also, that many sins were committed simultaneously by individuals in large numbers, which did not result in national punishment, and for the reason that they were not strictly national sins, or violations of the national covenant. This feature of the inquiry is traced, in the volume before us, with most elaborate care, and the result is made very intelligible that where there was a national surrender of the acknowledgement of Jehovah, punishment followed, whilst, if the sin fell short of this, the divine wrath was stayed, seeing that it did not amount to a rupture of the covenant. Thus, the idolatry of the ten tribes, as well as of Judah, in worshipping the gods of the nations, led to the captivity, from which the former never returned; and the rejection of Jesus, as God manifest in the flesh, was followed by yet more signal vengeance, the destruction of the temple, and the dispersion of the whole people.

We heartily approve of Mr. Johnstone's remark that the rejection of Jesus was a rupture of the covenant.

"It was 1800 years that they were chased from the land by the Romans, and they have never since returned to it. And why? How is it that this people have been cast out of the land, when God engaged upon his own truth to give it them, so long as they did not reject him?

"Does any one accuse God of having broken his own covenant? That be far from us! In Him there is no variability, neither shadow of turning. God would not have rejected them, had they not rejected Him.

"They did reject Jehovah when He visited them in great humility; when they cried out, We will not have Him to reign over us. They did, when they stood before Pilate's Prætorium, invoke upon themselves the consequences of rejecting Him. From that day to this, in spite of individual conversions, the nation is obstinately set upon thrusting from them the Son of God; they show no signs of repenting; they are not permitted to reoccupy the land." (p. 33.)

We cannot stay to comment on the chapter on Federal Institutions. Their relation to the Jewish polity is very clearly

shewn, and renders this portion of the argument of great value. Their relation to the Gospel is also brought out with peculiar clearness, and their authoritative cessation referred to as involved in the destruction of the temple.

If, then, we are to conceive a nation sprung from a single family, united in the bond of a covenant with God, each male bearing in his own person the token of the covenant, and all engaged implicitly to obey the laws of the theocracy; if we are to imagine the territory which was appropriated to them, and which was theirs so long as the fundamental law was not broken, to what purpose, we proceed to ask, was the isolation of this family, with its territory, scarcely more than a geographical degree in extreme length? We might say that this was the preparation of a candlestick which was to carry "the light of the world." The nations were fast lapsing into darkness, and, consistently with the divine dealings, both in nature and grace, twilight was made to precede the effulgence of the dawn. The law was added because of transgressions, and "though it could not impart spiritual religion, it introduced the world to it." Mr. Johnstone has answered the question, and amplified the apostolical reply in a masterly manner. He shews that Israel was at least made acquainted with the unity of God, his immediate and sensible providence over human affairs, the fact that he vouchsafes to the world manifestations of himself, and his immateriality. It is to be remembered that the Christian religion is indebted for its technology to the Jewish, and although the Israelite worshipper, as he contemplated the type, saw not the antitype, and was bound to the "rudiments of the world," yet we, on looking back, are able to supply what was lacking by means of the higher revelation which has been given us. Our author truly observes that "the types were *really* shadows, not substances; introductory to religion, but not religion; and the apostolical types in the Epistle to the Hebrews are clearly such as would prepare the world for Christianity, but by no means could be Christianity." (p. 81.)

That the doctrine of a future life was held by the nation of Israel Mr. Johnstone admits, but denies that it was expressly revealed in the law. This we think a reasonable view. It was rather one of the first principles of natural religion on which patriarchs built hopes, and psalmists declared their hearts' experience, whilst prophets avowed their belief in more explicit terms. He shews that Warburton's reasoning on this point was partly right, but that he erred in supposing that Judaism had a distinct reference to individuals rather than to the nation at large. It may be noticed that the passage by which our Lord

silenced his opponents among the Sadducees implies a resurrection only by considerations deduced from natural religion.

“When he said so solemnly,” remarks Mr. Johnstone, “that God is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live unto him; he intended to teach that if God was their God, he would have blessed them. They did not obtain the covenanted blessings; and therefore, if they died everlastingly, he was less their God than he was of the prosperous wicked.” —p. 123.

We wish we could convey to our readers a more explicit view of the reasoning employed by Mr. Johnstone, for substantiating the national character of the Jewish covenant. We again say that we receive his arguments with caution, and would desire to balance them very maturely before we pronounce upon them. It generally happens that where a subject is involved in complexity, a writer cannot produce a clear and distinct theory without having recourse, however unintentionally, to sophistical reasoning. That Judaism was a national polity we all assert, (Mr. Johnstone asserts it absolutely;) that it was a system of individual religion, he denies; and we cannot quite agree with him. That the two principles intermingled, seems more probable; and even here Mr. Johnstone will admit that there was an under-current of natural, and perhaps traditional, religion, coexistent with the law that had been “added.”

To the latter portion of the work we can extend a much less qualified approbation. Indeed we have seldom read a more masterly exposition of the working of Judaism, at the time of the first preaching of Christianity. This will render the volume of great value; and though its weight necessarily depends on the validity of the reasoning brought forward in the early part of the book, yet is it in a degree independent of the principles there established. No more interesting questions can be propounded, than those which relate to the Jewish element of early Christianity. Without fully appreciating the distinction, how are we to understand the sermon on the mount, the errors of Pharisees and Sadducees, and our Lord’s mode of combating them, the ritual observance adopted by Jesus and his apostles, and the disputes about circumcision which divided the church at an early stage? For fourteen years after the ascension, the church was Hebrew-Christian; and so long as Jewish converts remained in the land, and the temple reared its head, they were bound as Jews to keep the law and observe the customs which Moses had established. The hopes of the nation, even in their dispersion, are intended by the God of Israel to be directed to a territorial restoration. And it is doubtful whether any success-

ful effort can be made towards Christianizing them, by those who do not recognize these hereditary promises and privileges. On these points Mr. Johnstone makes many valuable remarks, to which we can do no more just now than refer our readers, with the utmost confidence that they cannot fail to derive much suggestive material of thought.

C D

REMARKS ON 1 CHRON. vi. 16—38.

PROFESSOR Hengstenberg, in his valuable *Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch*,^a adduces the peculiar *Levitical* character of the name *Elkanah*, as a *corroborative* proof that the prophet Samuel belonged to the tribe of Levi. The *direct* proof of this is contained in 1 Chron. vi., which has preserved the genealogy of this particular family from Jacob down to the era of Solomon. To those who are disposed to pass over many portions of Holy Scripture, as containing information of no importance, or to cavil at them as needless and unedifying repetitions, the chapter before us speaks with no uncertain sound; admonishing us to beware of treating lightly what the Divine Spirit has deemed worthy of a place in the sacred canon.

I. In the first place, this apparently dry and unnecessary list of names throws an interesting and important light on a transaction long since past. On turning to Num. xxvi. (another chapter of "dry" genealogical details like this in Chron.), we find (v. 9, 10) a slight mention of the rebellion of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; to which is appended (v. 11) this brief and seemingly casual remark, "Notwithstanding the children of Korah died not." This verse again (as Graves and Blunt have shewn) throws back an important light on Num. xvi.; clearing up what would otherwise have remained at least doubtful, as to the fate of the children of Korah. But this short verse has a *prospective* as well as a *retrospective* value; and it is to this point the reader's attention is more especially invited; not only as illustrating our chapter in Chron., but as furnishing proof of the *oneness*, the *symmetry*, and the *mutual dependence* of the several parts of the inspired word. We believe that as

^a ii. 50, 51. Eng. Trans.: Edinburgh. 1847.

Biblical researches continue to be prosecuted, it will become more and more apparent that no book, no chapter, no verse, is without its use; that nothing is recorded without a purpose: and thus we shall be led to the only safe, because the only rational, conclusion, that "*All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness.*"

We have seen then that Num. xvi. receives important light from Num. xxvi. 11. Equally important is the light which Num. xxvi. 11. and 1 Chron. vi. mutually cast upon each other. We naturally ask *why* we are told in the former passage that the children of Korah were not involved in their father's destruction. The latter furnishes the answer to this enquiry. If we possessed only the general narrative of Num. xvi., without the brief but valuable information comprised in Num. xxvi. 11, we should be startled at the discovery that in 1 Chron. vi. we have a long list (including the illustrious names of Samuel and Heman) of the *descendants* of this very Korah, who, from the general terms of the original narrative, and in the absence of further particulars, would seem to have perished from the earth with "all that appertained" to him. The fact, however, thus specified, of the exemption of Korah's children from destruction, removes every difficulty, while it links together in perfect harmony two widely separated and seemingly contradictory documents.

II. We have observed how this chapter in 1 Chron. illustrates and supplements the early history of the book of Numbers. Let us now examine it more closely, and endeavour, from an analysis of its contents, to elicit yet further proof of its intrinsic importance.

Our attention is of course confined to the line of *Korah*, the son of Izhar, who was the *second* son of Kohath, son of Levi. With the *priestly* line, derived from the *eldest* son of Kohath, and with the descendants of the other sons of Levi, we have no concern: our view is therefore limited to the verses from 16 to 38, inclusive.

1. The first thing that strikes us, on an attentive inspection of these verses, is the fact that there are *two* genealogical lists of this family; one in a *descending*, the other in an *ascending* series. This, so far from being a superfluous repetition, will prove, as we shall see, a most valuable aid to our investigations.

2. Another observable point is, that these lists, although here placed in juxtaposition, were originally drawn up at different times, and for different purposes; and are therefore perfectly *independent* documents. (1.) The first (v. 16—28) has evidently been taken from the archives of the tribe of Levi;

while the second (v. 33—38) is as evidently derived from the family register of the musician Heman. (2.) Moreover, the two lists, it will be observed, are not coextensive. The extreme points of the one are *Levi* and the *sons of Samuel*; of the other, the *grandson* of Samuel and the *father* of Levi: which shews that the second is not a mere inversion of the first. (3.) Another proof of the independence of the two documents arises from the remarkable dissimilarity of their respective names: not more than half of the twenty-three descents possessing names precisely the same in both.

These considerations are important; for they enable us to employ the two lists as distinct and independent witnesses, whose points of agreement leave us no doubt that we are treading on firm ground, while any discrepancies in their testimony warn us to proceed with cautious circumspection. Taking likewise into account the liability of all ancient compositions to minute errors of various kinds, from the ignorance or carelessness of successive transcribers; a liability from which the Divine Being, in His infinite wisdom, has not seen fit to exempt the inspired writings; we have little doubt that one great design of *repetitions* like this, was to furnish us with the means of *correcting* such errors from internal resources. For it is unreasonable to suppose, *e.g.*, that the text of the two genealogies in question would be corrupt exactly in the same particulars.

III. Bearing these preliminary considerations in mind, let us examine the lists separately, in order to ascertain which of them presents the strongest indications of a pure text, and consequently is to be regarded as the *standard* to which the other must be assimilated.

1. To begin with the first in order (v. 16—28), we cannot but perceive the want of that perfect *uniformity* in its construction which is characteristic of such documents when correctly transcribed.^b How are we to explain, *e.g.*, the presence of the conjunction *vau* before some of the names, and not before all? This, indeed, would be a trivial objection, apart from more serious indications that the text is in a corrupt state.

2. But such indications are not wanting. Verses 25 and 26 present a very *suspicious* appearance; indeed it seems impossible to give any intelligible account of this part of the genealogy, as it there stands. Our authorized version does not exactly represent the Hebrew, which is still more confused and perplexing. Literally, the two verses read thus: "And the sons of Elkanah, Amasai, and Ahimoth, Elkanah his son, Elkanah, Zophai his

^b See Matt. i.; Numb.; and 1 Chron. *passim*.

son, and Nahath his son.” Here we remark (1), there is an Elkanah *wanting* in immediate succession to Shaul (v. 24); for surely we should have an account of the *father* before reading of the *sons*. But (2) as if to compensate for this omission of Elkanah in the proper place, we have a superabundance of Elkanahs in improper places. The frequent recurrence of the name, which is remarkable in this family,^c appears to have bewildered some unfortunate transcriber, who first went astray; and his successors, instead of discovering the error, have only aggravated the difficulty by additional blunders.

3. The same remark applies in part to the 28th verse, where Samuel is similarly left out of the regular succession to Elkanah (v. 27), and is only mentioned *incidentally* as the father of Vashni and Abiah.

4. And now we come to the most remarkable proof of the corrupting influences to which, from some cause or other, this genealogy has been subjected. Let us observe the phraseology of the last verse. “And the sons of Samuel; the first-born Vashni and Abiah.” At the very first glance, the reader cannot fail to detect an awkwardness here; the impression being communicated that there is a want of *proportion* about the latter half of the verse. Why should “*first-born*” be mentioned in connexion with Vashni, when nothing analogous (such as *second*) is mentioned in connexion with Abiah? The name too, (Vashni), has a barbarous sound, and is destitute of that *significance* which attaches to most Hebrew appellations, besides presenting a startling contrast to that which is elsewhere given to Samuel’s eldest son. We beg the reader’s attention to 1 Sam. viii. 1, etc., where we have some account of the sons of Samuel; brief, it is true, but sufficient for our purpose. If the 2nd verse of this chapter be carefully compared with the 28th verse of 1 Chron. vi., it will be clearly perceived that an egregious blunder has crept into the latter, which the former (doubtless the *locus classicus*) serves at once to expose and correct. In the former we read: “Now the name of his son *the first-born* (habbechor) was Joel, and the name of *his second* (mī-shnē-hū) Abiah.” Let us now turn to the verse in 1 Chron., and translate it literally, as it now stands; regardless for once of the Masoretic punctuation, which is comparatively a modern invention, and possesses only a qualified authority. “And the sons of Samuel, *the first-born* (habbechor) . . . and the *second* (ū-shēnī) [and] Abiah.” The plain truth of the matter is now apparent. The name of the eldest son (*Joel*) has slipped out of the text, by some act of gross careless-

^c See Hengstenberg, above.

ness; subsequent transcribers, ignorant or forgetful of the passage in 1 Sam., and the 38rd verse of this very chapter, yet conscious of the necessity for *some* name after "the first-born," to make sense, have actually transformed the Hebrew for "and the second" (*usheni*), which comes next, into a *proper name*; and then, as they thereby lost the conjunction "and," they were compelled to coin a new one, and prefix it to Abiah! Such appears to be the rationale of this otherwise perplexing sentence. The mistakes must have occurred at an early period; for even the Septuagint version, which reads, ὁ πρωτότοκος Σαὶ καὶ Ἀβιά, has contributed to give currency to them. The Syriac and Arabic, however, read as in Samuel.

IV. We have now, we trust, said enough to shew that *this* pedigree, in its present condition, would be a very unsafe guide in any genealogical speculations. Let us therefore turn to the *other* (v. 33—38), and ascertain whether it possesses any stronger claims to our confidence. We believe that it will be found, after the most careful examination, to be entirely free from those suspicious circumstances that have led us to distrust the former list. It runs smoothly along, without the slightest irregularity or change of construction. The *presumption* therefore is strong that this list, where it differs from the other, is to be preferred as the more accurate one, and that it may safely be employed, when necessary, to correct the errors of the first. But in order to arrive at *positive proof* of its superiority, it will be necessary to institute a careful *comparison* of the two genealogies in their several parts. This we proceed to do, noticing each point of difference as it arises, and adding such observations as may seem to be required.

1. The first discrepancy that meets us is in the name of the son of Kohath; who, in the first list, is twice called Izhar, and once Amminadab; in the second, only Izhar. It is remarkably confirmatory of the assumed correctness of the second list, that this son of Kohath is elsewhere named Izhar. See Exod. vi. 18; Num. xvi. 1, etc., etc. But even if this does not justify the suspicion that Amminadab may be a mistake, there is no difficulty in supposing that the son of Kohath bore both names, as is often the case. There would seem, indeed, to have been some *principle*, now perhaps lost to us, on which apparently distinct appellations were used interchangeably. There is an instance very similar to the one before us, in the case of king Saul's second son; who is generally called *Abinadab* (1 Sam. xxxi. 2; 1 Chron. viii. 33; x. 2); but in one place (1 Sam. xiv. 49) *Ishui*.

2. The next difficulty appears more serious. In the first

list, the names following Korah as far as *Tahath*, are Assir, Elkanah, Ebiasaph, Assir, Tahath; in the second, they are only Ebiasaph, Assir, Tahath. These latter answer to the three last of the other list, leaving Assir and Elkanah superfluous. Here, again, the superior accuracy of the second list is capable of easy proof. For if we turn to Exod. vi. 24, we find that Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph were *three sons* of Korah; not his son, grandson, and great-grandson, as represented in the first list. It is evident that an early transcriber, having perhaps several Levitical genealogies before him, has inadvertently inserted the three sons of Korah, as if they were three distinct generations; not perceiving that the line of descent is through the *third* son of Korah, viz., Ebiasaph. The names Assir and Elkanah must therefore be expunged, being *collateral* branches, not *direct* removes, as the text in its present state would lead us to infer.

3. The son of Tahath is called *Uriel* in the first list, and *Zephaniah* in the second. This individual is not mentioned elsewhere; nor is there, we believe, any analogous case from which we may form an opinion as to the accuracy of either or both names. In the absence of all proof to the contrary, we may safely assume both to be correct; and the more so, inasmuch as the two names are of equivalent signification. The one (Zephaniah) may be translated "the secret of the Lord;" while the other (Uriel) evidently alludes to the sacred "Urim," by means of which the Divine Being vouchsafed to reveal His secret purposes.

4. With the next discrepancy, viz. *Uzziah* and *Azariah*, there is less difficulty; for we meet with at least two other instances in the Bible, in which these names are interchanged. Compare 2 Kings xv. 1 and 13. Also, 1 Chron. xxv. 4 and 18. This circumstance, while it satisfies us as to the identity of the two names in question, also strengthens the proof of the identity of the names immediately preceding and succeeding.

5. The previous remark fully justifies us in considering *Shaul* and *Joel* as representing the same individual. Joel, like Elkanah, appears to have been a favourite family name. Thus we find, lower down in the genealogy, Samuel, the son of Elkanah, giving to his own eldest son the name of Joel. See v. 33, and 1 Sam. viii. 2. This alone would *incline* us to believe that *Joel* and not *Shaul* should be the reading in the first list. In this case the two names resemble each other too much for us to suppose them originally different names for the same person. Our suspicions are strengthened, when we perceive that we are close upon the passage, whose palpable corruption we have already had occasion to point out. Here, then, it would appear,

the text ceases to be trustworthy. Some careless scribe seems to have depended on his *ear* rather than his *eye* while writing; hence the mistakes that crowd upon each other in the brief space of two or three lines. It is singular that *both Joels* should have suffered while this fit of carelessness lasted; in the one case, corrupted to Shaul; in the other, altogether omitted.

6. The next discrepancy is in the son of Amasai; viz., *Ahimoth* in the first list, and *Mahath* in the second. These, it is possible, are only different forms of the same name, on the well-known principle of the anagram. Or, judging from its position in the very midst of a vitiated passage, Ahimoth may be a mistake of the copyist for Mahath, like Shaul for Joel.

7. *Zuph* and *Zophai* (or rather Zuphai, Hebrew) are sufficiently alike to bespeak their identity. But here, again, the greater accuracy of the second list is evinced by reference to 1 Sam. i. 1, which also has Zuph; the balance is thus turned in favour of the shorter reading. The final letter-must, therefore, be considered a mistake, and may fairly be added to the many other indications of corruption in this part of the Hebrew text.

8. *Nahath* and *Toah* next arrest our attention. Here we are much inclined to think that some transcriber, misled by the homœoteleuton (having just written Zuphai) has copied the *Mahath* following Amasai, and this has been further corrupted to Nahath. For, singularly enough, 1 Sam. i. 1, (which reads Tohu), again furnishes evidence of the *substantial* correctness of the second list; their respective readings differ only in the transposition of a letter.

9. The same remark applies to the next name in the genealogy, which is written *Eliab* in the first list, and *Elie!* in the second. Here, also, the accuracy of the second list is attested by 1 Sam. i. 1, whose reading *Elihu* is precisely equivalent in signification, whereas *Eliab* is essentially different. The termination *el*, therefore, is to be preferred to *ab*.

We conclude with the following version of the text of the first list, corrected in accordance with the preceding remarks:—

Verse 22. The sons of Kohath; ^dAmminadab his son, Korah his son.

„ 23. Ebiasaph his son, Assir his son.

„ 24. Tahath his son, Uriel his son, Uziah his son, ^eJoel his son.

„ 25. Elkanah his son, Amasai his son, ^fAhimoth his son.

„ 26. Elkanah his son, Zuph his son, ^gNahath his son.

^d Query *Izhar*? See verses 2 and 18. Also Ex. vi. 18, 21. Num. xvi. 1; iii. 19, 27. 1 Chron. xxvi. 23, 29.

^e or Shaul.

^f or Mahath.

^g Query Toah or Tohu? See 1 Sam. i. 1.

Verse 27. ^aEliel his son, Jeroham his son, Elkanah his son, [ⁱSamuel his son.]

„ 28. And the sons of Samuel ; the first-born Joel, and the second Abiah.

N.B.—In v. 33. For Shemuel (a needlessly perplexing variation of the translators) read Samuel.

E. W.

REMARKS ON REV. xxii. 8. 9.

THE prophecies contained in the Apocalypse close with the vision, which, under the emblem of a holy city, splendid and glorious, where God and the Lamb dwell in the midst of their people, foretells the new state of things, to the establishment of which the administration of Christ is directed, and which will be eminently manifested during the latter days. The remaining portion of the book (ch. xxii. 6-21) contains attestations of the truth and value of the preceding disclosures, accompanied with encouragements, invitations, and warnings, founded upon them, similar in some respects to those given in the first or introductory chapter. These declarations are usually regarded as having been addressed to John, partly by the angel who had been commissioned to shew to him the New Jerusalem, and partly by Christ himself. They commence with the words, “And he said unto me,” v. 6, which are supposed to imply that the person addressing him was the angel who had explained to him the immediately preceding vision ; and the similar introductory statement which occurs in v. 10, is regarded as referring to the same party. Then, in v. 16, the Saviour himself is expressly mentioned as being the speaker, “I, Jesus, have sent my angel to testify unto you these things in the churches ;” and hence the invitations and warnings which follow to the close of the chapter are attributed to him. But the partition of the closing declarations of the Apocalypse between the angel to whose ministry John was indebted for the visions he had seen, and the Saviour, introduces the strangest confusion into this portion of the narrative. Though Jesus is not expressly mentioned as a

^a or Elihu. See 1 Sam. i. 1.

ⁱ This addition is recommended by Houbigant.

speaker before the sixteenth verse, yet there can be no question that some of the previous declarations were made by him. No created angel could appropriate the titles, "Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last," or say of himself, "Behold, I come quickly," more especially when the design of this coming is declared to be "to give every man according as his work shall be," v. 7, 12, 13. We thus find declarations which could be made only by Christ introduced among announcements attributed to the angel, and introduced without any intimation of a change of speaker; so that we are constrained to suppose that the angel and the Saviour alternately addressed the prophet, who in recording their addresses gives no information respecting the authors of them. Such inextricable disorder ought not to be attributed to his narrative. And it is at once and entirely got rid of, by supposing that what might naturally have been anticipated is the true state of the case, viz., that the province of the angel by whom the visions recorded in the Apocalypse were revealed to John, and of all the other angels occasionally employed as his coadjutors or assistants, ceased when the prophetic disclosures were finished; and that the whole of the concluding attestations, promises, warnings, and invitations were given by Christ himself, who is, therefore, the speaker in the first as well as in the later portions of them—the person referred to in the introductory notice, v. 6, "And he said unto me."

Before proceeding, however, to state the grounds on which this view rests, it will be proper to quote as much of the passage as it will be necessary to refer to in the subsequent remarks. "And he said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true; and the Lord God of the holy prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done. Behold, I come quickly: blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book. And I, John, saw these things, and heard them. And when I had heard and seen, I fell down to worship before the feet of the angel which shewed me these things. Then saith he unto me, See thou do it not: for I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren the prophets, and of them which keep the sayings of this book. Worship God."

The manner in which the mission of the revealing angel is spoken of in these words certainly harmonizes better with the opinion that the information respecting it was given to John by a third party than that it proceeded from the angel himself; and the attestation of the faithfulness and truth of the sayings received from the angel must appear more appropriate, and more powerful, when viewed as the attestation of him who is the

faithful and true witness, than when considered as nothing more than the attestation of him by whom the disclosures had been made to the prophet. The narrative, however, respecting John's attempt to worship the angel may be deemed inconsistent with the opinion that Christ is the only speaker; and this is probably the circumstance which has led to the general, if not universal, ascription of some of the closing declarations concerning the truth and value of the Apocalyptic prophecies to the angel. If, therefore, it can be proved that this narrative does not speak of any thing that took place when the words recorded in the immediately preceding verses were addressed to John, but is a notice of an incident which had previously occurred, and which had been recorded in its proper place, all ground for the ascription of any of the accompanying declarations to the revealing angel will be removed.

That John had on a previous occasion offered worship to the angel who shewed him the vision which he has recorded, and that his worship was rejected by its object, is distinctly intimated to us. "And he saith unto me, Write: Blessed are they which are called unto the marriage supper of the Lamb. And he saith unto me, These are the true sayings of God. And I fell at his feet to worship him. And he said unto me, See thou do it not; I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren which have the testimony of Jesus. Worship God; for the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy," ch. xix., 9, 10. That there is no such discrepancy between the two narratives of John's prostration before the angel as forbids the supposition that both refer to the same incident, but on the contrary such a striking similarity as furnishes a presumption in favour of this view, will scarcely be denied. But positive evidence of its correctness is not wanting. That it was religious homage which John offered to the angel is plain from the rejection of it by its object, on the ground that he, like John himself, and the ancient prophets, and Christians generally, was only a servant of God. As, therefore, it is in the highest degree improbable that an Apostle of Christ would knowingly or deliberately offer spiritual worship to a creature, whatever his dignity or his own obligations to him, we can explain the conduct of John in no other way than by supposing, either that he conceived the angel interpreter, who had imparted to him the visions he had witnessed, to be Christ himself, or, that in his amazement and ecstasy at the disclosures made to him, he lost the consciousness of what he was doing, like Peter on the mount of transfiguration. But if this attempt of John to worship the ministering spirit employed to disclose to him the Apocalyptic visions, appears strange to us, and is difficult

to be explained, what can we think or say of a second attempt of the same kind? It must be pronounced to be beyond the limits of credibility. Neither of the suppositions by which the attempt referred to in the nineteenth chapter may be explained, can be applied to a repetition of it, after the explanation and admonition which it called forth. John knew that the angel interpreter was a created spirit; and the visions by which he had been so overpowered were ended and gone; so that it is impossible to reckon an offer of worship to the angel in these circumstances as any thing else than an act of positive idolatry, of which the Apostle was incapable.

That there was no repetition of the offer of homage to the angel on the part of John is obvious from the phraseology employed in the second narrative, which is different from that of the first. In the first, he says simply, "And I fell at his feet to worship him." But in the second, he characterises the party to whom he offered worship, as the angel who shewed him the things recorded in the prophecy of this book, and intimates that the attempt was made by him at the time when he saw and heard these things. Why this special description of the party and the time, if the angel was then talking with him, and if he then fell down at his feet? On this supposition the brief and intelligible statement previously used was all that was necessary. By specifying so particularly the party and the time he intimates, not very obscurely, that the object of his proffered homage was, not the person then speaking to him, but another who had been employed to shew him the visions he has recorded; and that the attempt so worship him was made, not when the truth and faithfulness of the sayings of the prophecy of this book were certified to him, but when the things which he has narrated in it were seen and heard by him, or before the visions, and the explanations of them given by the angel were ended.

But why, it will naturally be asked, does John here refer to an incident which had occurred some time before, and which had already been recorded by him? There was a reason for it, which is suggested by the intimations which, he informs us, were given him by Christ. Many strange scenes had been presented in vision to him, indicating great vicissitudes in the condition of the Church—periods of heavy calamity and severe persecution, of merciful preservation and ultimate triumph; and their wonderful character having a tendency to beget doubts of their truth, he first of all received from Christ a solemn attestation that his prophetic visions were not deceptive, but that all that had been signified to him by symbolical emblems or representa-

tions would be fulfilled in its appointed season. "And he said unto me, These sayings are faithful and true." This attestation of the truth and faithfulness of the whole of the disclosures he had received was followed by an intimation, which notified their speedy accomplishment, the design for which they were given, and the source in which they originated. "And the Lord God of the prophets sent his angel to shew unto his servants the things which must shortly be done." Now, as this three-fold notification is the basis of the subsequent admonitions and warnings and invitations which John received and has recorded, and is, therefore, of high importance, it is repeated and explained in the verses which immediately follow. Two of the statements contained in it are explained by the Saviour himself. He had characterized the subjects of disclosure as "things which must shortly be done," and the reason of this description of them is given in the solemn declaration, "Behold, I come quickly;" and he had declared that they had been disclosed to John, in order that they might be known unto God's servants, and to illustrate this he intimates the importance of the keeping, and, consequently, the knowledge of them. "Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book." Our Lord, however, did not need to give to John any proof or illustration of the assertion that the Lord God of the prophets was the author of the visions witnessed by him, and that the angel from whom he had directly received them was merely the messenger or instrument by whom God had been pleased to communicate with him; for he had already obtained such evidence of this as must have left a powerful impression on his mind. But as it might not so readily occur to the reader of his prophecy, he again refers to it.

The reason of the repetition of a narrative previously given was thus the illustration or proof which it furnished of the intimation made by Christ that all "the sayings of the prophecy of this book" were from God, who had sent his angel to reveal them to John. When worship was offered to the angel, it was refused by him on the ground that he sustained the same character which belonged to John himself, and to the ancient prophets, and to all Christians—that of a servant, and was not, therefore, entitled to divine worship, or even to such worship as gratitude for the disclosures made to him might have prompted John to pay. And this refusal was accompanied with a command to him to worship God, which is to be regarded—not as an intimation that God alone is the proper object of worship, for this was a truth which John already knew, or as a command to pay to God that worship to which he was entitled, for this was

a duty which John would not neglect—but as a declaration that the gratitude which John felt for the disclosures made to him was due, not to the angel who was only a servant, but to God from whom he had received his commission. The whole incident thus impressively attested the statement of Christ that the Lord God of the prophets had sent his angel to shew to John the visions, and the explanations of them, which he has recorded : and it was on this ground that a reference to it was introduced into the narrative of the solemn declarations respecting the truth and importance of his predictions, which was given him by Christ. The repetition was not a vain one ; for it reminds us that though the ministry of an angel was employed to communicate to John the Apocalyptic prophecies, they are as truly divine as the writings of the ancient prophets, and, therefore, faithful and true, and worthy of being investigated, that we may obtain from them the instruction, the consolation, and the direction as to conduct, which they are adapted to impart. All scripture, being divinely inspired, is profitable ; and the book of the Revelation is not an exception to this testimony, for, “ Blessed is he that readeth, and they that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein.”

D. D.

CORRESPONDENCE.

LITURGICAL ORIGIN OF PARTS OF THE LXX., ETC., NOTES AND QUERIES.

To the Editor of the ‘ Journal of Sacred Literature.’

DEAR SIR,—There are subjects of biblical criticism with regard to which even little contributions are of value ; I therefore wish to bring before your readers a few remarks on the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, which are in part in the way of suggestion, and in part in that of inquiry. I shall be glad if others can aid me in carrying the investigation farther.

Several years ago I was reading Mr. De Sola’s edition of *Forms of Prayer according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, when, in p. 46 of vol. i., I observed the following :—

קחם ימים וזמן ימים בל יום על חזק. "The songs which the Levites sang daily on the raised platform."^a Then follows פסמי יום, "On the first day," and the 24th Psalm. I remembered how in the LXX. this Psalm (there the 23rd) is headed, Ψαλμός τῷ Δαυίδ τῆς μιᾶς σαββάτου, and this part of the Jewish Prayers seemed to hint the origin of the addition to the title. This led me to examine farther.

For the *second day* of the week stands Psalm 48 (LXX., 47), with the heading in the Prayer-book פסמי יום, and in the LXX. with δευτέρῃ σαββάτου added to the title.

For the *fourth day* there is Psalm 94 (LXX., 93), designated פסמי יום in the Prayer-book, and with τετράδι σαββάτου subjoined to the title in the LXX.

For the *sixth day* there is Psalm 93 (LXX., 92), headed in the Prayer-book פסמי יום, and with the title in the LXX. εἰς τὴν ἡμέραν τοῦ προσαββάτου, ὅτε κατωκίσται ἡ γῆ ἀίνος ψῆς τῷ Δαυίδ.

Thus there are four Psalms, the headings of which in the LXX. accord with a liturgical note in the Jewish Prayer-book.

I have long been accustomed to advert to this circumstance as proving the antiquity of part at least of the Jewish liturgical arrangements; but I think that possibly this connexion of the LXX. with the order of the Jewish prayers may illustrate in part at least the origin of that ancient version.

In comparing the Psalms for each day of the week with the LXX., I used simply the common Vatican text, in which there is nothing appended to the titles of the Psalms for the *third* and *fifth* days of the week. I have now no opportunity for examining whether amongst the various readings of Holmes and Parsons there are any variations in the headings of the 82nd and 81st Psalms (LXX., 81 and 80), which are those for the days in question: it is pretty certain however that the 81st (LXX., 80th) had once a Greek heading answering to the Jewish Prayer-book, for the Latin *Psalterium Vetus* prefixes *quinta sabbati*.

Would then the Jewish liturgical antiquities at all illustrate the origin of the LXX. readings in other places in which they differ from the Hebrew? I suggest the subject to biblical students, some of whom may be able to throw some light upon it. What is *known* as the *early* Jewish synagogue worship? *When* did the different parts originate? *Where* can accurate information on these points be obtained? I have noticed enough to shew that in part at least the liturgical arrangements are older than the LXX. version; and if we could accurately determine the early use of Scripture in the Jewish services, we might find that the origin of various things in the LXX. would become clear. If part, such as the Psalms, bears traces of its liturgical origin, perhaps we shall find that the rest was translated (the Pentateuch probably the first) as wanted for synagogue worship, and from copies arranged for liturgical use.

I should be glad to receive farther information on a subject, my

^a Mr. De Sola translates "In the temple:" but פסמי is an *elevated stage, suggestus*.

knowledge of which is confined to what I have observed in examining the *Forms of Prayer* as edited by Mr. De Sola.

All students of the New Testament are aware of the difficulties which have been raised as to whether the passover which our Lord ate with his disciples the evening before he suffered, was the proper Jewish passover or not. I am led to this subject from the consideration, that if we could establish the antiquity of certain Jewish observances, all the supposed difficulty would be removed, because we should then find that the theory which represents St. John's Gospel as discrepant from the other three, would be based on a supposition which *could* not accord with Jewish custom.

It is clear that the three former gospels teach that our Lord did eat the passover with the twelve the night before he suffered, that is, on the Thursday; but from certain expressions in St. John's Gospel, it has been urged that he represents the *real* passover as taking place on the Friday; hence it has been said by some that the gospels contradict one another; and by others (as recently by Mr. Alford) that the feast spoken of in the three former gospels was not *really* the passover.

In proof that all difficulty can be satisfactorily met, I need only refer to Dr. Davidson's *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. i., pp. 102—108;^b but at present I wish to inquire, whether in our Lord's time the first day of the passover was ever *allowed to fall on a Friday evening*? This query may sound strange to some ears, for I do not remember to have seen it noticed in discussions on this subject, that the Jews in their present cycles of feasts never allow the passover to begin on the evening of a Monday, Wednesday or Friday. To prevent this, the month Nisan is commenced a day earlier or a day later as the case may be, as the Jews keep the feasts according to whatever day is *proclaimed* to be the first day of the month.

Now I ask, have the Jews adopted their rejection of Monday, Wednesday and Friday, as the passover-day, since the time of our Lord? If not, then the supposed difficulty is met; for St. John could not represent the passover as being kept on a day which all would know was not the day which the Jews ever thus observed.

I believe (for I have not the calculations by me) that in the year of

^b The supposed difficulties in St. John's Gospel arise from the mention of the *feast of the passover* as though it were yet to be eaten, and of "the preparation of the passover." (xix. 14.) Of this latter Mr. Alford says, that "Friday in the passover week" is not the natural meaning of *πασχαυῆς τοῦ πύργου*, "nor would it ever have been thought of in this place, but for the difficulty arising from the whole passover question." To this strong statement let me reply, that when I first read the Gospel of St. Mark in Greek, chap. xv. 42 taught me *πασχαυῆς ὅ ἐστι προῶδ-β-β-β-β*, and this inspired definition was quite enough to shew me (before I ever heard of the difficulty) that *πασχαυῆς τοῦ πύργου* was "the day before the Sabbath of the passover," i.e. the Friday of the paschal week. The difficulty as to the passover being spoken of as a thing yet to be eaten in John xviii. 28, was quite removed by Luke xxii. 1, "the feast of unleavened bread which is called the passover;" although the passover was *properly* the paschal lamb, and the feast of unleavened bread *properly* was that which *followed* it, yet in customary phraseology the more important name of passover was applied to the whole.

the consulship of the two Gemini, in which ancient writers say that our Lord suffered, the passover would fall astronomically on the Friday; but from the proclamation of the first day of the month being made one day prior to the new moon (as found by calculation), the passover festival would fall on the Thursday night, as observed by our Lord. If this be the case, then the feast which our Lord kept was the *proper* anniversary passover, and yet the day on which he suffered was the *actual* anniversary of the killing of the paschal lamb, and of the deliverance by its blood in Egypt. Perhaps some competent astronomer would give me exact information as to the correspondence of the new and full moons with the days of the week in the year in question; and perhaps some scholar versed in Jewish antiquities will say whether the present cycle of feasts was then in use. I think that it may have been so, from finding that other points of Jewish observance are still more ancient.

As these notes and queries of mine have arisen out of considerations connected with the LXX., I may append to them remarks on one or two passages in the paper on the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures in your last number. I confine myself to a few points; for to go into the subject fully would require as much space as K. L. himself has occupied in his endeavours to disprove and set aside all the critical labours which have been bestowed on the LXX. for the last century and half.

In the foot note, p. 255, K. L. says:—

“In Ps. xvi. 10, where the word for *thy Holy One* is now plural in every copy expressed masoretically; yet the Greek version is singular, as are no less than 180 copies of the Hebrew discovered by Kennicott. As the argument of the Apostle urged upon the Jews depends upon the word's being singular, this is a difference of great importance, and *incontestibly proves wilful corruption on the part of the Jews.*”

This is jumping to a conclusion with a vengeance. Is every transcripural blunder in the *New Testament* to be put down to *wilful corruption* on the part of the Christians? If not, then let not the Jews, “to whom were committed the oracles of God,” be accused of *wilful corruption* on such grounds. K. L. might just as well bring such accusations against a compositor who was not infallible, as against the Jews in *this passage*. Observe that, on his own shewing, these same Jews have preserved the true reading in 180 copies.

The *facts* stand thus. In Psalm xvi. 10, in the common printed Hebrew copies, there stands אִתְּךָ, the small circle over the Jod refers to the margin, where there is a masoretic note, ׳וֹרֵךְ signifying that the Jod is redundant; the same thing is shewn by the singular vowels. Thus so far from the word being plural “in every copy expressed masoretically,” the reverse is the fact; every masoretic copy says *twice over* that the word is singular. And this is not all; for the MSS. which read the word אִתְּךָ are not merely 180, but in fact 269, and the printed editions are 52, and this is the reading given in the Talmud and other Jewish writings. The truth is, that the investigation of this passage affords an incontestible proof that the Jews have done all

that lay in their power to maintain that the word is singular in spite of the Jod which transcriptural error introduced into some copies.^c

In p. 275, K. L. makes a strong *assertion*. He quotes from Matt. xv. the words of our Lord :—

“ ‘Ye hypocrites! well did Esaias prophecy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh to me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. *But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*’ This passage is certainly quoted from the Septuagint (Isa. xxix. 13) in which every word is found. In the Hebrew, on the contrary, the whole of the ninth verse, which we have marked in italics, is wholly wanting. Nothing answering to it has been found, so far as we are aware, in a single MS.”

Let the Old Testament Hebrew or English be opened at Isaiah xxix. 13, and there are the plain words, “*And their fear of me is taught by the precept of men.*” So much for the clause being “wholly wanting.” K. L. has made a *mistake*, and that a great one; I hope that this may teach him caution, especially as he has seen fit to magnify the mistakes of others, real or supposed, into “incontestible proofs of wilful corruption.” I may add, that in this passage the New Testament, even in the common text, does not *verbally* accord with the LXX., and still less does it in the best authorities.

K. L. seems to be unaware that copyists of the LXX. (as well as editors) have sometimes borrowed a little from the New Testament. Some of the quotations which he brings forward would be materially affected by an accurate statement of *facts*. To these I request him to attend before he writes farther on the subject. I only ask him now whether he is prepared to maintain that the word which the Samaritan has introduced into Gen. ii. 24, and which *he says* confirms the LXX. and New Testament reading, is a part of the genuine text? How would he expound the reading *והיה כסוד*?

I remain, yours truly,

Plymouth, Jan. 30, 1852.

S. P. TREGELLES.

CHRONOLOGY FROM THE EXODUS TO SOLOMON.

To the Editor of the ‘Journal of Sacred Literature.’

MY DEAR SIR,—The duration of the period from the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt to the building of Solomon’s temple, is one

^c The manner in which the Jews have here maintained the true reading in the 16th Psalm, makes me feel the more surprised at the translation which Mr. De Sola gives (*Forms of Prayer*, i., p. 121), “neither wilt thou suffer *thy pious servants* to see corruption.” But though the rendering is thus false, he gives the Hebrew *לְעוֹלָם* simply in the singular.

It is perhaps proper to mention to some readers that K. L.’s statements about Psalm xvi. 2 are derived (apparently without personal examination and without verification) from a hyperbolical sentence in Kennicott’s *Dissertatio Generalis*.

of the most perplexing subjects in the whole compass of sacred chronology: arising, first, on account of the want of Scripture dates; and secondly, on account of the errors and inconsistencies of Josephus. The time that elapsed from the division of the land of Canaan amongst the Israelites, to the beginning of the first servitude under Cushan Rishathaim, is nowhere stated in the Scriptures: and then from the termination of the sixth servitude under the Philistines to the commencement of the reign of Saul, there is nothing definite as to its chronology. Dr. Hales, basing his calculations upon the statements of Josephus, concludes that the period from the exodus to the building of the temple, was 621 years. But Bishop Russell has sufficiently shewn that Dr. Hales has mistaken Josephus, and that there is no foundation for the conclusion to which he has arrived. Josephus expressly states in one place, that the period was 612 years; but he also expressly states in another place, that it was 592 years. Bishop Russell and Mr. Smith adopt the latter statement as the correct one, because the particulars of Josephus agree with this, and not with the former of 612 years. It must be remarked however, that some of the particulars of Josephus are erroneous: for instance, he states that Saul reigned only twenty years; whereas the New Testament teaches that he reigned forty years. On this subject therefore, Josephus clearly ceases to be a correct authority. When the statements of the Jewish historian are consistent either with the Scriptures or with themselves, he ought unquestionably to be regarded as an important chronological guide; but when his statements are evidently inconsistent and erroneous, it would seem to me that he must be abandoned; and that we must prosecute our enquiries by some other means.

That the Israelites wandered in the wilderness forty years, admits of no dispute; and that about the close of the second year, the spies were sent to search the promised land, is likewise unquestionable. Now from the 14th chapter of Joshua we learn that, at the time of this search, Caleb was forty years of age; and that when the land of Canaan was actually divided by lot amongst the Israelites, Caleb was eighty-five years of age. This therefore shews that the division of the land took place seven years after the Israelites had entered the promised land; for forty, the age of Caleb at the sending out of the spies; thirty-eight, to the passage of the Jordan; and seven, to the division of the land, make eighty-five; the age of Caleb when the division took place. How long Joshua lived after this division was made, the Scriptures do not inform us. Josephus however states that he lived eighteen years; and as there is nothing either in the Scriptures, or in any other ancient historic record at variance with this statement, there is no reason why it should not be regarded as correct. After the death of Joshua, however, to the commencement of the first servitude, there is an interval, the duration of which can be determined only by the circumstances recorded, and the ordinary chronology of human affairs. As it may be expected therefore, chronologers differ in their judgment; but the extent to which they differ cannot fail to excite surprise.

Marsham makes the interval to be thirty-four years; Dr. Adam Clarke, thirty; Boothroyd, twenty-six; Townsend, twenty-two; Hales, ten; and Jackson, Russell, and Smith, only two years. Amid these diversities of opinion, the attempt to arrive at anything like a satisfactory determination of this interval may seem perfectly hopeless. And yet I cannot help thinking that the difficulty arises rather from the jarring theories of chronologers, than from anything insuperable in the case itself. Let us look at the account which the Scriptures give us of this part of the Jewish history.

In the 2nd chapter of Judges we are informed that "the people served the Lord all the days of Joshua, and all the days of the elders that outlived Joshua, who had seen all the great works of the Lord that he did for Israel:" that, "all that generation were gathered to their fathers; and that there arose another generation after them which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works that he had done for Israel." This second generation we are told forsook the Lord, and defiled themselves by idolatrous practices; and that as a punishment for this wicked defection, God sold the people into the hand of Cushan Rishathaim. From this account then it seems clear that, in calculating the duration of this period, time must be allowed for the gathering of one whole generation of the Israelites to their fathers, and for the rising up of another generation to succeed it; that time also must be allowed for a general apostacy of this second generation, which in the very nature of things must have been gradual; and then time likewise between the apostacy and the infliction of merited punishment, for God almost invariably exercises patience for a while, before he pours out his judgments upon the wicked. Now to suppose that all these events took place in the short space of two years or ten years either, is utterly inconsistent with everything that we know of the history of communities, and of the providential government of the Most High. Bishop Russell indeed is quite aware of the force of this objection, and hence he asks:—

"Is it within the bounds of probability, that in so short a period all the elders who survived Joshua should have died; all the generation who were acquainted with the circumstances that attended the occupation of the promised land should likewise have expired; and even that a new generation to whom all these things were unknown, should have grown up, deserted their own religion, and habituated themselves to the service of false gods? Is it at all likely that this mighty revolution in knowledge, faith, and manners, could be brought about in two years; and moreover, that the people should have arrived in that time to such an enormous pitch of practical idolatry as to have provoked Jehovah, who is slow to anger, to deliver them into the hands of their enemies?"

"If therefore," says the Bishop, "we were at liberty to make any addition to the period between the exode and the foundation of Solomon's temple, I should be inclined to insert a number of years immediately before the commencement of the first servitude."

Here then, Bishop Russell fully admits that it is almost, if not altogether impossible for the events and circumstances in question to have taken place in the short space of two years; and yet, suffering himself to be trammelled by the erroneous and self-contradictory statements of Josephus, he allows only two years notwithstanding; and

thus adopts a chronological theory which he himself admits to be utterly incredible, if not altogether impossible in fact. It can admit of no question therefore, that a much longer period than either two or ten years is imperatively required, from the death of Joshua to the beginning of the first servitude; nor can the erroneous and contradictory statements of Josephus be allowed for a moment to stand in opposition to the clear declarations and requirements of sacred writ. We must have chronological consistency and truth, whatever becomes of Josephus.

Now in endeavouring to settle the duration of the period in question, there is a passage in the 13th of Acts, which although in some respects indefinite, is nevertheless of great importance on this subject; and what appears to me to be the correct interpretation of it, will, if I mistake not, greatly assist in conducting us to a satisfactory conclusion. In that chapter, St. Paul states that, when God had destroyed the seven nations of Canaan, and divided the land by lot to the Israelites, he gave them judges about the space of 450 years, until Samuel the prophet. A question however arises here, which it would seem is not of very easy solution, and the answer to which bears immediately upon the chronology of the period; namely, To what part of the history of Samuel are we to refer the apostolic expression, "until Samuel the prophet?" Is it to be referred to the commencement of the twelve years prior to the reign of Saul, when according to Josephus, Samuel became sole judge? Or is it to be referred to the time of Eli's death, which took place twenty years before, and when Samuel may be supposed to have become Eli's successor? Or lastly, is it to be referred to the time when Samuel was called of God to be a prophet, which took place several years prior to the death of Eli? Bishop Russell, taking Josephus for his guide, refers the expression to the termination of the seventh servitude, when Samuel commenced what Josephus calls his twelve years' sole administration. But Josephus is unquestionably guilty of an error of twenty years in his chronology on this subject. He makes Samuel to be sole judge during the twelve years that transpired from the termination of the seventh servitude, to the accession of Saul; and places the commencement of these twelve years immediately after the death of Eli: and yet nothing is more certain, than that Eli died, not at the termination, but at the beginning of the seventh servitude, which was of twenty years' duration; and consequently twenty years before Samuel commenced what Josephus calls his twelve years' sole administration. If therefore Samuel was sole judge from the death of Eli to the accession of Saul, his sole administration continued not for twelve years only, but for thirty-two years; and consequently the statement of Josephus on this point is clearly an error. That Samuel was judge from the termination of the seventh servitude to the accession of Saul, there is no reason to doubt; but there is not the slightest intimation in the Scriptures, that the commencement of these twelve years is the epoch to which the expression in the 13th of Acts refers. A similar remark applies with refer-

ence to the time of Eli's death, at the beginning of the seventh servitude; since we have no notice of any change in the official position of Samuel at that time, to which the expression of Paul can be applied. It remains then, that we refer the expression as Dr. Hales has done, to the time when Samuel was constituted a prophet, by an express commission from heaven; and which took place when God revealed to Samuel his designs concerning the destruction of Eli's house. This was the commencement of Samuel's official career; and therefore seems obviously to be the proper point of time to which the expression in the 13th of Acts is to be referred. When Samuel became a judge, we know not. It is said indeed, that he judged Israel all the days of his life; but when his administration as judge commenced, the Scriptures nowhere inform us. Besides, Paul does not say, "until Samuel the judge," but, "until Samuel the prophet;" which clearly refers to the period when Samuel was divinely appointed to the prophetic office. And had it not been for the erroneous chronological dates of Josephus, and the embarrassment created thereby, we can hardly suppose that any biblical student would ever have thought of referring the expression of Paul to any other period of Samuel's history.

But although it is thus evident that the expression in Acts refers to the commencement of Samuel's official career as a prophet, it still remains to be determined at what period Samuel became a prophet; and this can be done only on the ground of probability, and the common course of events; since the Scriptures furnish no distinct data on the subject. There are however some considerations that will materially assist us, and the agreement of which can hardly fail to render a conclusion perfectly consistent, and to invest it with a high degree of probability. In the first place, we must have a period of sufficient length, between the death of Joshua and the commencement of the first servitude, to allow of all those changes and events that have already been noticed, and which cannot be supposed to have transpired in less than thirty or forty years. Secondly, at the time when Saul was elected king, Samuel is said to have been old and grey-headed, and on that account unequal to the effective discharge of his official duties; and therefore cannot be supposed to have been less than sixty or sixty-two years of age. And then, thirdly; Josephus states that Samuel was twelve years of age when God called him to be a prophet; and as this accords with the Scripture account, which represents Samuel as a child at the time of his call, there is no reason to doubt its truth. Taking these three considerations then as our guide, we arrive at the conclusion that Samuel became a prophet fifty years before the accession of Saul, which answers to the twenty-third year of Eli's administration; for fifty added to twelve, the age of Samuel when he became a prophet, make sixty-two, the age of Samuel when Saul began his reign. And this, as we shall soon see, allows forty years from the death of Joshua to the commencement of the first servitude; and accords exactly with Paul's statement of 450 years from the division of the land to Samuel the prophet. The length of Eli's admini-

nistration is stated in most of the Greek copies of the Scriptures to have been twenty years. But in the Hebrew copies, in Josephus, in the Latin Vulgate, and in some other versions, his administration is said to have been forty years. This difference seems to arise merely from the two different periods from which his administration is reckoned. The truth seems to be, that Eli was judge during the last twenty years of the sixth servitude, *i. e.*, during the whole administration of Samson; and for twenty years afterwards, to the beginning of the seventh servitude. The Hebrew copies reckon from the commencement of Eli's administration, cotemporary with that of Samson, and thus make forty years; whereas the Greek copies record only his sole administration from the death of Samson, and thus make but twenty years. The following table, therefore, will exhibit what appears to me to be the true chronology of the period from the Exode to the building of Solomon's temple:—

	Years.	
From the Exode to entering Canaan	40	
To the division of the land	7	
To the death of Joshua	18	
Interregnum from the death of Joshua to the first servitude	40	
First servitude to Cushan Rishathaim	8	
Othnial the first Judge	40	
Second servitude to the Moabites	18	
Ehud and Shamgar Judges	80	
Third servitude to the Canaanites	20	
Deborah and Barak Judges	40	
Fourth servitude to the Midianites	7	
Gideon Judge	40	
Abimelech Judge	3	
Tola Judge	23	
Jair Judge	22	
Fifth servitude to the Ammonites	18	
Jephthah Judge	6	
Ibzan Judge	7	
Elon Judge	10	
Abdon Judge	8	
Sixth servitude to the Philistines terminates at the death of Samson	40	
Call of Samuel in the 23rd year of Eli's administration	2	
Eli dies, aged 98	18	
Seventh servitude	20	
Samuel Judge	12	
Saul King	40	
David King	40	
Solomon, before he began the temple	3	
From the Exode to the building of the Temple	630	7 months.

From the division of the land to Samuel the prophet, 450 years.

7 months.

The above calculation it is true, differs from Josephus; but in my humble judgment it has the merit, at least, of being in accordance with the Scriptures; and this to me is of far greater consequence than conformity with Josephus. Josephus, although a valuable historian in many respects, I have shewn to be a false guide with regard to some of the chronological dates of the period now in question, because he is

inconsistent both with the Scriptures and also with himself; and servilely to follow him, as Bishop Russell and some other chronologers have done, involves both absurdity and impossibility.

I am yours, etc.,

Grimsby, March 8th, 1852.

N. ROUSE.

THE SERPENT.

To the Editor of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.'

Leicester, 25th Feb. 1852.

SIR,—Many years ago, an interpretation of the Serpent's part in the fall of man occurred to me, all but identical with that which appears in the able article on the subject in the last number of your Journal. I take the liberty of sending you an extract from the introduction to a sermon on Gen. iii. 15, which I delivered in Bridge-street Chapel, Bristol, in the year 1833. If you deem it worth while—if you think it might tend to promote a farther consideration of a point confessedly difficult and obscure—it may get a place in the next number of your Journal.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

G. L.

A remark or two here will not, we think, be out of place, upon the nature of this momentous transaction, and upon the personality and personal agency here predicated of him, who is elsewhere called "the Devil, and Satan." The transaction is encompassed by manifold difficulties, and we need not wonder that our commentators have differed widely in its interpretation. One class, finding in it literally nothing but a serpent, resolve it into an allegory, the purport of which is to shew how appetite gets the mastery of reason, and both put the foot upon religion; in other words, how lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin, and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death. And if an allegory it were, it must be allowed that it is beautiful, striking, and powerful. But I demur to this on two grounds: the one, because it is wholly gratuitous and supposititious; the other, because, if such a mode of Scriptural interpretation is adopted, one does not know where to stop—the Neologist may rationalize away every supernatural event, and the Swedenborgian may dream dreams over the commonest events, such as I could not dream, were I to live to the age of Methuselah. No, we must stand to Moses and the prophets in their obvious natural meaning. I abide, therefore, by the narrative in its literality.

But what is that literality? The usual and the orthodox reply to

this, is, that the devil was the tempter, assuming the form of a serpent ; and that the devil was the beguiler of Eve, is unquestionably taught in the New Testament. But how, and in what form are other questions ? There are some who maintain that Satan entered into a serpent, and thus accomplished his designs ; a view from which I dissent, for reasons which I shall immediately state. There are others who contend that, while Satan was the tempter, there was no visible or overt appearance, nor voice articulate, it was all an affair of suggestion or imagination, even as was the case, as is now coming generally to be believed, with the temptation of our Lord in the wilderness. And to this idea I should strongly incline, were it not that the simple narrative of Genesis seems to require something positively objective, and that the circumstances of our first parents appear to demand this. If it is admitted that Jehovah Elohim personally revealed himself to our first parents, and came within their sensorial perceptions, as their teacher first, and then their judge, it can hardly be denied that his great adversary in after time, might, thus early, and in like manner, appear upon the stage.

My notion is, that the tempter was Satan in his proper person, not having yet lost all his original brightness, or transforming himself into an angel of light ; and on this supposition we wonder the less that, accustomed as she had been, in times past, to celestial visitation, Eve was not startled by his appearance—no marvel that she was fascinated by his basilisk eye and glozing tongue. In warrant of my adoption of this idea, I have several things to say.

Be it premised, that the narrative of the fall was put on record long after the event. Perhaps it was a post-diluvian document, written when the evil one, or evil principle, had got many names, all metaphorical—Serpent, Dragon, Leviathan ; Typhon, in Egypt ; Ahri-man, in Persia ; Pytho, in Greece ; Lok, in Gothland ; Azazel, in Arabia. And here allow me to suggest, that, very probably, Satan acquired his serpent name, not more from his subtle and venomous qualities, than from the phraseology of the curse denounced on him. We are to suppose Satan and his dupes arraigned for judgment before Jehovah Elohim. On him, the fallen angel, shorn of his celestial beams, scarred by the ancient thunderbolt, yet majestic in his ruin, the judge would denounce a doom of deepest degradation. He would couch it in terms which should be intelligible to those whom he had seduced, and which should convey the dawning of a hope to them. The terms then must be metaphorical, for in no other way could the fate of a spiritual being be conceived by them. But what should the metaphor be ? Not that of a chain of darkness, or a burning lake, or a bottomless abyss, afterwards suggested in the history of our species ; for neither of these could have conveyed any notion to them. My idea is, that, at the moment, a brood of the serpent race appeared in the field of vision, trailing in their slime, wallowing in the dust—creatures formerly regarded, as all creatures were, with complacency, so many links of the golden chain of

nature, so many varieties in the circle of love; but now that the principle of independence, isolation, comparison, contrast, has found its way into the mind of man, regarded with contempt, and shrunk from with aversion—the veriest earthly types of degradation. “And thus shalt thou be, O Lucifer, because thou hast done this,” said the sovereign arbitrator; “no more like what thou wast once, on resplendent wing, nor, as thou hast now taught man to be, ambitious of the skies, and defiant, but like these reptiles, base, and often disappointed, and in the end trodden down, shalt thou be! O Lucifer, son of the morning, how art thou fallen!” “Nay, this feeble woman shall yet resist and overcome thee, and her seed, though not without suffering, shall ultimately destroy thee, and all thy works.”

Now all this premised, as worthy of consideration, and reasonably to be taken into account, I say, in the first place, that there is nothing in the letter of the sacred narrative which should compel our belief that there was an actual serpent in the case. The fact alleged that THE SERPENT was more subtle than any wild beast, no more proves the belief of the writer that he was a veritable beast, than an allegation of mine that such and such a ruler of our days is craftier and crueler than any demon of the pit, would prove my belief that he was a veritable devil. And then the sentence pronounced on *the serpent*, which is usually urged as proving that there was an actual serpent in the case, rather goes to shew just the contrary; for it is purely gratuitous and unwarrantable to suppose that ever the serpent species had wings, or walked erect—in point of fact, the latter part of the sentence has never been fulfilled, for serpents always have lived, and do live now, on something very different from dust. The letter, then, of the narrative in no wise requires of us the belief in question.

And I say, in the second place, the spirit of it points wholly another way. For one thing, I concede the possibility of Satan assuming the form of a reptile; but that so he should have beguiled the woman argues a lower state of being on the part of our great mother than I am willing to admit. For a second thing, the supposition that he did so, places the whole narrative too much on a level with the myths, and legends, and fantastic tales of the east, and would drive me into the allegorizing maze. For a third thing, that with the doom pronounced on Satan and the race of man, there should be mixed up a curse on a mere brute beast which had done no moral harm, does seem to me altogether out of keeping with the solemn majesty of the transaction.

The letter of the narrative, then, not requiring, and its spirit opposing, the belief that there was a real serpent in the case, I adopt the idea that the tempter was Satan himself, in *propria personâ*. If any of you still cling to the customary view, you are at perfect liberty to do so; and I can only say that your faith is greater than mine.

ON THE INTERPRETATION OF GALATIANS iii. 20.

To the Editor of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.'

SIR,—The passage in Galatians, iii. 20, “ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἑνὸς οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ Θεὸς εἰς ἔστιν,” is confessedly one of the most obscure in the New Testament, and among the numerous interpretations that have been put upon it, none, I believe is considered entirely satisfactory. Such being the case, it may appear presumptuous in a mere tyro to attempt to solve the difficulty. Still it is duty not to withhold any mite from the contributions to sacred criticism, and the pages of your valuable Journal invite so freely, that I have, after much hesitation, resolved to send you the following remarks for insertion in it, if you think them worthy of a place.

I would first remark, that v. 20 is nothing more than supplementary to v. 19, being, indeed, merely an enlargement on *μεσίτου*, as there used. The explanation, therefore, given of v. 20, must be such as to accord entirely with the scope of those words with which it is immediately connected. These are *διαταγεῖς δι' ἀγγέλων ἐν χειρὶ μεσίτου*.

Now it is evident that the apostle here has reference solely to the mode in which the covenant was given to Abraham, as contrasted with the manner in which the law was delivered to Israel, by no means to the distinct nature of the two, as resting respectively on faith and works. This point appears to have been lost sight of in most, if not all, of the explanations attempted.

The difference, then, on which St. Paul dwells, is the intervention between the two covenanting parties, on the one occasion, and the absence of any intervening party, on the other. When the law was given on Sinai, a double intervention was requisite, on the part of God, the angels acted, and, on the part of Israel, Moses was mediator. Thus the two contracting parties were doubly sundered. How different when God covenanted with Abraham! Here no intervention took place, for the covenant was made, not so much between God and Abraham, as between God and the *seed* of Abraham. To this, the turning point of his argument, the apostle directs particular attention in v. 16. He does not say that the promise was given to Abraham *with reference* to his seed, but to Abraham *and* to his seed. The two contracting parties, then, were God and Christ. And it deserves notice that in v. 17, where the covenant is again referred to, Abraham is entirely omitted, *ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς Χριστὸν*; again, v. 19, *τῷ σπέρμα ὡ ἐπηγγέλται*.

Now let it be borne in mind who that Jehovah was, who is represented as transacting with the fathers of ancient writ. It is none other than the angel of the covenant, he who was afterwards God made manifest in the flesh. And who was Abraham's seed, but the very same divine personage, “in whom dwelt all the fulness of the Godhead bodily,” who said of himself, “I and the Father are one.” Here,

then, the covenanting parties were one and the same, Jehovah on the one hand, and the divine seed on the other. No human mediation, therefore, was needed, because a mediator is not of one, but *God is one*.

I am, Sir, yours respectfully,
W. T.

ROMANS v. 1.

To the Editor of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature.'

RESPECTED FRIEND,—Allow me to suggest, in reference to the above text, that the apparent abruptness alluded to by W. S., as resulting from reading *εχωμεθα* with an imperative force, may be removed by—

1st. Regarding verse 2nd, from *Δι' ου* to *εστηκαμεν*, as parenthetical, a course already suggested by some critics without reference to the present question.

2nd. Taking *καυχωμεθα*, in the 2nd and 3rd verses, as also in the subjunctive to be rendered by an imperative.

The translation would then run thus:—

(1.) Therefore, being justified by faith, let us have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ.

(2.) (By whom also we have access by faith into the grace wherein we stand), and let us rejoice in hope of the glory of God.

(3.) And not only so, but let us glory in tribulations also. . . .

The clearness and beauty of this part of the epistle seem to me much enhanced by thus considering the Apostle to be here exhorting the believers to a feeling of peace and joy, the reasonableness of which he shews in the following eight verses.

In the 12th verse the more general argument, dropped for a while at the conclusion of the 4th chapter, is again taken up.

I do not see the difficulty in the 1st verse, which W. S. supposes to exist from the presence of the words, "through our Lord Jesus Christ," as I take the exhortation to be equivalent to—

Let us *feel* peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ; *i. e.* feel peace, and feel the sacrifice and mediation of our Lord to be the ground of that peace. (See *Eph.* ii. 14.)

JOHN FRANK.

Sidcot, 10th month (October), 1851.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ex triginta antiquis codicibus Græcis vel nunc primum eruit vel secundum atque emendatius edidit CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF, Theol. et Phil. Dr., Theol. Prof. P. Ord. H. Lips. pp. lxxx. and 276. Lipsiæ. MDCCCLI.

IN this volume Professor Tischendorf has edited *thirteen works* professedly containing accounts of the actions of certain of the Apostles. Seven of these books have never before been printed; the rest appear now with the benefit of a new revision of the text from MS. authorities.

The Apocryphal Gospels, as they are called, have been far more known than the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles: the latter class of books have been in general classed with the Acts of Saints—a department of literature from which nothing of profit can be gained, except through a close and laborious sifting of the material. Perhaps there is nothing which shows more plainly how legendary tales take the place of sober history than does the comparison of such apocryphal writings with the simple statements of Scripture.

The first of the books contained in this volume is the *Acts of Peter and Paul*, which gives an account of their supposed contention with Simon Magus at Rome, and of their subsequent martyrdom. This book was evidently written after the opinion had been advanced that the island where St. Paul was shipwrecked lay on the coast of Dalmatia, and not between Sicily and Africa; the latter opinion is *asserted* by calling the island Gaudamelete. This book is remarkable for having been used in 1490 as an evidence that St. Paul had at Messina consecrated Bacchylus bishop of that city.

There appear to be no certain data for determining when the book was written; one of the MSS. used by Tischendorf was transcribed (he states) A.D. 890. The contents are apparently one of the forms in which the legend of Simon Magus passed current.

The second part of this volume contains *The Acts of Paul and Thecla*, a writing remarkable for its history, as given by Tertullian and Jerome. We learn from the former that the writer was an Asiatic presbyter, who was deposed from his office for having written this book (as he said) "out of love to Paul." It was thus condemned as a fictitious legend in the very age in which it first appeared. This is an important testimony to us that the early Church did exercise a sound discrimination as to what books it received as authentic. By the aid of those MSS. Tischendorf has been enabled to edit the text of this book far more accurately than was done by Grabe, and to give the Greek of the whole, of which part was wanting in the copy which Grabe used.

The *third* history is *The Acts of Barnabas*, professedly written by St. Mark; for this book Tischendorf has used the MS. of the year 890, which was his principal authority for the first of these books.

The *wanderings of the Apostle Philip* stands *fourth* in order; this book, as well as the *fifth*, *The Acts of Philip in Greece*, were previously inedited.

The Acts of Philip was the title of an ancient book condemned by Pope Gelasius; this book is supposed to be identical with the former of these, from which, however, several heretical statements seem to have been extruded. Tischendorf has taken this book from three MSS. The second of these books, in which Philip the Apostle is made the hero, has been taken from a single MS.

The *sixth* book is *The Acts of Andrew*; this is supposed to be the same as a work of a similar title mentioned with reprobation by Eusebius, but now, however, expurgated from some of its more objectionable contents. For this work Tischendorf has employed two MSS., the older of which is of the eleventh century.

The *Acts of Andrew and Matthias in the City of the Men-eaters* is the *seventh* of these books; a tale of the wildest and strangest kind that an inventor of miracles could excogitate. It appears to be a book of considerable antiquity, and the tale that it contains has been circulated not only in Greek and Latin, but also in Anglo-Saxon, in which language it has been edited by Grimen. The Greek text was published by Thilo, and Tischendorf has revised it with the same Greek MSS. that he used.

The *eighth* book is *The Acts and Martyrdom of Matthew*; it is a continuation of the former, so that the name is wrong in the MSS. in the one or the other; in *both* places there ought to be either Matthias or else Matthew. This book, previously unknown, has been edited in this volume from two MSS.

The Acts of Thomas stand the *ninth* in this volume; many early writers used a book with this title. This book had been previously edited by Thilo; Tischendorf has used five MSS. for his text.

The other four books were previously inedited. Of these *The Death of Thomas* is published by Tischendorf from *one* MS. at Paris; *The Martyrdom of Bartholomew* is from a MS. at Venice; *The Acts of Thaddæus* from a MS. at Paris (compared in part with two at Vienna); and *The Acts of John* (often mentioned by ancient writers) from two MSS., one at Paris and one at Vienna.

It is a curious question *how* such strange histories of Apostles of Christ could have originated; how any could have invented such stories, and how others could have received them as true. It is doubtful whether the *writers* of these books really believed what they narrated.

We may probably at some future time give an outline of the contents of some of these stories.

Analysis and Critical Interpretation of the Hebrew text of the Book of Genesis, preceded by a Hebrew Grammar, and Dissertations on the Genuineness of the Pentateuch, and on the structure of the Hebrew Language. By the Rev. WILLIAM PAUL, A.M., Minister of Ban-chory, Devenick, N.B. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons. 1852. 8vo.

WE are glad to see the appearance of this work in Scotland—a country where Hebrew learning has been almost dormant for many years; notwithstanding the five universities with their Hebrew Professorships, where

various teachers have quietly dozed away their existence unknown to Oriental fame. It was not so, however, in the days of Robertson, whose Hebrew works are still read; nor would the lamented Murray have slept at his post, had he been spared to the university of the metropolis. It is a good omen for a day of better things, that a retired country pastor has devoted a portion of his time to that ancient language in which the Old Testament records were composed. Here is a goodly octavo volume, the fruit of research and cogitation among the northern hills, which is highly creditable to the acquirements and diligence of the author.

The volume consists of three parts. First, the introduction; secondly, a brief Hebrew Grammar; and thirdly, an analysis and critical interpretation of the words in Genesis.

The only thing about which we doubt is the propriety of the Hebrew Grammar. Grammars of that language are now so numerous, that it was scarcely advisable to add another to the list. It is, however, short and elementary, consisting of no more than 66 pages. It certainly adds to the completeness of the work, the student having all that he needs in the one volume for all the terms occurring in the book of Genesis. The introduction treats of the Mosaic account of the creation, of the genuineness of the Pentateuch, of the genuineness of the book of Genesis, on the difference between the style of the Pentateuch and that of the later books of the Old Testament, and on the structure of the Hebrew language. This is the most valuable part of the work, though, probably, the young student may prize more highly the 'Analysis,' which carefully resolves and explains every term in Genesis, and in which any word can be easily found by means of an index.

In the introduction we have observed examples of calm and independent thought here and there; though we cannot say that the writer has entered deeply into any of the topics discussed; or that he is versed in the more recent German works where they have been elucidated at greater length. But when we recollect that the volume is mainly intended for such as have not made much proficiency in Hebrew, profound disquisitions would have been out of place. We could wish that he had made greater use of Ewald's *Hebrew Grammar*. Instead of this, he has followed Lee too much. A knowledge of Hengstenberg's *Christology* would also have enlarged his vision in some places, and of Hävernicks's *Introduction to the Old Testament*, with the books there referred to. Yet he has fairly initiated the reader into the various topics treated of; and it will be for the latter to follow out the hints here given. Speaking generally, the author exercises a sound judgment, and displays a becoming reverence for the Sacred Scriptures of the Jews. He has produced a good readable book on subjects not the most attractive to ordinary readers, and we thank him for his contribution to the cause of Hebrew learning. It is one that should be gladly welcomed by many, as auxiliary to a right understanding of a most important and difficult book in the Old Testament. We wish it a wide circulation, and congratulate the author on the first fruits of his literary labours.

There are some things to which we should take exception; and several indications of the author's unacquaintedness with recent German books,

except so far as they are translated. We are also surprised at some significations assigned to Hebrew words. Thus, at *נָצַח*, he says that "the most eminent Hebrew scholars are now of opinion that the idea of *creation out of nothing* cannot be shewn to be inherent in the word." To this assertion we demur. Indeed, the quotation from Professor Stuart, which he proceeds to give, shews that the American Hebraist was an exception. Besides, Mr. Paul himself arranges the meanings of the verb thus: 1. *Created, brought into existence.* 2. *Formed, made, constituted.* This arrangement is inconsistent with his own assertion. We do not agree with Gesenius, in his description of the verb. We could shew, if necessary, that it means primarily and properly *creation*, or *making out of nothing*. But we must forbear, regretting that Mr. Paul did not procure and study Tuch's *Commentary on Genesis*, the best critical one that has yet appeared on the book. The *Scholia* of Rosenmüller, especially in the edition of 1788, are now antiquated. Even the abridgment of them is out of date. Turner's *Notes on Genesis* is also the work of an American scholar, with which he might have formed a profitable acquaintance.

The Resurrection of Life; an Exposition of First Corinthians xv. With a Discourse on our Lord's Resurrection. By JOHN BROWN, D.D., Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Presbyterian Church. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons. 1852.

THE portion of Scripture, to the examination of which this goodly volume is devoted, is one of the most difficult, as well as most important parts of the Sacred volume. Of the importance of the great Christian doctrine for which this chapter is the primary text, the author of this work is deeply conscious, and with its difficulties he undertakes to grapple. "If this volume," he says, "verify its title in any good measure, and be an Exposition of the Apostle Paul's dissertation on the Resurrection of Life, no apology is required for its publication; if it do not, no apology that could be offered would be satisfactory."

None is required. The exposition is not only most complete and satisfactory as regards this particular chapter, but it is in our judgment beyond all comparison the best and most thorough exposition of a selected portion of Scripture which the language can produce. It is in all respects a masterpiece and model of exegesis, and will abundantly sustain the reputation which the author has long possessed in Scotland, acquired by his lectures and sermons, and which he has of late widely extended and justified by putting forth, in rapid succession, some of the finest exegetical works in our language. Ten or twelve years ago the name of this eminent divine was but faintly known in the southern part of the island; and we have known persons, not uninformed, confound him with his father—the venerable John Brown, of Haddington. This was strange. But the list of the author's works at the end of the present volume discloses the cause. High as his reputation was among those within the sphere of his influence, he had not until within these few years, and at a comparatively advanced age, made himself known beyond that range by any work of importance. The list comprises thirty-seven works, with the present

thirty-eight. Up to the thirty-third we meet with little but single sermons, lectures, and pamphlets. But then come the Expository Discourses on the First Epistle of Peter; then the Discourses and Sayings of our Lord; then the Exposition of our Lord's Intercessory Prayer; and now this Exposition of 1 Cor. xv. This is truly a remarkable sight, and we remember no precise parallel to it. Here is a scholar and divine, who has during a generation been in the enjoyment of the highest consideration, as such, within a sphere limited, though large, without much to shew for it to the world beyond; but who now, in the decline of life, comes bringing that life's labours forth into the sun—not to let us see, but thereby enabling us to see that all which dim rumour had told of their worth was true.

To say that the present is the best of the separate Expositions of this portion of Scripture, would be to say nothing; for there is no other in our language. There are many, indeed, in Latin and German, but none of those we have had opportunities of seeing which come near this as a thoroughly good and complete Exposition—ripe in all learning, clear in doctrine, and deep in Christian wisdom.

The passages which it would be proper to cite, to shew the quality of this work, run in larger masses than we can introduce here. As, however, the text—"What shall they do who are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all?"—has often been brought under the notice of the readers of this journal, we may state that, after examining at length the various interpretations that have been suggested, Dr. Brown thus states his own view:—

"The interpretation which appears to me to have the greatest recommendations, and the fewest and smallest drawbacks, is that which renders 'for the dead,' 'in the place of the dead,' and which considers those baptized, in the place of the dead, as descriptive of those who, notwithstanding the persecutions, even to death, that Christians were exposed to, were continually coming forward to the baptismal font to take, as it were, the oath of allegiance to him who is both Lord and Christ, and to assume the places in his ranks which death, sometimes violent death, had made vacant." This offers no violence to the language, the particle translated 'for' often signifying 'in the place of,'—*e. g.*, Philemon, 13, 'That in *thy stead*'—the same word as here—'he might have ministered to me.' 2 Cor. v. 20, 'We pray you in *Christ's stead*'—the same word as here. It embodies a true, a striking, an appropriate sentiment. 'Otherwise, what will they do who are baptized in the place of those who have died—died in the faith of Christ—died *for* the faith of Christ,—who have, in the face of all the sacrifices to be made—all the hardships to be endured—all the losses to be sustained—all the disgrace to be incurred—all the hazards to be braved—come forward, and, at the baptismal font, proclaimed their readiness to fill up the empty places in the army of Christ, and to live and die in his service?'^a What will these men do? Will they, ought they, to persevere, if there be no resur-

^a "Junius, Heumann, Le Clerc, Deylingius, Döderlein, Ellys, Doddridge, Newcome, Scott."

^b "Dubium cuiquam esse possit, num eo quo hæc scriberet tempore apostolus frequens adeo et solenne martyrium esset. Sed vero quis neget illustria pridem fuisse Stephani et Jacobi majoris exempla? Quis dubitet inter tot persecutiones, tot motus a Judæis et Gentilibus excitatos in Judæa, Palæstina, Syria, Asia, Ægypto, Italia, etc., quin plurimi ob fidem evangelii oppressi jam tum fuerint atque è vivis sublati?"—*Spanheim*.

rection of the dead?—Is it right that they should make such sacrifices for vanity and a lie? ‘Why are they then baptized for the dead,’ if the dead rise not? Is not their conduct utterly unaccountable and absurd? And is there any satisfactory answer to the question, ‘Why are they then baptized for the dead?’ but this? They know that the dead in the Lord are blessed, and they are willing, like them, to die, in order to being blessed, like them, in attaining to the resurrection from the dead. And, as this sentiment is in itself appropriate, it is just what suits the place in the apostle’s animated address. You have a gradation thus: If there be no resurrection, what an unaccountable part are the converts to Christianity acting, who are pressing forward to take the place of the dead! What an unaccountable part are we apostles acting, who are in jeopardy every hour! What an unaccountable part am I, Paul, acting, who ‘die daily,’ and ‘after the manner of men have fought with beasts at Ephesus?’—*The Resurrection of Life*, pp. 167, 168.

Further on, in regard to the words, “That which thou sowest is not quickened except it die;” and to the corresponding declaration of our Lord, in John xii. 24, Dr. Brown objects to the common interpretation, that the “death” referred to in both these passages is the change which takes place in the seed after it is put into the earth—the dissolution of the outer coats of the seed, which takes place in order to the germ taking root and springing up. To this he sees many strong objections:—

“There are many strong objections to this mode of interpretation. First, this change in the seed does not correspond to the death, but to the decomposition, of the body; secondly, there is an inversion of the order of nature, which is death and burial, not burial and death,—men are buried because they are dead—they are not buried that they may die; thirdly, in the case of our Lord there was no such decomposition of the body, for he saw no corruption,—which, according to the ordinary interpretation, is symbolized by what is called the death of the seed in the ground; and, finally, there is no meeting the difficulty here mooted, which is not, ‘How can the decomposed body be recomposed?’ but, ‘How can the dead be raised to life?’

“The fact in natural history to which both our Lord and the apostle refer is this, that, when there is progress from a lower to a higher degree or species of life, often—probably usually—a corresponding species of death intervenes. It is not the blossom nor the seed, when full of vegetable succulence and life, that, when sown, proceeds onward to a higher kind of life, as a separate plant, bearing blossoms and fruits. Cast such a living blossom or seed into the earth, and you will see no more of it—it will utterly perish. But let the seed fully ripen—let it become dead-ripe, so as to lose its connection with the living plant, and, to all appearance, be destitute of vegetable life—let it even remain in this state in the granary for many years—yet take this dead seed and cast it into the earth, and it will receive life, and shew itself alive, and become something of more importance in the vegetable world than it ever could have become if it had not thus died. Instead of its having died being an obstacle to its attaining a higher life, it is the necessary condition of such a change. ‘That which thou sowest is not quickened—could not be quickened—to its higher life, except it had been dead.’

“There are analogous facts in the animal creation. The caterpillar could not rise to the higher life of the butterfly but by submitting to the death-like chrysalis state. It must lose one kind of life, in order to obtain another and higher kind of life. ‘The eagle does not mount to the skies till he has left in ruins the shell which covered and confined him.’ These facts in the vegetable and animal worlds are not proofs of the resurrection. The apostle was much too sound a logician to employ

c “Griesbach has connected *ei δλως νεκροί οὐκ ἐγείρονται* with what precedes, Lachmann’ (as I think properly) ‘connects it with what follows. The phrase, *ei* and, etc., in the former case, seems inappropriate.’”—*Olshausen*.

such means for such an end. But they furnish satisfactory answers to cavils. They shut the mouth of a self-conceited objector. 'Should the dead rise, it will not be an anomalous thing. It will be but a more remarkable instance of—what seems a law within certain limits—higher life springing out of the apparent extinction of lower life. I must have other evidence to make me believe that the dead *shall* rise: but these facts shew that they *may* rise; at any rate they prove, that to object to the doctrine of the resurrection, when established by appropriate evidence, on the ground of its impossibility, is the part, not of a wise man, but of a fool.'—*The Resurrection of Life*, pp. 182—184.

De Ecclesiasticæ Britonum Scotorumque Historiæ Fontibus, disseruit Carolus Guilielmus Schoell. MDCCCLI. Berolini apud Wilhelmam Hertz. (libr. Besser.) Londini: apud Williams et Norgate. 1851.

THE pamphlet bearing this title is one among the many instances of German laboriousness and spirit of critical research. It would be a *remarkable* instance, if there were not so many others, shewing that no subject comes amiss to them—no subject is so remote or so obscure as to save it from their industrious pens, or to exempt it from being tested by all the rules with which their criticism supplies them. To this universal love of plunging into everything hidden and unknown, we may ascribe the origin of the work before us, which has for its object to examine the sources from which the early historians of Britain and Ireland have drawn their information. To the modern reader, a broad distinction must here be pointed out, between such an enquiry relating to the period of time which Dr. Schoell has chosen, and the apparently similar task of criticising Hume's and Macaulay's *History of England*, or Thiers's *History of the French Consulate and Empire*, or any other modern work. The latter furnishes materials much too ample for any critic thoroughly to examine—and perhaps for this very reason the enterprise becomes proportionably hazardous and fraught with danger to the enquirer. But a criticism of the original sources of ancient British history, is a task which would deter nine-tenths of our writers from the apparent vacuum which the first view of the subject presents, and the necessity of bringing to the labour, not only a mind ready at making the most of a slender subject, but also of ekeing it out largely with the aid of a fertile imagination. That this is not an erroneous view of the matter, Dr. Schoell's table of contents will testify.

His authors for British history are 1. *Gildas*; 2. *Bede*; 3. *Historia Britonum*, i. e. *Nennius*—whoever Nennius may have been. To these direct authorities, he adds a few notices from *Cathedral Records*, all of a much more modern date, and some *extracts* from *foreign writers*.

For Irish history we have, 1. *Annales Hibernienses*; 2. *Ancient Rituals*, and other *manuscripts*; 3. *St. Patrick*, if there be anything genuine of St. Patrick remaining. With these we do not propose to deal at present, from a conviction that Irish History will only be cleared up, when some one shall spring up with learning sufficient to examine and test thoroughly all the old Irish manuscripts, and with sufficient zeal in the cause to induce him to make known to the public the result of his labour. Let us, then, return to the first division of our author's work, that which relates to the sources of British history.

Gildas, it is well known, is the reputed author of, 1. *Liber querulus sive historie de excidio Britannia*; 2. *Epistola*. These two works may be considered as one, and if the *explicit*, with which the former ends, were removed, so that the *Epistola* might follow the *Historia* without break, it would be difficult for the reader to discover the joint, at all events, he would look on them as merely two chapters of the same work. A doubt has latterly been raised as to the genuineness of these works, but, as they are mentioned by Bede, Alcuin, William of Malmesbury, and others, in terms which seem very well to suit their existing character and style, such doubts seem to proceed from an excess of scepticism. But we must not forget our author, who has *reviewed* Gildas, and whom we are *reviewing*. It would be a painful task to follow him in his details. Let us see what results he has arrived at. They are these:—

1. That there was no more than one author named Gildas.
2. That there is no trace of any early British writings.
3. That other writers support Gildas, in his view of the exhausted state of Britain, arising from the emigration of its young men under Maximus.
4. That Gildas gives a better account of the embassy to Ætius than Venerable Bede.
5. That he knew nothing about the introduction of Christianity into Britain, and has copied his vague remarks on this subject from Eusebius.
6. That in the fourth century there were Christians in Britain, mostly at St. Albans [Verulamium], and at Leicester (?) [Urbs Legionum], among whom the Arian heresy had been introduced, which was afterwards checked in the sixth century, the age of Gildas, with the aid of the French bishop Germanus, and others.

Of these conclusions we will speak presently; but let us see what the author says of a more important writer than Gildas, of one who is the father of English history, Venerable Bede.

Here it must first be remarked, that some twenty pages would contain all that Bede has told us concerning the Britons, and the British Church, though his account is more minute than those of Gildas. The reviewer's task, therefore, is the reverse of what it was in the case of the first writer. It was there *constructive*, now it is *destructive*; shewing the truth of the old adage, "a little learning is a dangerous thing," which we illustrate thus—Gildas has told us almost nothing, and it is hard to refute *nothing*; Bede has advanced a claim to knowing *something*, and he does not know enough to make good his case. Hence our pamphleteer comes to the following conclusions:—

1. Bede's early chronology of the Christian era is very confused and inaccurate.
2. The story of Lucius sending to Rome for Christian teachers, is a fiction, invented since Saint Augustine.
3. All that we know of St. Germanus, is, that he twice was sent into Britain to refute the Pelegian heresy, and that his life, though full of fables, was written not later than about A.D. 550.
4. That Venerable Bede has shewn diligence in compiling, though he has occasionally been a servile compiler.

It will now be evident why we have observed that the office of criticizing Bede is *destructive*, whilst the *constructive* process is more applicable to a review of Gildas. The scanty information which we derive from Gildas, is safe from criticism, because we have nothing to compare it with, but Bede supplies enough to destroy the truth of some of his statements, or at least to furnish grounds for doubting. If Gildas has given us too little, Bede has told us too much. And yet, if both had told us more, it is not unlikely that what is now undisputed in Gildas, might be upset by his after statements, whilst Bede's notices of Lucius and others might be, if not confirmed, at all events set right, by further light on the subject.

We must be excused from following our critic into the very obscure subject of Nennius, *i. e.*, the *Historia Britonum*. His observations on all the branches of his subject shew great penetration and acumen. But it is our opinion that more facts are wanting, and we will only suggest that in the Municipal Library at Ghent, is a large MS., of about the tenth century, written by one Lambertus Canonicus, being a cyclopædia of almost everything then known. In this volume are a great many notices of British History, and we suspect, from a casual inspection of the volume, that Nennius, if not Gildas, might be a little cleared up, if not receive an important accession, from a perfect collation of this Manuscript.

Contributions towards an Exposition of the Book of Genesis. By ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1852.

THIS volume of Dr. Candlish's Contributions, extends from Genesis xvii. to xxviii. It embraces nineteen subjects, taken from this interesting portion of Sacred History, which are somewhat minutely investigated, not only in their material facts, but in their spiritual bearings and practical applications. The first volume, or portion of the work, was published so long as ten years ago, and has since passed through four editions. We were there informed that the title of the work was intended to denote its design, as not professing to be a complete Exposition of the Book of Genesis, and yet differing in some respects from what is usually understood by a series of sermons or lectures, on any particular portion of Scripture. "The character of contributions or essays towards a full commentary on Genesis, seemed best to correspond with the view as well as the execution of the work, in which there is no attempt to enter into a minute or critical examination of the sacred text, verse by verse, the object being rather to unfold those views of the divine government, and the history of man, which the general strain of the narrative, in its obvious interpretation, suggests." This adequately describes the work, and is quite applicable to the present volume, in which, no less than in the former, the tendency is "not to raise speculative questions, but to cherish a practical and spiritual frame of mind, in the devout study of the word of the living God."

This is indeed the character of the work, and constitutes its peculiar quality and its charm. We have here a heart filled with spiritual things, and deep in spiritual knowledge, speaking to the full heart of others; for,

in spiritual things, it is the fullest and not the emptiest heart that is most capable of receiving. Knowing that "Christianity is as old as the creation," our author gathers up all the indications of Christ that he finds in his way; and, with a masterly and firm hand, he applies to all the good and evil that comes under his notice the unfailing standard of Christian truth, and presses from them the Christian instruction they are calculated to afford. The scale the author has chosen—three-fourths of this volume being devoted to the history of Abraham, or rather to the suggestions which that history offers—gives him great advantages in that fulness of treatment and amplitude of illustration, which is perhaps essential to the author's habit of mind, or rather of discussion, and is, indeed, the natural result of the constant subservience of the act of composition to the uses of the pulpit. This by no means impairs the value or interest of such a work as the present, but greatly enhances both; it might be so with many, but it is not so here with Dr. Candlish, who requires space, not from the redundancy of his words, but from the overflowing fulness of his mind—the wealth of his thoughts. He appears to possess much of that rare faculty—which is partly a gift (we say not "an instinct"), and partly a knowledge—of casting himself into the characters of the personages who come before him, and thus of realizing, to his own mind, the turn of their thoughts—the considerations by which they were influenced. This is something of what the Scripture calls "discerning of spirits," and the dead no less than the living come within the scope of this faculty.

This quality is essential to the observance of the limit between a sound and safe discretion and a fanciful licence, in filling up the sketches and outlines of the inspired record, and in drawing inferences from them; and hence, although we could point to instances in which we should have been inclined to fill up the outlines somewhat differently, Dr. Candlish has in this work evinced no common measure of "a certain spiritual tact or taste, an apprehension, a feeling of probability, a sense of concinnity or congruity, which, even apart from such precise and palpable evidence as can be critically and logically stated, will often give, to a rightly constituted mind and rightly exercised understanding, a prompt and full assurance of the mind of the spirit."

Besides its primary value as a book suggestive of nutritive thought, its pages comprise many really striking elucidations of Scripture, and very many impressive enforcements of its truths. Its perusal will create a general regret that the laborious ministerial duties of the eloquent and clear-minded author do not permit him to employ his pen more largely on such works as these. There is, however, some expectation held out that the present theme may be pursued; but, as the lives of readers, as well as writers, are short, the ten years which have elapsed between the first volume and the second, may well cause some fear for the third.

A few passages from this book, so full of extractable matter, will evince its character. The affecting narrative of Hagar and Ishmael in the wilderness suggests to the author some considerations, to which he recurs more than once in this volume.

"Thus, the narrative of this transaction would seem to be so constructed as to enlist our sensibilities rather on the side of the neglected, than of the chosen; and to

draw out our affections far more towards the wilderness where Hagar and Ishmael wander, than towards the home where the patriarch, and his holy partner, and the child of promise, dwell.

"Nor is this an unusual feature in the style of the scriptural histories. They often represent the two parties ordinarily mixed up in them so that the conduct and fate of those whom God sets aside, seems invested with a charm that does not belong to what is told, even of those who are most unequivocally men according to God's own heart. Who, for instance, has not often found it easier and more natural to sympathize with Esau than with Jacob? Or with Saul and Jonathan than with David? And who has not felt how difficult it sometimes is to go along with the preference given in the Divine regard to characters, which even the Divine record itself exhibits in a less amiable and affecting light than others that are not admitted to such high degrees of favour?

"But, after all, it is not very surprising that it should be so. The analogy of nature and of life, as seen from the Christian point of view, might prepare us for such a result.

"For, consider how close a native sympathy there is and must be between the natural dispositions and tastes of fallen humanity, and the manifestations of that humanity on the stage of the world's ordinary experience. Consider, also, how strange the elevation of a soul to the pursuit of the heavenly inheritance is, and how harsh and unaccountable its struggles with inward corruption and outward trial may well be expected to be. And wonder not that the barque, floating along the current of the stream, should seem to have a pleasing voyage, grateful to all eyes; while the chafed and angry waters of the upward struggle against the tide, disturb the placid repose of the slothful pool, or provoke the vehement rage of the rebellious torrent.

"In point of fact, the quality of the Divine writings now referred to is, in itself, no small proof of their divinity. It is, at all events, a thorough disproof of artifice or contrivance. No merely human writer, aspiring to the credit of inspiration, would ever venture on so bold a stroke as to make the inferior or less worthy personages in his piece appear, even for a little, the most fascinating, the most pathetic, or the most heroic.

"Nor is this all. The circumstance in question constitutes a very striking analogy between Scripture and Providence. In ordinary life, how common is it to meet with amiable specimens of gentle and genial humanity, with which we can better sympathize than with the stern virtue of a far higher and severer principle? Natural sensibility, naturally unfolding itself, amid scenes of natural grief or joy, makes its way at once to the natural heart. But the trials and triumphs of the spiritual man belong to the region, not of sense, but of faith. Nor is it any wonder that the successes and reverses—the ups and downs—the manifold vicissitudes and alternations of his inward spiritual history—should present a result to the natural eye, so agitated and anxious—so tormented by inevitable fears, and disquieted by conflicting desires and convictions—as to make it turn, with a feeling of relief, to any simple and spontaneous development of ingenuous beauty and instinctive love.

"Such sympathy with nature, indeed, in all or any of its phases, is not at all to be deprecated or blamed. Our Lord himself was deeply moved by the manifestation of merely constitutional emotion, and of whatever indicated the working of the better parts and principles of human nature. Beholding the young and amiable ruler, well disposed, but yet undecided, 'he loved him' (Mark x. 21). He evidently felt an attraction drawing him, by merely natural ties, to persons of near kindred, social connection, or congenial character with himself. And, in fact, this sympathy with nature, and nature's feelings, on the part of the enlightened child and friend of God, is one great secret of his power and influence in the world around him. It prompts such good wishes and good offices as may be blessed by God for the salvation of souls.

"In the instance, for example, of Hagar and her boy in the wilderness, we may well give full scope to the emotions which her simple and plaintive utterance of despair calls forth, when we see it attracting the compassionate interest of the Lord himself. He listens to the cry of Ishmael and the weeping of his mother—'And God heard the voice of the lad: and the angel of God called to Hagar out of

heaven, and said unto her, What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not; for God hath heard the voice of the lad where he is.'

"So Jesus was affected by the tears of the widow of Nain, when he stopped the bier, and bade her dead son arise. The voice of nature enters into the ear of our God and Saviour; and it may well, therefore, enter into ours. Let us by no means harden our hearts, or arrest the flow of our natural sensibility. Let us be far from affecting an unfeeling sternness towards men, sinning and suffering, simply as men. Let us weep with them that weep. Let us go along with the Divine Spirit in the word, in which he plainly registers human frailties and calamities, as being 'in all our affliction himself afflicted.' Let us never turn away from a broken-hearted Hagar, or a perishing Ishmael—whatever may be the merits of the quarrel that has made them houseless—when we find the inspiring Spirit of God recording their sad doom in language full of sympathizing pathos;—and the Lord himself coming to the rescue with salutation full of tenderness—'What aileth thee, Hagar? fear not;' with promises also large and liberal—'Arise, lift up the lad, and hold him in thine hand; for I will make him a great nation;' and with miracle most seasonable and satisfying—'And God opened her eyes, and she saw a well of water: and she went and filled the bottle with water, and gave the lad drink' (ver. 18, 19).

"But, with all our indulgence of our natural tastes and sensibilities, let us not blunt the edge of our spiritual discernment. It is, after all, the judgment of faith, and not the impressions of sense, that we must bring to bear upon such a narrative as that before us. And while we freely confess that, of its three pictures, the last is the most likely to win the natural eye and carry captive the natural heart, we must remember, that in respect of the place they hold in the grand economy of the Divine providence and grace, the other two have a prominence and pre-eminence all their own."

The following observations apply to the remarkable and perplexing similarity between the incidents of Abraham's and of Isaac's sojourning at Gerar:—

"So exact a similarity, even down to minute particulars, between the story of the son's pilgrimage and that of the father's may very possibly create some difficulty in certain minds. And at this distance of time, both from the occurrence of the events and from the recording of them, it may be beyond our power to account for it altogether satisfactorily. That the king of Gerar and his prime minister, or commander-in-chief, should bear the same names that the corresponding personages bore in Abraham's time,—Abimelech and Phichol,—may be easily enough explained, according to eastern usage, upon the supposition of these being hereditary names of hereditary offices. But it does seem somewhat strange that the very details of the adventures which the father and the son respectively underwent, should be to so great an extent identically the same.

"Let it be observed, however, in the first place, that the picturesque and graphic annals of that olden time, are apt to cast into the same type or mould analogous events, and successions of events. They seize upon the features that are identical, without dwelling upon circumstantial differences. And thus they give to the whole narrative a somewhat artificial appearance of even literal repetition.

"Then, again, let it be remembered, secondly, that the domestic manners of the East have always been far less liable to change from generation to generation, and have always had far more of a sort of stereotyped character, than the manners of other countries and later ages with which we are more familiar; so that the occurrence to the son of the very same things that happened to the father, need not surprise us so much as a similar agreement in any other history would do.

"And above all, let it be considered, in the third place, that there was a wise purpose to be served by the plain and palpable identification of Isaac, as the heir, with Abraham, whose successor and representative he was. It was important that he should be recognized and acknowledged by the nations and kings with whom Abraham had been called to mingle. And it may well be ascribed to the immediate and special ordering of the providence of God, that the younger patriarch was ap-

pointed to retrace and revive the footsteps of his predecessor's pilgrimage;—as well as to re-open the wells which, under his father's auspices, had been dug.”

The Triple Crown; or the Power, Course, and Doom of the Papacy. By WILLIAM URWICK, D.D. Dublin: Robertson. 1852.

“THIS book treats of THE PAPACY. It incidentally notices other parts of the Roman Catholic system; but its professed subject is the offices and dignity which that system ascribes to the Bishop of Rome.” Much as the Papacy has been discussed, first and last, Dr. Urwick doubts whether the topic has ordinarily received its due share of attention, “considering how seriously it affects the honour of God our Saviour, the faith and duty of Christian people, the interests of society, and the rights and well-being of man.” He suggests that:—“Perhaps, in permitting the late movements of the Papacy towards those countries, Divine Providence intended to bring it more prominently and testingly under review. It is becoming, if it be not already, one of the great questions of the age; one of deep concern to the British and Irish public, and one that intimately affects the piety and politics of Europe at large.”

We owe, in fact, this present volume to “the Papal Aggression.” Early in 1850, the author delivered a course of lectures on the Papacy, which excited much interest, and the publication of which was even then urged, but declined. When, however, this famous and rousing aggression occurred in the ensuing autumn, he took up his manuscript to revise it for the press. On consideration, however, he concluded to write what would be to a great extent a new work. This was not a thing to be done hastily; and by the time his labour was completed, he was deterred from producing its results by the apparent hopelessness of gaining attention amid the flood of anti-Papal books and tracts that then appeared. He now, however, presents them with the less hesitation from not having observed, among the many works published, one that takes the niche he had thought of for his own.

We trust that *now* this very valuable, seasonable, and able work will obtain the attention to which it is well entitled. It certainly ought to be in the possession of all those who wish to obtain full and distinct views of the matters of which it treats, and which could not without this aid be obtained without greater labour and a larger expenditure of time than most men are able to bestow. We, therefore, earnestly recommend this work as a weapon suited to the hand of every one who wishes to be armed against the dangers of the time.

Dr. Urwick digests his materials into seven “Views of the Papacy.” The first, sets forth its *Prerogative*, as “explained in the Roman Catholic Church; the second, examines its *Credentials*, for the purpose of ascertaining how far the Papal office is entitled to be considered a ‘Divine Institute;’ the third, treats of its *Origin*, tracing the beginnings of a Papal Government in connection with Christianity; the fourth is devoted to its *Establishment*, describing the advance of the Papal dominion, in the Roman Episcopate, till it acquired a general supremacy; the fifth, relates

to its *Ascendency*, illustrating the strength and sovereignty possessed by the Papal throne during the middle ages; the sixth, describing its *Decline*, shewing the gradual decay of the Papal power from the thirteenth to the nineteenth centuries; and the seventh, foreshadows its *Fall*, proving the final overthrow of the Papal usurpation, from the justice, the oracles, and the providence of God.

There are not many who would be able to furnish a readable book on the subject he has chosen; but Dr. Urwick has succeeded in this difficult task, and has found occasion to exhibit much more of his distinctive style and manner as a speaker and a preacher than we should have expected. The work savours more, at least in parts, of the oral rather than the written style; and is essentially "easy," even to turns of thought or expression which have the effect of wit; and even down to a few jokes which do not *tell* so well in print as they might do in oral discourse.

The extent to which Romanism has engaged our attention in this number precludes us from showing the quality of this remarkable book by extracts from its pages, though tempted by many an instructive, eloquent, and striking paragraph. The work must, indeed, be read as a whole to be properly appreciated. The final "view," or chapter, on the Fall of the Papacy is written with peculiar animation and power, and the author will carry his readers with him to the conviction that—"The Papacy must FALL. Never was doom more certain than this. Divine justice requires it; Divine oracles foretell it; Divine Providence is moving towards it. The Papacy MUST FALL."

The Lord's Short Work on the Earth. A Sermon. By ROBERT S. CANDLISH, D.D. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1852.

THIS discourse was delivered in "Free St. George's, Edinburgh, on Sabbath, January 4, 1852," and the preface is dated the day after, Dr. Candlish having been prevailed upon to consent to its immediate publication, partly that the proceeds might be available "for meeting the deficiency in yesterday's collection for our school," and partly that it might be seasonable as an argument and appeal suited to the times. It is so, eminently. It is the only one of the author's sermons that ever came under our notice, and we went through it once with admiration and delight—much impressed and solemnized by the appeal. It is, indeed, a noble, eloquent, and stirring discourse; and if this be the quality of the preacher's utterances, the popularity and acceptance of his ministrations is adequately explained. The text is Rom. ix. 28.

The following fine passage contains the germ of the discourse:—

"We may regard the moral government of God as made up of a great number and variety of separate processes, having respect to nations, churches, and families, as well as to individuals separately considered and taken one by one into account. These processes are all blended into one harmonious whole, carrying forward the steady march of the vast plan of Providence for regulating this entire earthly economy until the consummation of all things. Each particular process, however, of the sort of sectional and subdivided rule which God exercises over men, whether collectively or separately, from the history of the mightiest empire down to the vicissitudes

of the very humblest of the human race,—may be viewed as equally complete in itself with the one grand and comprehensive design, embracing the whole world throughout all its ages, which, reaching from the earliest date in time, awaits its full development in the final hour when time is to give place to eternity. And there is one law that would seem to be common to them all. When the crisis or catastrophe comes, the Lord makes a short work of it on the earth.

“Thus in a tale, or in a drama, a remarkable disproportion is often observed between the protracted period over which the action is extended and the hurried manner of winding up the plot at the close. The author gives himself the fullest scope throughout successive scenes, or successive volumes, for bringing out in a variety of minute incidents, the characters of the persons concerned in his story, and the romantic and interesting turns of fortune that befall them. But as the end draws near, he becomes, as it were, impatient to have done with his task, and in a few brief and hasty strokes disposes of the whole throng that has peopled his little world, and cuts short the work in all the ostentatious righteousness of sublime poetical justice. Let the march and movement of a mighty and majestic river be traced, as it rolls in widening stream over miles of chequered and broken country, now chafing itself amid rocks,—anon ruffled into ripples and eddies and cross currents,—and again sweeping along in deep and silent grandeur, free, copious, unembarrassed, and unimpeded. With all its manifold vicissitudes,—amid light and shade,—field and forest,—gloom and gladness,—it holds on its steady and protracted course,—tardily upon the whole, and even tediously,—as if no violent crash were ever to be apprehended. But suddenly, when its waves are at the stillest and the smoothest, the rapids are abruptly reached; onward hurries the impetuous stream, in deepening tide, with fearfully accelerated speed; until one resistless rush over the headlong precipice, as with thunder-roar and lightning-flash, ends on the instant the entire career it has been running; makes short work, indeed, of all its past flow of waters; and clears the way for the new start and the fresh race that are to follow.

“After some such analogy as this, the providence of God over individuals, and communities, and the world at large, seems to proceed. Ordinarily its march is leisurely and measured. With noiseless step and stealthy pace it advances slowly forward. Visitations of chastening, or reproof, or encouragement, may be variously intermingled; tokens of long-suffering patience alternating with muttered hints of impending wrath; signs enough and prophetic warnings, if men would only give heed to them, of an approaching day of decision. Still, upon the whole, things move on with a sort of monotonous and weary uniformity in the beaten track. Men say,—All things continue as they were; to-morrow shall be as this day. Clouds may gather; but somehow they are always dispelled in time. The distant howling of the tempest may be heard; but its fury dies away; it passes over with but little scathe; and leaves the earth as green and the blue sky as serene and smiling as before. Years accumulate upon years in the individual man, until childhood’s smooth brow and flaxen locks assume the knitted firmness and dark hue of manhood, and then pass into the wrinkles and grey hairs of age; and still whatever griefs or joys may occasionally haunt the memory, the course of life runs smooth, and there is but little that speaks of sudden change. Centuries roll over a nation, crowding its annals with many wars and tumults and revolutions, but nevertheless leaving long spaces of tranquillity and repose between,—beguiling the people into a sort of vague belief that a conservative and restoring genius presides over their destiny,—averting or turning to good the interruptions of the destroying angel, and securing, in spite of outbreaks now and then, the continued and prosperous progress of the commonwealth in the end. And so things go on, as for years or for ages they have been doing, until the Lord’s-time,—his set time,—arrives. Then is the hour of decision. The Lord comes to take a reckoning; to demand an account. He comes for the settlement of his controversy with the people; the winding up of the long unbalanced arrears of unacknowledged claims on his part and accumulated crimes on theirs. And as if he could not afford leisure for entering into the tedious maze of its complicated details, he cuts it short in righteousness. As if he were in haste to be rid of an ungracious and unwelcome task, he abruptly finishes the whole matter; crowds rapidly into the briefest possible space the penalties he means to exact and the ven-

geance he means to inflict; and so makes a short work on the earth. Such generally is the law of Divine Providence indicated in the text."

The preacher then proceeds in the same high strain to develop the reasons of this law, so far as they can be traced; after which he shows its application to the world at large, and the nations of the earth generally, dwelling with great boldness and fervour on "the state of things at this moment in the world around us." Here his voice becomes as the voice of a trumpet; but again is heard in earnest remonstrance and passionate entreaty, when, at the close, he comes to the true application of the same law to men individually.

We cannot here give any further extracts from this remarkable sermon; but we have introduced a few passages into our *Analecta* on account of the relation they bear to the cause set forth in the first article of our present number.

The Sacraments. An Inquiry into the Symbolic Institutions of the Christian Religion, usually called the Sacraments. By ROBERT HALLEY, D.D.
Part II. The Lord's Supper. London: Jackson and Walford. 1851.

THIS first work forms the fifteenth series of the annual course of lectures established in connexion with the Congregational body, delivered in London, and afterwards published. Many of the volumes thus produced are works of great ability and of permanent value; but there are some which are devoted to those topics of internal controversy among Protestants, the consideration of which lies beyond the scope of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*. Of such we can only notify the appearance, and indicate the general character of the contents. Dr. Halley's work belongs to this class. There has been a previous volume on Baptism, which we have not seen; and indeed the first lecture of the present volume is given to the completion of that subject. This has, however, sufficient connexion with his present theme; as after here arguing that Baptism is "the designation of persons under religious instruction," not the symbol of the members of the Christian church; he proceeds to contend that only the accredited members of a Christian church, composed of truly Christian persons, whose qualifications are subject to the judgment of that church, are eligible as communicants. In proceeding to the institution of the Lord's Supper, Dr. Halley produces much matter of great interest, and useful for controversy against the doctrine of the real presence; and most that is produced in this large portion of the work will be acceptable even to those who may be unable to concur in his special views. The conclusion he reaches is, that the object our Saviour had in view in the institution of the Lord's Supper, was "the commemoration of his sacrificial death, by the observance of these emblematical rites;" that is to say, that the rite is simply commemorative, and not designed (any more than baptism) "to confer grace, nor to be the especial means of conveying it, either by the *opus operatum*, the proper performance of the priest, or the *opus operantis*, the worthy reception of the communicant." Both are, "not ratifications of the evangelical covenants, nor seals of its blessings

given to the worthy recipients," but, "symbolical representations of Divine truth, appointed to commemorate and illustrate the most important facts and doctrines of the Gospel." In this view the author necessarily takes ground both against the decrees of the Council of Trent on the one hand, and against many Protestants on the other. After endeavouring to trace the primitive mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper, he investigates at some length the views of the leading reformers as to the object of the Lord's Supper. Between the views of Zwingle and Calvin he does not see the difference that is usually alleged; and although he is aware that in contending for the simply commemorative character of the institution, he opposes the formularies and creeds of most Churches and denominations, he is "happy to find that many of the ablest divines of those Churches—although in apparent opposition to their own formularies, disavow the doctrine of sealing ordinances to the same extent that he has done." This is instanced in quotations from Mr. Bickersteth and Dr. Chalmers. The author, lastly, concludes that this commemoration is by *appropriate* emblems:—

"The bread representing the body of Christ, readily suggests the interpretation of the several parts of the sacramental service. Being broken, it intimates that the body of Christ was put to a violent death. Being distributed, it shews that his body was given for us, or that the benefits of his death, are bestowed upon us. But, as we have already seen, the body of Christ, or his flesh and blood, represents the great saving truths associated with his death,—his propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the world. Receiving the bread, we express by that sign our belief of the truth; and eating it, our appropriation of the truth to ourselves, as the sustenance of our spiritual life. Nor is the cup without its mystic signification. As the blood of a sacrifice was considered of great importance, and was poured out before the altar or sprinkled upon it, in attestation of the death of the victim, so this symbol occupies an important place in the commemoration of the sacrificial death of the Lord Jesus. Representing his blood, it is the attesting sign of his sacrificial death. Drinking the wine, we express our belief in his propitiatory sacrifice for the remission of sins. The thanksgiving and praises which are introduced into the service are appropriate to the commemoration of that great act of love by which we are redeemed from death. Every part of the ordinance is thus emblematical, and every emblem is peculiarly appropriate."

Although opinions will differ as to the conclusions Dr. Halley has reached, there can be no question that the work is an important contribution to the literature of a subject of great theological interest, nor that the author has made his statement with remarkable perspicuity, and conducted his argument with a calmness of spirit rare in theological controversy.

Sermons. By DANIEL KATTERNS. London: Snow. 1852.

It has become comparatively rare in this day to meet with a goodly octavo volume of sermons. This is probably from the discouragements of publishers, who, in their commercial point of view, regard sermons with singular disfavour. There is some "sign of the times" in this, if one could but find it; for sermons were formerly extensively read and largely published. It is not perhaps a bad sign. The chief purchasers of sermons now are the congregation of the author, and clergymen who derive

hints from them for their own sermons; but formerly there was a large number of persons, who, in the absence of an evening service, considered it a matter of conscience to read a sermon, either alone or in their families, on the Sunday evenings, and who therefore possessed themselves of such volumes of sermons as they had heard favourably mentioned. But now, when there is an evening service in all towns, and (at least in summer) in most large villages, the want of printed sermons is less felt, and this important part of the demand for them has all but ceased. Were it otherwise, and so far as it is otherwise, this volume by Mr. Katterns will be received with much favour, being composed of solidly good, sensible, and practical discourses, on important and therefore familiar topics; and being thus every way well suited for family sustentation in places where the preached word is scarce. We mean this for praise. If more be wanting, we should say that the sermons bear strong but unobtrusive evidence to the author's thorough study of the Scriptures, and to his possession of that knowledge of man's inner life—the diseases, the hopes, the struggles, and the fears of his spirit, which so well becomes a spiritual physician. The style, though level, sometimes rises to eloquence; and not seldom the reader is brought to a moment's pause, by some deep thought or striking observation, which he is inclined to "make a note of," as not having before occurred to his own mind, or been suggested by his previous reading. We add this book with pleasure to our own very small collection of sermons.

The Analytical Greek Lexicon; consisting of an Analytical Arrangement of every occurring Inflection of every Word contained in the Greek New Testament Scriptures, with a Grammatical Analysis of each word, and Lexicographical Illustrations of the Meanings. A complete series of Paradigms, with Grammatical Remarks and Explanations. London: Bagster and Sons. 1852.

THE Messrs. Bagster like to give full descriptions of their books in the title pages; and as the description is in this instance (and, indeed, generally) correct, we have given it in full. In quoting this, and in adding that it well describes the work, we have really said all that is needed; for it must be clear that a work thus constructed must be of very material advantage to the student of the New Testament in its original language. From the still more particular account of the work given in the Preface, we further learn that the volume has been compiled for the purpose of rendering the same assistance in acquiring a knowledge of the original language of the New Testament, that is afforded in the case of the recently published *Analytical Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon*. It thus offers, in the first place, Lexicography of the ordinary kind; namely, an exhibition of the meaning of words. These are arranged in their proper classification, with regard to the primitive signification of each word, and are accompanied by references to the place of their occurrence, so general, so full, as to approach to a concordance. But its distinctive feature consists in the Analytical arrangement of the inflections of every word, so far as they occur in Scripture. Each form is here exactly named and referred

to its root ; the whole thus forming a precise analysis of the entire verbal contents of the New Testament. Such are the *contents* of the work ; and, "to prevent misconception," the following explanation of its *object* is added :—

"It is designed to assist, where assistance is a kindly and really beneficial service ;—such assistance as is claimed by those peculiar circumstances where time and labour need to be husbanded, and where ordinary advantages are wanting ;—where it would not impair but cheer a true spirit of self-reliance, and call forth rather than enfeeble habits of industry and enterprise. In such cases the earnest student may have recourse to an aid like this, either to shorten or smooth his path in the acquisition of the fundamental facts of a language ; or, what is perhaps a still more useful application, to test the results of his own independent investigation. A design like this involves no vain attempt to render easy the acquirement of true learning,—no interference with the employment of a dead language as a means of mental discipline ; the aim of the volume is, like that of its predecessor, simply to act as a silent teacher, and to render the service and win the praise of a friend in need."

This is excellently said ; and the design of the volume, as thus explained, has our cordial sympathy and approbation. We doubt not that the appearance of this work will encourage many to qualify themselves for the enjoyment of the important advantage of reading the New Testament in the original language, who might otherwise have been disheartened by the apparent labour and difficulty of the attempt.

The Spiritual Exposition of the Apocalypse ; as derived from the Writings of the Hon. Emanuel Swedenborg, illustrated and confirmed by Ancient and Modern Authorities. By the Rev. AUGUSTUS CLISSOLD, M.A., formerly of Ex. Col., Oxford. London: Longmans. 1851. 4 vols. 8vo.

SWEDENBORG'S *Apocalypse Revealed* was published in 1766. The method followed in it was, first, to present the chapter of the Apocalypse ; secondly, a shorter interpretation of every verse ; and thirdly, a larger interpretation founded on the shorter. In the present volumes the shorter interpretation only is retained, and in place of the larger are substituted quotations from writers of all ages, countries, and denominations, whose views *on the particular point* are, or appear to be, consonant with those of Swedenborg, however they may differ from him on the whole. It is manifest that under this process there is scarcely any writer on the Apocalypse whose authority may not be adduced, or who on some isolated point or other has not expressed an opinion which might be quoted as similar to, and corroborative of, that of Swedenborg. But if the object be, as we suppose, to support the authority of Swedenborg's exposition, by shewing that as a whole it must be true, seeing that all its minute parts are confirmed by other authorities, this is surely a great mistake ; as proved by the fact that there is no system of interpreting the Apocalypse that was ever propounded, which is not susceptible of this kind of corroboration in its minute parts ; and a process of proof which may be made to support anything, must be worthless in all and any of its applications.

To contend that a building must be a perfect building, because every separate brick of which it is composed was pronounced a good brick by some competent judge : to allege that a book must be a good book, be-

cause the lexicographers furnish good authorities for every word to be found in it—is the same sort of argument, and not a whit more unreasonable than that conveyed by Mr. Clissold's undertaking, useless for the purpose in view, lamentable for the time and labour wasted on it, and pitiable for the expense which must have been incurred in thus printing four large volumes, containing together no less than 2,200 pages.

It is clear that Mr. Clissold himself came to have some misgivings in the matter. He refers to this objection in his preface, and tries to meet it by arguing that commentators frequently cite in particulars the opinions of those from whom they differ in the aggregate, and urges that the possible abuse of the practice must not be cited against its use. True, but Mr. Clissold's is the abuse of the practice,—the most remarkable abuse of it the world ever saw: and he must not be allowed to cite the use in justification of the abuse.

Nothing grieves us more sensibly than to see a learned, a sensible, and an industrious man commit a serious mistake, involving an extravagant waste of resources, mental, personal, and pecuniary. Examples of such errors of judgment do not seldom come under our notice, but we cannot call to mind an instance altogether so deplorable as this. A reprint of Swedenborg's work, as a whole, might have been an intelligible course: and, considering Mr. Clissold's prominence in the "New Jerusalem Church," he manifests less consideration than might be expected for its founder, by displacing his interpretations to make room for his own collections. It is just the same sort of operation as if one were to take the "arguments" to the several books of the *Paradise Lost* and for the poem substitute extracts bearing on the subject, gathered from every available quarter. The relation which such a work would bear to Milton's *Paradise Lost* is very much that which the present work bears to Swedenborg's *Apocalypse Revealed*.

But, although thus futile in regard to its intended object, Mr. Clissold may be allowed the credit of having made a vast collection of Apocalyptic interpretations, which some may wish to possess as a curiosity of its kind, and which others, whose libraries may not, in this branch, be so well furnished as his own, may find occasionally useful for reference.

Biblical Antiquities, with some Collateral Subjects, illustrating the Language, History, Geography, and Early History of Palestine. By F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D. With Maps and numerous Engravings. London: Griffin and Co. 1852.

THIS is one of the volumes of the Cabinet Edition of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana*; and as such, is, we presume, like the other volume, a revised and improved reprint in a connected form, of the various articles bearing on the subject, that appeared in the original quarto edition. We are unable to apportion the claims of the several authors; but the names given in the preface are those of the Rev. T. H. Horne, Rev. Dr. Molesworth, Rev. Dr. Mc'Caul, and the Rev. G. C. Renouard; and we may, of course, add, that of Dr. Cox himself, under whose editorship the whole

now appears, and whom we presume to have been the principal contributor of the materials thus reproduced. There is probably less new matter—and less was needed—than in Dr. Eadie's volume, noticed in our last number. But if we err in this, the fault lies in the absence of explicit indications.

Those who possess Horne's *Introduction to the Scriptures*, will understand the nature of this production, when we state that it embraces the same subjects as the third volume of that work, differenced chiefly in the arrangement and in the copious introduction of wood engravings. It must be understood that portions of the volume are occupied by dissertations on the nature and design of the Jewish economy, the Hebrew language and literature, the Sabbath, and Modern Judaism, "not usually found in books of this description;" for which the editor offers a kind of apology, in the admission that they "might perhaps have been omitted without any very serious charge of imperfection as to the principal design." But the apology is not needed, except in so far as these incorporations may have taken up space which might have been advantageously employed in the enlargement of particulars, in the more essential subjects of a volume of biblical antiquities. To these subjects, the attention of the editor has been mainly given. He tells us that "the historical, geographical, and early historical departments have received the utmost attention;" and that "no pains have been spared to collect information from every accessible quarter." Lynch's *Expedition to the Dead Sea* is chiefly named; from whose work, and from our translation of Professor Carl Ritter's valuable *Lecture on the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*,^a an interesting account of these waters is provided. This applies, however, to only a small part of the work; and we should say that in the military, civil, and domestic antiquities, in the natural history, and in the topography, much valuable matter has within these few years accumulated, to which there is no reference, and of which no use has been made. In these departments, therefore, we must pronounce the work to be scarcely up to the knowledge of the present day; and we especially deplore the editor's apparent unacquaintance with the labours of Professor Royle in the botany, and of Col. C. H. Smith in the zoology of Scripture. The name of the former does indeed occur; but it is in an extract from Lynch, which is reproduced with all its misprints, including that of Boyle for Royle; and Lynch's misprint of Belen for Belon in the same extract, here becomes Belew. We have noticed other inaccuracies of pen or press in this volume, which ought to be removed in a new edition; and this, with a further exploration of authorities, and with explicit references to them, will much enhance the value of a work which we must pronounce to be a very comprehensive and useful manual of biblical antiquities, for which an extensive popularity may be safely predicted. The engravings are very numerous. Most of them are good and useful, though somewhat rudely executed. A large proportion of them are copied from the *Pictorial Bible* and the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*—but there are many from other sources. Some, but not many, in proportion to those in Dr. Eadie's excellent volume on *Early History*, are marred by the inventions of the

draughtsmen. The chapter on modern Judaism, with which the work closes, is an excellent sketch; and the Scripture Chronology appended to the work, will be useful. Taken altogether, this work will be a treasure for the libraries of young people, who even without any special vocation for the study of biblical antiquities, ought to possess such a general knowledge of the subject as this book will afford.

Protestantism contrasted with Romanism, by the acknowledged and authentic Teaching of each Religion. Edited by the Rev. JOHN EDMUND COX, M.A.
London: Longman and Co. 1852. 2 vols. 8vo.

ALTHOUGH these pages are chiefly appropriated to sacred literature, we think we shall not greatly deviate from the proper object of this Journal, by introducing to the notice of our readers, this copious, well digested, clearly and temperately written work. The anonymous author, it appears, dwells in a remote part of the British Empire; but he has confided his manuscript to a very careful editor, the Rev. J. E. Cox, whose preface contains many valuable suggestions, and much important information concerning the designs and practices of Romanists.

The object proposed by the author is—to furnish enquirers, who cannot afford to purchase such extensive works as Bishop Gibson's invaluable *Preservative against Popery*, with a manual, from which they may not only derive defensive arguments in behalf of our Reformed faith (which is founded on the Holy Scriptures alone), but may also obtain a comprehensive view of the chief points of difference between Protestant truth, and the errors (to speak in the gentlest terms) of the Church of Rome.

This work is divided into three parts, viz. 1. on the Standard of Faith; 2. on the Way of Salvation; and 3. on the Means of Grace. Under these three heads all the great errors of that section of the universal church are successively brought out; and, it must be added, most thoroughly refuted. The statements of doctrine have invariably been taken from the standard authorities of the Church of Rome, and from such writings of her apologists and defenders, as have never been authoritatively denied. The Latin originals of them are given in the appendix to each volume, so that every competent reader is enabled to judge for himself of the accuracy of the passages translated in the text.

Accustomed, as we have painfully been, to observe with what acrimony polemical discussions are sometimes conducted, we have been particularly gratified with the utter absence of party-feeling, in *Romanism contrasted with Protestantism*. Nothing occurs in it either in spirit or in expression, that is calculated to inflict unnecessary pain, although the author has felt it his duty to express himself, fearlessly and without compromise, on *opinions*, which are contrary to the manifest teaching of the divinely inspired Scriptures.

Before we conclude the present notice of this most valuable work, we must not omit to state, that the Appendix to the second volume contains a very important document, which has recently been brought to light, viz., *A Treatise on the Canons which bear the name of the Council of Sardica*

(commonly called the *Sardican Canons*), by the eminently learned Dr. Isaac Barrow. This treatise was discovered by the researches of the Standing Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, by whom it has been published for the *first* time, from Dr. Barrow's Manuscripts, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, in their recent edition of his unanswered and unanswerable work on Papal Supremacy. As these canons serve to uphold the arrogant claims of the popes to supreme power, the readers of Dr. Barrow's dissertation cannot but be highly gratified by the perusal of a treatise in which these canons are demonstrated to be a *fabrication*.

The new Biblical Atlas, and Scripture Gazetteer, with Descriptive Notices of the Tabernacle and Temple. London: Religious Tract Society.

THIS consists of twelve maps and plans, with descriptive dissertations on the subjects indicated by the maps, concluding with a Scripture Gazetteer. The maps are good; the "descriptions" are suited to their objects; and the Gazetteer seems to have been carefully prepared. It is, however, too concise; and the work would have been more useful had this been made the principal feature, even at the expense of condensing the descriptive essays. It occupies but eighteen pages in a book of ninety-six pages. Among the maps, the most remarkable is the Physical Map of Palestine, by Mr. Petermann, which includes a diagram shewing the physical features of Palestine, within every month of the year. There is much useful matter in this map, but we must confess to some doubts as to the accuracy of the lines of temperature (of Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut, and, for comparison, of London), as laid down in the diagram to which we have referred. Mr. Petermann either employs his terms in an unusual sense, or he has fallen into some error. The description of *this* map should have been furnished by Mr. Petermann himself, and he would doubtless have stated the authorities, on which he has relied. Some of them we can trace, but not all.

This appears to us one of the most useful and meritorious of the various publications of the Religious Tract Society, and will be a very serviceable addition to any small collection of biblical works.

Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Ancient Israel. By the Rev. ROBERT W. FRASER, M.A., St. John's, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie. 1851.

THIS is a new and materially improved edition of a work which we noticed with commendation at the time of its first appearance in 1849, under the title of *Moriah*. It is not usual with us to notice second editions of works which have already passed under our survey; but we are so often and deeply impressed with the importance of a correct and complete knowledge of the sacred rites of Judaism, for the understanding not only of the Old Testament but of the New, that we are desirous to point out this excellent and handsome book, as most suitable to be placed before

those whom we may desire to be put in possession of this very essential knowledge. The subject ought to be presented in a separate shape, as here, and on a scale to allow the adequate development of the details involved in these sacred institutions, as well as to set forth the inner meaning, and to suggest the instruction which may be drawn from them. All this Mr. Fraser has done exceedingly well. He has skilfully taken the right line between the unsatisfactory meagreness of the usual abstracts and the wearisome particularity of larger treatises. The religious observations, which are essential to a work of this nature, designed chiefly for popular use, are always judiciously and naturally introduced. In these, "the author, while he has admitted to be types of evangelical truths, mere portions of the ceremonial law, which there is divine authority for considering as such, has preferred taking the minor and subordinate parts of the gospel services as *suggestive* of gospel truths, by way of analogy." He has evidently taken much pains with his subject, and has resorted to the best sources of information; and he will therefore receive from adults the attention due to a scholar who has made himself completely master of his subject: while the animated and pleasing style and manner, will be sure to engage the attention of young people, to a class of subjects usually rendered needlessly repulsive to them, by the dreary and lifeless tones in which they are addressed. Mr. Fraser is really well entitled to our thanks, for this successful endeavour to popularize a very important part of Biblical knowledge.

Daily Bible Illustrations. Being Original Readings for a Year, on Subjects from Sacred History, Biography, Geography, Antiquities, and Theology, especially designed for the Family Circle. By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. Evening Series. Job and the Poetical Books. January—March. Edinburgh: William Oliphant and Sons. 1852.

THIS is the first volume of the Second or Evening Series of Dr. Kitto's *Daily Bible Illustrations*. On obvious grounds we are precluded from expressing any opinion on the merits of the volume; but we may produce the following particulars concerning it gathered from the preface; and our *ANALECTA* will furnish a few extracts.

The successive volumes of the former series took much of their character from the nature of the materials which they embraced; but the prevailing tone of the whole was historical—dealing chiefly with material facts, and with men and nations in their acts, their characters, their sentiments, and their passions. In like manner, will the volumes of the present series derive their complexion from that of the portions of Scripture of which they treat. While, therefore, the main design has been kept as closely as possible in view, the present volume will be found considerably different from those in the former series, as well as from the ensuing volumes of the present. The absence of historical, and (except in Job) of personal details, in this portion of Holy Writ, has dictated the necessity of a peculiar mode of treatment, and has afforded opportunity for the introduction of considerations which are of especial interest in

regard to these Books; but such as are not usually introduced into books designed for popular use, though they tend materially to promote an intelligent knowledge of the Sacred Volume. The construction of the several books has thus been explained, their arguments have been stated, and various particulars concerning their history have been furnished. Upon the whole, although the present volume comprises a large proportion of material facts and incidents, it has more of a literary cast than any of the others. This will, the author trusts, appear in the entire series as an agreeable diversity, and he declares himself without fear that this volume will be regarded as less interesting than the others, because the writer has in some places made rather more than usual claim upon the reader's attention. It is understood that this confidence has not been disappointed.

History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church by the Apostles. By Dr. AUGUSTUS NEANDER. Translated from the Third Edition of the Original German, by J. E. Ryland. London: Henry Bohn. 1850. 2 vols.

THIS is something more than a reprint of the excellent translation originally published by Mr. Clark, of Edinburgh. In fact, the greater part of the reprint is comprised in the first of the two volumes. The translation was made some years ago from the third edition, as the title expresses; but the author afterwards issued a fourth edition, with important additions and corrections, which are here added in a body at the end of the translation, from the fourth edition. This is an awkward arrangement, arising probably from the publisher's want of information respecting this fourth edition until some progress had been made with the printing, when there was no alternative but to add the new materials in the form in which they now appear. This is a lesson to publishers not to issue new editions before consulting authors and translators; for, valuable as the additions are in any shape, they would certainly have been more acceptable in their proper places. The new matter is translated by the same able hand as the body of the work.

About two-thirds of the second volume is occupied by a translation of one of Neander's works, the proof sheets of a new edition of which he was correcting on his death bed. Indeed, the preface bears date but a fortnight before his decease. This is the *Antignostikos*; or the *Spirit of Tertullian, and an Introduction to his Writings*. A *Monograph, designed to be a Contribution to the History of Christian Doctrine and Morals in the First Ages*. The work is described by this title. It suffices to say, that it is an admirable translation of an excellent work, which affords us the inestimable advantage of a master-guide in exploring the writings and in defining the sentiments of an early Christian writer, whose works must always occupy a conspicuous place in the study of Christian antiquity. There is no man who has so successfully enabled us to contemplate an author through his writings, as Neander has done in this and some other of his famous "Monographs,"—a species of composition which, from his example, is becoming conspicuous in German

literature. Many pieces of great merit have been produced; but we could not point to many which come near to those of Neander in the marvellously distinct apprehension which they manifest of the whole spirit, mind, and manners of the early Christians. In his works we breathe the very atmosphere of the remote ages that pass before us. The addition of this treatise will, therefore, materially enhance the value of the republication to the theological reader.

Repentance; its Necessity, Nature, and Aids. A course of Sermons preached in Lent. By JOHN JACKSON, M.A., Rector of St. James's, Westminster, and Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen. 2nd edit. London: Skeffington. 1852.

The Sinfulness of Little Sins. A Course of Sermons preached in Lent. By JOHN JACKSON, M.A. 5th edit. London: Skeffington. 1851.

THESE Sermons have the rare merit of fulfilling their pretensions, and by a certain class of readers will be highly valued. They are worthy of their much respected author, and such as would be expected in any compositions of his pen. Alike removed from the wild excursions of neologianism and the mysticism of Romish theology, eschewing equally the bold grappling with divine mysteries into which Calvinism sometimes ventures, or the exaltation of human merit, which is but too often characteristic of Arminianism, these discourses adopt a happy middle path. The intellect is not allowed to chafe at the bars of its prison, and pant for the free territory of speculation; the imagination clips its wings, and keeps on the *terra firma* of that which is sound, and sober, and safe. The most critical audience would find nothing in these Sermons to condemn, no violation of taste, no insertion of that which is too startling. That which is aimed at is, to induce quiet thought and earnest self-examination, careful watchfulness over every-day conduct, and that sober seriousness which ought to characterize reasonable beings. We can give no higher encomium to these efforts than to express a conviction that they would meet with an approval, even warmer than our own, from the prelate in whose parish church they were delivered, and who probably was occasionally present during the delivery.

Rationalism and Popery Refuted. Three Discourses on the Authority of the Scriptures. By J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNE, D.D. Translated from the French, with a Preface. By the Rev. W. K. TWEEDIE. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1851.

THE historian of the Reformation has the happy faculty, beyond most other men, of reasoning in a style that captivates and enchains the attention of those who have not enjoyed the advantage of intellectual training. The present discourses are valuable on this account, and especially called for at this crisis of our religious history. To use the language of the sensible preface of Mr. Tweedie, "they may be read for edification by the

devout, for instruction by the student of history, and for arguments by those who would defend the truth against its assailants, whether they are found among Romanists or neologians."

Dialogues of the Early Church. By HENRY HAYMAN, M.A. London: Skeffington and Southwell. 1851.

THESE "Dialogues" indicate an intimate knowledge of ecclesiastical history, a refined classical taste, and a careful scrutiny of early manners and customs. If we are called upon, however, to decide on the absolute merits of the little volume, ours is scarcely an impartial tribunal. We are rigid investigators of truth, and, therefore, when we see history mixed up with fiction, and the doctrines of religion strangely blended with the outgoings of the fancy; we are inclined to call it theological dilettantism. We can scarcely tie down our imaginations to the scenes to which the author would introduce us, but are compelled to allow them to wander to and fro between the study of the writer and the drawing-room of the fair reader. Divers incongruities float before our eyes, volumes of Eusebius intermingled with *Lyra Innocentium*, the *Tracts for the Times* with Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*, antique chairs, and models of fonts, and Puginesque churches, alternating with guns and fishing-rods. We should in like manner expect to find the results of these arduous labours finding their ultimate resting place among fashionable novels, and the last new dissertation on *Church Embroidery*. There are unquestionable merits in Mr. Hayman's volume, indeed, it may be an exceptional specimen of a class of literature that we deprecate, and we think that these merits will be discerned by those who have a reverence for church teaching, an adequate appreciation of sacramental religion, and who habitually elevate antiquity above the light of modern philosophy.

Sketches of Modern Irreligion and Infidelity, with some Results of late Extensive Travels on the Continent: and Extracts of Letters to an Anglican Bishop on the present state of Religion there. By the Rev. BUCHAN W. WRIGHT, M.A., Chaplain to the British Residents at Trieste. London: Seeleys. 1851.

THE production of a sincere and right-minded thinker, whose theme is well calculated to awaken serious reflections in the breast of every Christian. The state of the continental mind is just now eminently critical, and bodes fierce conflicts which must ere long change the face of things. Mr. Wright is fully awake to the subversive principles at work, and has strengthened his position by the concurring testimony of strong minds which have reflected on the subject. The volume is but a collection of "Sketches;" it does not go deeply into the inquiry, but its suggestions are in the right direction, and will be highly valued by those who are disposed to inquire into the results of modern infidelity, its relation to the Papal Antichrist, and the hopes of a better future which the page of prophecy reveals to the believer.

A Sequel to the Female Jesuit; containing her Previous History and Recent Discovery. London: Partridge and Oakey. 1852.

IN our October number we took notice of a very remarkable narrative, entitled *The Female Jesuit; or, the Spy in the Family*. It portrayed a singular imposture that was successfully carried on by a young woman pretending to be a convert from Romanism, and an ex-member of a sisterhood, named "The Companions of Jesus." We remarked that the incidents were peculiarly adapted to excite attention, indeed, "that every one would take it up with interest, read it with eagerness, but lay it down with disgust." This feeling of disgust arising from the consummate hypocrisy of the heroine, and her perpetually scheming, yet to all practical purposes, aimless existence, will now be removed by the publication of the Sequel. "Marie" has been thoroughly exposed, and at this moment occupies an apartment in a continental prison. Her talented biographer has thoroughly accomplished her task, and the volume which was written as a warning, has served to evoke much light and information on a case that was almost unparalleled as a psychological phenomenon.

Toleratio Intolerabilis; or, the Free Development of the Romish System proved to be inconsistent with the Welfare and Safety of the State. By the Rev. HENRY S. J. BAGGE, B.A. 1851.

A FORMIDABLE title; suggesting the discussion of a question which is almost more of a political character than we care to discuss in this Journal. Popery is, indeed that perplexing anomaly which falsifies all established principles, and baffles all who would attempt to deal with it. Mr. Bagge has brought a vast store of learning to bear upon the point, and abundantly satisfies us that it were best to leave untouched the "unclean thing."

Etymological Dictionary of Scripture Names, Accented and Explained, with Copious Illustrative Notes, and Introductory Observations on the Origin of Language and Proper Names. By W. G. HIRD. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co. 1851.

Supplement to the Etymological Dictionary of Scripture Names, etc.

THIS work—for the two are essentially one—is well suited "for the use of Sabbath School teachers and Bible classes," for which it is intended. It is altogether a very meritorious production; for the care and labour bestowed upon it, the author is entitled to commendation and thanks. The names of Scripture being significant, it is very important, and is, indeed, sometimes necessary to the correct understanding of the texts in which they occur, that their meanings should be defined. Many of them are open to various interpretations, and some of them remain doubtful. All the explanations which Mr. Hird has produced will not, therefore, command universal assent; but it is manifest that he has sedulously explored the best authorities, and has spared no pains in his search for right conclusions. The great body of the interpretations are unquestion-

ably correct; the plan is excellent, and the author has managed to make his little book interesting by the quantity of curious matter he has brought together in his justificatory and explanatory notes.

The Divine Attribute of Mercy as Deduced from the Old Testament. By ALFRED J. CARVER, B.A. Cambridge: John Deighton.

A CAREFULLY written essay indicating not only a familiar acquaintance with the facts of Old Testament History, but a clear discernment of its general scope. Mr. Carver has brought to an inquiry of a somewhat complex nature, the resources of a mind well stored in the theological learning, and disciplined by the investigation of moral and metaphysical science.

* * We are obliged to postpone the notice of several books to the next number of the Journal; and some works of importance are reserved for larger consideration than they can receive in this department.

ANALECTA BIBLICA.

THE RIVER OF EGYPT.—The promise made to Abraham at Mamre, was in the following terms:—"Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt unto the great river, the River Euphrates." The question turns on the meaning of the words, "the river of Egypt."

If that river be the same as Sihor, referred to by the prophets Isaiah and Jeremiah, which appears to me almost certain, we are necessarily left to the conclusion that it was a perennial stream, passing through a rich agricultural country, and probably navigable. Isaiah speaks of the "seed of Sihor," and the "harvest of the river," as forming an important part of the revenue of Tyre; and Jeremiah places Sihor, precisely in the same position in reference to Egypt, as the Euphrates in reference to Assyria: treating them both, apparently, as border streams.

There are three suppositions respecting this river. The first is, that it is the same with the rivulet which runs into the sea near Dair, a few miles to the south of Gaza; the second, that it is the "Torrens Egypti," or torrent of Egypt, which passes about a mile to the north-east of El Arish, and separates the desert from incipient vegetation; the third that it was the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile. The language of Isaiah certainly seems too magnificent for so small a stream as that of Gaza, though that stream traverses an agricultural region. It is clearly inapplicable to the El Arish torrent; while the descriptions of both the prophets correspond most accurately with the Pelusiatic branch of the Nile.

In confirmation of this being the intended boundary of Palestine, there is reason to believe that from the earliest times, down to the subversion of the native Egyptian dynasties, Pelusium was the frontier town of Egypt. A few centuries later, it appears that Ptolemy I. carried the Egyptian frontier across the desert, and built Rhinocolura, in the vicinity of El Arish. Very soon, however, we find the frontier again receded to its old locality, with the addition only of the Mons Cassius, a little to the eastward,

which was occupied by a garrison of Egyptian Jews. And thus the matter seems to have rested in Roman times.

Again, we find from Josephus, that so far back as the time of Nebuchadnezzar, the frontier of Syria, that is, of Palestine, was held to extend across the desert to Pelusium. Though, as Pliny fixes the Arabian or Idumean frontier at Ostracina in his time, it may be presumed that Palestine had then receded to Rhinocolura.

Now, whatever title belonged to Palestine in the age of Abraham, was certainly transferred to that patriarch; and as history leads to the probability that the Pelusiac branch of the Nile was the boundary between Palestine and Egypt in his day, this certainly aids the conclusion in favour of that river.

Again, so far as the promise itself can be gathered from the actual extension of the Hebrew territory, Solomon's conquest of the territory of the Idumeans and Amalekites, tends further to shew that the Nile was the boundary line.

On the other hand, the Gaza stream is so nearly parallel with Beersheba, that, taken in connexion with the common Scripture expression, "from Dan to Beersheba," we might almost be tempted, except for the flowing language of Isaiah, to fix the Sihor here; though an important objection would still remain, in the fact that a considerable tract of fertile country lies to the south of that rivulet.

It would appear, however, that in different ages the intervening desert was regarded by both parties as disputed and border ground; each nation claiming or abandoning it in turn. And whether the title of Abraham extended to the Nile, which seems to me most probable, or fell somewhere short of it, Palestine must always have been practically held to begin where the desert ended, and consequently in the neighbourhood of El Arish. The "*Torrens Egypti*," we may further conclude, came to be considered the boundary of Palestine in Roman times, when the several provinces of the empire were adjusted, and the district beyond that torrent was definitively assigned to the Idumean or Arabian tribes.—*BELDAM'S Recollections of Italy and the East*, vol. i., pp. 342—345.

WHY THE FUTURE STATE HAS NO PLACE IN THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.—

It must be allowed, indeed, to be a striking deficiency in the Mosaic dispensation, that it makes no special allusion to the great doctrine of the soul's immortality, and a future judgment.

This omission has been seized on with avidity by sceptics, to prove a variety of things. According to some, it proves that Moses himself did not believe in the doctrine; according to others, that he knew it to be unpractical and useless; while among sceptics of an elder school, it becomes the ground of a more solemn charge, either against Moses or his Divine Master, for concealing a truth of infinite importance. It was in this light that Bolingbroke seemed, whether satirically or otherwise, to regard it. A little further consideration, however, will, I think, shew that it proves nothing of the sort.

That Moses himself shared in the general belief of mankind on this subject, cannot be reasonably doubted. Instructed in the greater mysteries of the Egyptians, and equally so in the traditions of his race, while listening, at the same time, to the voice of reason and instinct, he could not have denied this doctrine. But actions speak louder than words; and his whole conduct proves that he did believe it. He who sanctioned, if he did not actually write, the book of Genesis; he who preferred the reproach of Christ to the riches, honours, and pleasures of Egypt, could not have doubted of the soul's immortality.

The faith of Moses was the faith of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, of Job, of David, of the prophets, and of all the Old Testament worthies; of all spiritually-minded persons, and good men in all ages, who looked, through types and shadows, to the great reality, and waited for the Seed of the Woman, to bring life and immortality fully to light.

In this faith the apostle expressly assures us, they became strangers and pilgrims, endured a great fight of afflictions, and would not accept of deliverance; they had respect to the recompense of reward, that they might obtain a better resurrection. And therefore did they rest in hope; believing, that though after their skin worms should devour this body, yet in their flesh they should see God.

To the argument that such a faith was unpractical and useless, we may satisfactorily oppose the examples I have just quoted. To the charge of concealment, we may offer a variety of replies.

In the first place, the Hebrew economy was not designed to embody the whole of the patriarchal faith, but only such portions of it as needed to be, or might be, aided by illustration. In the next place, its especial object was to press home the conviction of a system of rewards and punishments in the present life, which had been too generally overlooked in the speculations of a distant futurity. In the third place, the national character of this economy, had evident reference to the present world, and could not take effect elsewhere.

But Moses had other and sufficient reasons for not grafting any types of this abstract doctrine on a ceremonial system. In Egypt, the fables of a future world had absorbed all other modes of faith, and had become the most fatal instrument for the perpetuation of idolatry, superstition, and priesthood. Moses observed in the human heart, moreover, a perpetual craving after the unknown and unrevealed—a perpetual disposition to pervert this great doctrine to vain and unworthy purposes; and he was determined to give no sanction or encouragement to these tendencies. In his system he would have no purgatory, no prayers, or sacrifices, or cuttings for the dead, no dealing with departed spirits, no necromantic invocations, no vain hopes, or vainer fears, that might divert men's minds from present duties and present retribution. So far from it, he put even a sort of dishonour on funereal observances; he saw in death only the penalty of sin, and he would have all contact with it to be considered a ceremonial pollution. Neither the image of death, nor the embalmed body of the defunct, should ever share in the Hebrew festivals, or become the incentive to a debasing sensuality. It was thus that he hoped to wean his people from the most seductive form of idolatry which had ever been known—the faith of Osiris and the Metempsychosis.

But had all these reasons been absent, there was yet another, which must have been sufficient.

Moses was an honest man. He might have gained additional popularity or power, by making more of this doctrine; but he would not, for he had no special revelation to communicate on the subject. The belief of Moses was firm, but it might not be distinct. He knew, indeed, that verily it should be well with the righteous; but possibly he knew but little more—little of a future judgment, and still less of the state of the dead: and not knowing, he would not pretend to it. Yet, even in comparative ignorance, he was, doubtless, consoled by the reflection, that his own dispensation was but the prelude to another of greater light and more abundant knowledge. Meanwhile, he must have felt assured that, since the full consequences of human conduct can never be known by finite minds, an ignorance of them can never be successfully pleaded as an excuse for sin, or a just reproach to the All-wise Law-giver. And he might further perceive, that in reference to the time and circumstances, a special covenant, and a special providence, of which miracles formed a part, were no mean temporary substitute for a clearer dispensation. Just as in the Arctic regions, the intense brilliancy of inferior planets, aided by a thousand reflected lights, makes a sufficient day, until the sovereign orb assumes his prominent place in the heavens.

Moses takes precedence of all that went before him, or that followed, until the coming of the Messiah—as a holy, a distinguished, an inspired man; possessed of extraordinary natural wisdom, but more highly endowed with that wisdom which cometh from above, and blessed also, however faintly, with the hope which is full of immortality.

Unlike the priests of Egypt, he eschewed all ideas of personal aggrandizement. He was an enemy to imposition and tyranny in all its forms. He was determined that his people should be taught, and that the priesthood should not domineer. He made the best provision he could against the inroads of ignorance, and vice, and error. He left the result to God, in humble anticipation of a greater advent; and with a perfect willingness that when this new economy had become old, it should pass away, in order that the things which cannot be shaken might remain.—*Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 314—318.

STATE OF CHRISTENDOM.—Look abroad on European Christendom. Contemplate the nations that have so long and so desperately rebelled against the Lord and against his Christ,—disowning his blessed Gospel, and doing homage, whether in doting superstition or in the hypocrisy of atheism, to his archenemy, the Antichrist, the Man of Sin. Is it not the universal observation concerning the occurrences of the last few years and months, that they bear a most judgment-like aspect and character? They have got utterly beyond all the ordinary conditions of political calculation. They baffle and defy the profoundest sagacity of political wisdom, alike to anticipate them beforehand, and to account for them or estimate and measure them when they come. Nor is there any feature in the case that more signally and unequivocally marks their judicial import, than the haste and hurry with which crisis after crisis, and stroke after stroke, breathlessly follow one another. The vicissitudes of a century seem to be crowded now into the compass of a decade, nay, almost of a single year. The marvels of all history, ancient and modern, are enacted again before our eyes, with even enhanced elements of surprise,—and all in such brief space as may be counted by weeks, and even by days. Is it not the impression of all thoughtful minds that there is an ominous acceleration of the rate of movement in the revolutionary ongoings of Papal Europe? It is as if the impulse of railway locomotion, and the electric transmission of intelligence from shore to shore, were communicated to the excited minds of men, or exemplified in the angry providence of God. Surely it is a short work that the Lord is making on the earth. At this moment, what a spectacle does the continent present! And what fear of change is perplexing all hearts! Peace the princes boast of, and order re-established and restored. Peace and order! Excellent blessings truly;—Heaven's best gifts to weary mortals! But to be blessings, they must be Heaven's gifts: flowing from the liberty with which Christ makes his people free, founded, on just laws and equal rights, and hallowed by the recognition of the true God, and the utter overthrow of every idol;—not bought by a sordid compromise with Rome, and upheld by the suppression of all free opinion and the sanguinary arm of military power. As it is, who doubts that a new crash is near at hand? The unholy alliance of Despotism and Popery cannot be long tolerated, either by earth or by heaven. It is filling up the iniquity of the Papacy, and of the powers and principalities that are giving their influence to the Beast. It is putting the last drop into the cup of bitterness, even now ready to overflow.—CANDLISH'S *Sermon, The Lord's Short Work*, pp. 20, 21.

QUOTATIONS FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT IN THE NEW.—The apostle here (Rom. ix. 28,) quotes Isaiah (x. 22, 23)* according to the Greek translation of the Old Testament, then commonly in use. Writing himself in that language, he freely avails himself of the document most accessible to those to whom it was either vernacular, or at least familiar. A Greek, ignorant of the Hebrew tongue, could not understand or appreciate a quotation taken directly from the Hebrew Scriptures. But he could at once appeal to the Greek version of these Scriptures, and feel the force of the apostle's pointed application of any passage cited in the terms in which it is there expressed. Hence on all occasions, when the sense was not materially different, our Lord and his apostles freely quoted from known translations rather than from the unknown original; thus giving the most emphatic possible sanction to the principle so impiously denied by the church of Rome, that the Bible ought

* "For though thy people Israel be as the sand of the sea, yet a remnant of them shall return: the consumption decreed shall overflow with righteousness. For the Lord God of Hosts shall make a consumption, even determined, in the midst of all the land."—ISAIAH x. 22, 23.

"Eeaias also crieth concerning Israel, Though the number of the children of Israel be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved; for he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness; because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth."—ROMANS ix. 27, 28.

to be published and circulated in all languages under heaven, so that every one in his own tongue may read the wonderful works of God. Nor does any real difficulty arise out of this practice, as regards the full verbal inspiration of the apostolic writings. It is true that the Greek version of the Old Testament, from which Paul quotes, is not itself inspired. But when Paul, guided by the Spirit, quotes from it any passage as a sufficiently fair rendering of the original, then to us, by virtue of the apostle's plenary inspiration, the passage so quoted in Greek is as truly infallible, and as certainly the Word of God, as that which stands in the Hebrew Bible. When I, an uninspired man, quote from a translation, as not only for convenience but for edification I must do, my quotation gives no sanction or authority to the translation, beyond what, upon its own merits as a correct transcript of the original, it is entitled to claim. But when Paul, as an inspired apostle, does so, then in so far as the particular passage quoted is concerned, he stamps the translation with the infallible seal of the Holy Spirit; and makes it of equal authority with the original itself. Henceforth, therefore, that passage, so quoted, is as much the inspired Word of God in the Greek version as in the primary and original Hebrew.—*Ibid.*, pp. 5, 6.

A PARABLE.—A gentleman of the country, upon the occasion of some signal service this man had done him, gave him a curious silver cup. David (for that was the man's name) was exceedingly fond of the present, and preserved it with the greatest care. But one day, by accident, his cup fell into a vessel of aqua fortis: he, taking it to be no other than common water, thought his cup safe enough; and therefore neglected it till he had dispatched an affair of importance, about which his master had employed him, imagining it would be then time enough to take out his cup. At length a fellow-servant came into the same room, when the cup was near dissolved; and, looking into the aqua fortis, asked David, Who had thrown anything into that vessel? David said that his cup accidentally fell into that water. Upon this, his fellow-servant informed him that it was not common water, but aqua fortis, and that his cup was almost dissolved in it. When David heard this, and was satisfied of the truth of it with his own eyes, he heartily grieved for the loss of his cup; and, at the same time, he was astonished to see the liquor as clear as if nothing at all had been dissolved in it, or mixed with it. As, after a little while, he saw the small remains of it vanish, and could not now perceive the least particle of the silver, he utterly despaired of ever seeing his cup more. Upon this, he bitterly bewailed his loss with many tears, and refused to be comforted. His fellow-servant, pitying him in this condition of sorrow, told him that their master could restore him the very same cup again. David disregarded this as utterly impossible. "What do you talk of?" says he to his fellow-servant. "Do you not know that the cup is entirely dissolved, and that not the least bit of the silver is to be seen? Are not all the little invisible parts of the cup mingled with aqua fortis, and become parts of the same mass? How, then, can my master, or any man alive, produce the silver anew, and restore my cup? It can never be; I give it over for lost: I am sure I shall never see it again." His fellow-servant still insisted that their master could restore the same cup; and David as earnestly insisted that it was absolutely impossible. While they were debating this point, their master came in, and asked them what they were disputing about? When they had informed him, he said to David, "What you so positively pronounced to be impossible, you shall see me do with very little trouble. Fetch me," said he to the other servant, "some salt water, and pour it into the vessel of aqua fortis. Now look," says he, "the silver will presently fall to the bottom of the vessel in a white powder." When David saw this, he began to have good hopes of seeing his cup restored. Next, his master ordered a servant to drain off the liquor, and to take up the powdered silver and melt it. Thus it was reduced into one solid piece; and then, by the silversmith's hammer, formed into a cup of the same shape as before. Thus David's cup was restored with a very small loss of its weight and value.

It is no uncommon thing for men, like David in this parable, to imagine that to be impossible, which yet persons of greater skill and wisdom than themselves

can easily perform. David was as positive that his master could not restore his cup, as unbelievers are, that it is incredible God should raise the dead; and he had as much appearance of reason on his side as they. If a human body, dead, crumbles into dust, and mingles with the earth, or with the water of the sea, so as to be discernible no more, so the silver cup was dissolved into parts invisible, and mingled with the mass of *aqua fortis*. Is it not then easy to be conceived, that as a man has wisdom and power enough to bring these parts of the silver to be visible again, and to reduce them to a cup as before,—so God, the maker of heaven and earth, must have wisdom and power enough to bring the parts of a dissolved human body together, and to form them into a human body again? What though David could not restore his own cup? Was that a reason that no man could do it? And when his master had promised to restore it, what though David could not possibly conjecture by what method his master would do it? This was no proof that his master was at a loss for a method. So, though *men* cannot raise the dead, yet *God*, who is infinitely wiser and stronger, can. And though we cannot find out the method by which He will do this, yet we are sure that He who at first took the dust of the ground, and formed it into the body of man, can, with the same ease, take the dust into which my body shall be resolved, and form it into a human body again. Nay, even if a body be burnt, and consumed by fire, the parts of that body are no more really lost than the invisible particles of the dissolved cup. As David, then, was wrong in thinking that it was impossible for his master to restore his cup, it must be at least equally wrong for us to think it impossible that God should raise the dead.—HALLETT, cited in *Dr. Brown's Resurrection of Life*. pp. 300—302.

FAMILY MEETINGS: JOB i. 4, 5.—After the description of Job's prosperity, his greatness, and his goodness, there follows a remarkable passage regarding his intercourse with his sons, which invites our attention to-day. These sons had, it appears, separate establishments of their own; and the statement seems intended to shew the harmony in which they lived, and the care that was taken to keep up a good understanding and social intercourse. It is said that, "His sons went and feasted in their houses, every one his day; and sent and called for their three sisters to eat and drink with them."

It will seem strange to many that these words have been variously understood. To a man of plain understanding, undistracted by critical questions, it will, we apprehend, appear that the sons of Job were settled too far apart for the different members of the family to have daily intercourse with each other, yet near enough to be able to visit one another occasionally; and that to render the advantage and pleasure of this intercourse a regular and calculable thing, as well as to equalize the incidental expenses, it soon became the custom of the family for each son to give an entertainment in rotation, at determined intervals of time, to parents, brothers, and sisters; thus providing that all the family, notwithstanding their separation, should have the pleasure of meeting together in gratifying social intercourse, probably many times in the course of the year. It is a pleasing picture to imagine the several parties hastening from different quarters on the well-known day, mounted on their camels; the ladies shielded from the weather in their camel cots; the beaming countenance with which they were welcomed as they arrived by their brother-host; the eager gaze which they all sent in the direction of their native home, watching till their father's camel loomed in sight in the distance, and the respectful love with which they all hurried to meet their venerated parent on his arrival; the officious care with which they assisted him to dismount; the filial tenderness with which they received his embrace; and the bent heads upon which he poured down the fulness of a father's blessing. * * *

Although a slighter matter, we must not refuse to point out that in the case before us, the reader has the earliest example of a custom which, among all the changes of time and country, has maintained its ground to this day among nearly all nations, and in no nation flourishes more vigorously than our own, of making "eating and drinking" together the medium of social intercourse, and of maintaining friendly relations, among different members of the same family. Say what men will, there

must be some substantially good foundation for a custom so old and so universal. It must have been found in a great measure effectual for the intended object. It were difficult not to entertain kind and amicable feelings towards one who takes pains and incurs expense on your account, or to retain harsh judgments of one whose good cheer comforts your heart. This view of the matter may be safely expressed by one whose infirmity, by allowing him no place at "good men's feasts," frees him from all danger of misconception.—KITTO'S *Daily Bible Illustrations, Evening Series*, pp. 41—44.

A DINNER OF HERBS: PROV. xv. 17; xxiii. 20.—"Better is a dinner of herbs where love is, than a stalled ox and hatred therewith," is a sentence whose natural truth every heart feels and acknowledges. It has not, however, we apprehend, been noticed that there is an evident intention in this text to place in marked opposition the commonest repasts of the people, with the most luxurious entertainments of the great.

The inference derivable from this text, that the substantial diet of the great body of the people was vegetable, is confirmed by many other passages, as well as by existing facts. In the East, and, indeed, throughout Southern Europe, the great mass of the people very rarely taste any kind of animal food; and, in the season of fruits, even dispense with dressed vegetables, and live almost entirely on bread and fruit, especially grapes. But we need scarcely go farther than to our nearest neighbours to find satisfactory illustrations of this. In the north, we have the Scotch peasant, to whom oatmeal porridge is the staff of life, as the potato is to the Irishman on the other side the western channel, and as vegetable soups are to the Frenchman beyond the channel on the south. This diet of the French peasantry may offer more real illustration than would be readily supposed. In Scripture we seldom read of meat being used except on somewhat extraordinary occasions, such as on high festivals, or for the entertainment of strangers; whereas the few indications of the preparation of ordinary meals, point to vegetable soups or pottages. It was a mess of lentil pottage that Jacob prepared for his own supper, and for which Esau sold his birthright; and it was a pottage of *field* herbs which was prepared in the great crock for the ordinary dinner of the sons of the prophet at Jericho. By this last instance we learn that for such "a dinner of herbs," not only cultivated but wild herbs, were used,—for the young man who collected them for this meal, gathered a noxious plant by mistake, and people do not cultivate unwholesome things in their gardens. Under such circumstances, numerous plants are known to be good for food, the useful properties of which are unknown or forgotten among those with whom a different rule of diet prevails. We are apt to think much of the large variety of our culinary vegetables; but in fact the variety is very small in comparison with those that are used for food in the different countries where vegetable diet prevails. And even in these, only a small proportion of the plants, really fit for food, are used. Indeed, the probability is, that by far the greater part of the plants of every country (including even the leaves of many trees) would form excellent food when suitably prepared; even many plants and roots, unpleasant or unwholesome in their crude state, would become nutritive and pleasant when boiled in a pottage. It has long been our own opinion, confirmed by all the experience which observation, travel, and reading have enabled us to acquire, that no one need hunger, far less starve, were the useful properties of many common vegetables generally known. As it is, many do perish in the midst of available plenty, literally "for lack of knowledge."—*Ibid.*, pp. 375—7.

INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL.

At the Syro-Egyptian Society, January 13th, Mr. Ainsworth made a communication on the identification, by Dr. Wilson of Bombay, of the ruins at Al Hadhar in Mesopotamia, with the Hazor of Kedar mentioned in the prophecies of Jeremiah.

A memoir was read, "on the Age of the Obelisk found at Nimrúd," by Professor Grotefend, translated by the Rev. Mr. Renouard, and communicated by Dr. John Lee. The professor referred the obelisk to the end, or reckoning backwards, to the beginning of the eighth century before Christ, when Shalmanezar (for so Professor Grotefend reads Col. Rawlinson's Temenbar) was continuing the conquests which had been begun by Pul and Tiglath-Pileser. The professor, by making Sennacherib a subordinate king, carried the history of these conquests through a period of thirty-one years, all of which he describes as engraved on the obelisk.

Mr. Sharpe read a paper on the later Assyrian empire, which rose under Pul and increased under Tiglath, Shalman and Sennacherib, till it fell, on the conquest of Nineveh by Nabopolassar, the Babylonian conqueror, who made that city his capital; but his successor, Nebuchadnezzar, removed the seat of empire to Babylon. Mr. Sharpe argued that the palaces of Nineveh were probably built under the kings above mentioned, when the Assyrian empire was widest: his views coinciding on this point with those entertained by Professor Grotefend. To prove that the people of Nineveh in part gained their knowledge of art from Egypt, and often copied the fashions of that country, Mr. Sharpe pointed out that the name of Aobeno-Ra on the ivory tablet is that of the Egyptian god, Amun-Ra, spelled after Persian pronunciation; that the name of king Tiglath was borrowed from the Egyptian king Takeloth; that the Assyrian conqueror Bayrut carved his monument in the rock in imitation of Rameses II.; and that the figure of Cyrus the Great on a monument at Persepolis wears an Egyptian head-dress.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1852.

At the Syro-Egyptian Society, February 16th, a paper was read, "On the Builders of the Palaces at Khorsabad and Koyunjik," by Dr. Grotefend, translated by the Rev. C. Renouard. The names of the builders ascertained by Major Rawlinson to be Arkotsin Bel-a-donim-sha, and Assar-Adan-assar have little security, Dr. Grotefend argues, for having been correctly read; the first would appear to have reigned between the times of Cyaxares and Cyrus, and to have conquered a king of Egypt, whose name Colonel Rawlinson reads Barka or Biarku; but Dr. Grotefend reads Pharaoh Nechoh, and who held his court at Rabek or Heliopolis. (Mr. Sharpe remarked, that Thebes was a Rabek, or "city of the sun," as well as Heliopolis, and the more likely seat of empire.) From this circumstance, and the details of the other campaigns of the same king as described by Colonel Rawlinson, Dr. Grotefend thinks that the builders of Khorsabad may be identified with the Biblical Nabopolassar, and his son Nebuchadnezzar, and the builder of Koyunjik with the Biblical Evil-Merodach, a Jewish distortion of Abil Beredam. Dr. Grotefend's opinion further communicated by Mr. Sharpe, with regard to the north-west palace of Nimrúd is, that that palace was built by the father of the king who made the obelisk now in the British Museum, and that it was plundered by his fourth successor or the builder of Khorsabad; that is, that it was built by Tiglath the father of Shalman, and plundered by Nabopolassar. Secondly, that the south-east building bears the name of the builder of Khorsabad, and also that of his grandson, and also that of the Persian Cambyzes. Thirdly, that the south-west palace was built by the Babylonian builder of Khorsabad, and his two successors, and had additions made to it by Cambyzes. Thus, Dr. Grotefend is of opinion that the interesting monuments lately discovered at Nineveh were the work of three periods,—the Assyrian, the Babylonian, and the Persian—that the earliest was made by Tiglath, and the latest by Cambyzes.

At the Meeting of the Royal Society of Literature, held on the 17th December, Mr. Squiers, the eminent American antiquary, made some remarks "On the Mexican Hieroglyphics," as exhibited in the publication of Lord Kingsborough. The MSS. engraved in this splendid work are chiefly rituals, a few only being historical. Of the events referred to, some occurred 600 years B.C., and one appears to be an eclipse that happened 900 years B.C. The dualistic principle runs through the Mexican pantheon: it consists, *i. e.*, of male and female divinities, representing the active and passive principles in nature. We find also in this mythology a trinity, corresponding to the Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva—the productive, preserving, and destroying powers—in the Indian Mythology. Inferior deities represent attributes, each name denoting an attribute; hence, the gods of the Mexicans were far from being so numerous as they appear to be. The supreme divinity had about fifty names, several of which agree in signification with those applied in the Old Testament to Jehovah. He is represented as wearing a mask, to intimate that he cannot be looked upon. For each character or attribute there was a different mask, frequently representing animals, particular animals being dedicated to particular deities. The different deities were likewise symbolized by different colours; the water god by blue; the god of fire by red; the inferior divinities by a dark tint, etc. The lecturer, said "The Mexican records unquestionably refer to an Eastern origin of the nation."—*Gentleman's Magazine*, March, 1852.

At the Royal Society of Literature, February 12th, a paper was read, written by Mr. J. Belfour, "On the Religious Ceremony of Washing the Hands." Mr. Belfour's Essay was an illustration from Scripture, and many classical and other writers, of the circumstance of Pilate's washing his hands while protesting his innocence of the blood of Christ. The manifest improbability that the Roman procurator observed this ceremony with reference to Deut. xxi. the writer confirmed by numerous proofs that the same custom was general among Pagan nations, and particularly among the Romans. The Persians observed this ceremony before entering their temples, and the Greeks believed that they thereby cleansed the conscience from impurity. The Romans applied it more generally, they not only, before passing sentence of death, protested that it was innocently done, and signified the same by washing their hands; but we find repeated allusions to the fact, that before solemn service to the gods, the persons officiating were purified with living water, and in the same manner they solemnly protested their innocence of fraud, or any other act of moral turpitude.—*Literary Gazette*, February 14th.

At the Asiatic Society, February 7th, Professor H. H. Wilson, read a paper by the late Dr. Gutzlaff, on the present state of Buddhism in China. After giving an account of the importation of the Buddhist religion into China from India, which took place in the first century of our era, the paper goes on to state that the Buddhistic doctrines were derived by the Chinese from works in the Pali language, and are now contained in an immense mass of books exceeding perhaps 10,000. Few of these books are translated into Chinese, the greater portion being supposed to retain attempts to represent the sound of the original language by Chinese characters, thus producing a jargon which it is doubtful if they themselves comprehend. Dr. Gutzlaff never met with a single priest capable of explaining their meaning. A few works still exist in a character formerly used for writing the Pali. These may be considered faithful transcripts, and are deemed very scarce. The paper contained much detailed information on the idols, temples, priests, and monastic institutions of China.—*Athenæum*, February 28th.

The Chinese have been acquainted with the art of printing, as is well known, for nine or ten centuries. They cut the characters of any work which they wish to publish, page by page, on blocks of wood. The ink is applied to the wood by means of a brush, and then the paper is pressed upon the block by means of another brush or rubber passed over it. Thus their mode of printing is very simple, and all their books are stereotyped. As their language consists of so great a number of distinct characters they have adhered to this system, instead of adopting the more expeditious plan of cutting or casting moveable types. At Ningpo, a fount of

divisible Chinese type cast from matrices prepared at Paris was in operation for some years, under the superintendence of Mr. Richard Cole. The Rev. Mr. Dyer, under the auspices of the London Missionary Society, continued the work at Penang, from 1833 to 1843. Early in 1848, the Society secured the services of Mr. Cole, who had removed from Ningpo to Hongkong, to continue the work begun by Mr. Dyer. Under Mr. Cole's able management the fount has been repaired or made anew, so that it now may be called complete. It consists of about 4,800 different characters, and is sufficient for printing the whole Bible. The printing from it is truly beautiful. The experiment has also been made of printing on both sides of thin Chinese paper. Mr. Cole has also cut type of a very small size, convenient for references.—*American Missionary Herald*, January, 1852.

The church at Jerusalem, founded at the joint expense of England and Prussia, has now, after having been established ten years, the prospect of very extended usefulness, by the appointment of a German clergyman, who is to have the oversight of the German Protestants in the Holy city. The gentleman nominated to this important post is the Rev. M. Valentiner. He is a man of deep piety and profound learning, being thoroughly versed in the Oriental languages, especially the Arabic. His influence is calculated to be extremely useful, not only among the German Protestants, but among the English, as well as the Jews and the Turks. M. Valentiner, was formerly pastor at Holstein, which post he was compelled to quit during the Danish occupation. He has received his appointment from the Prussian crown.—*Anzeiger Zeitung*, Berlin, December 28th.

The Second Volume of the Coptic version of the New Testament, prepared and revised under the direction of the Foreign Translation Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the use of the Coptic Church, was laid before the Society at their meeting on the 2nd of March. This quarto volume contains the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, and is a continuation of the work executed in 1848; 500 copies of the first volume having been in that year forwarded to the Coptic patriarch of Alexandria; 50 copies to the Church Missionary Society, at Cairo; and one copy to the Rev. Mr. Lieder, of Cairo, who had communicated with the Society on the subject of this important work. The cost of the two volumes to the Society has been £885. The Venerable Archdeacon Tattam afforded his gratuitous services in preparing the volumes for publication and carrying them through the press, and the Rev. William Cureton in correcting the proofs of the accompanying Arabic translation.—*Ecclesiastical Gazette*, March, 1852.

The new revision of the Old and New Testament in the Tamul language, effected by the Rev. Peter Percival, under the patronage of the British and Foreign Bible Society, has been printed in quarto at the American Mission press at Madras.—*Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, February.

From the Bangalore Wesleyan Mission press, a beautiful volume, containing the Books of Psalms, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, translated into Canarese, has been issued.—*Ibid*.

A duplicate copy of the corrected version of the New Testament in the Tonga language, printed at the Wesleyan Mission press, Vavau, in the Friendly Islands, has been received in London. It is sent as copy for a new and large edition which is now passing through the press in this country, at the cost of the British and Foreign Bible Society.—*Ibid*.

A Grammar of the Kaffir Language, by Mr. Appleyard, has been printed at King William's Town, South-East Africa.—*Ibid*.

A Grammar of the Feejee Language, by Mr. Hazlewood, has been printed at Vewa, Feejee. It is a remarkable production, and highly honourable to the ability and industry of the author.—*Ibid*.

The New Testament in Canarese has been completed, and the Old Testament commenced, under the charge of the Rev. G. H. Weigle, who is assisted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to devote his entire time to the work of translating and revising. The greater part of the Pentateuch, the Poetical Books, and the lesser Prophets have been prepared.—*Missionary Register*, March, 1852.

The Rev. Robert Moffat, writing from Lattakoo, Bechuana country, says, "All my time spared from public engagements is taken up with the work of translations. A new edition of the Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Isaiah, has just been printed. I am at the present moment engaged in revising the Minor Prophets, Genesis, Exodus, and Deuteronomy, and nearly all Leviticus, in manuscript."

Mr. Perkins, writing from Oroomiah, September, 17th, 1851, says, "The printing of the Old Testament in Nestorian, is moving steadily forward. We are now in Chronicles, having printed 508 pages, just about one half of the volume in about fifteen months. Our press has had scarcely a day's vacation, excepting on the Sabbath, during this period. It is occupied a few days each month in printing our periodical called the *Rays of Light*, which is too important to be suspended."

The Rev. Joseph Angus, Professor of the Baptist Theological College, Stepney, has been adjudged the prize of Two Hundred Guineas offered two years ago, by a gentleman from India, for the best essay on the Life of Christ. The adjudicators were the Rev. J. Scholefield, of Cambridge University; the Rev. J. Tucker, Secretary to the Church Missionary Society; and the Rev. T. Sale, of Sheffield, all clergymen of the Church of England.

Among the Dakota Indians, U. S., an English and Dakota newspaper, called the *Dakota Friend*, commenced under the auspices of the American Mission, has excited some interest. A Dakota Lexicon, in three parts, has been prepared, which is to be printed by the Smithsonian Institute.

At Calcutta, eight essays have been received by the Christian Tract and Book Society, in competition for a prize. The successful competitor was the Rev. H. Bower, of Tanjore; another prize was given to Babu Shoshee Chunder Dutt. Two other prizes have been offered; one of 300 rupees, for the best essay on Vedantism and Christianity; the other of 500 rupees, for a series of Lectures on Natural and Revealed Religion.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY.—A revised version of the New Testament in the language of New Zealand has just been published by this society, under the care of the Venerable Archdeacon Williams, one of the missionaries in that island, with some assistance from the Rev. T. W. Meller, the Editorial Superintendent of the society, who thinks the renderings in some cases are improvements upon our own English version.

The Rev. Francis Bosworth, M.A., has in advanced preparation St. Matthew's Gospel in Greek, with full *Critical Notes*. It will form just such an edition of Matthew as is Forby's of Virgil, or Poppoe's of Thucydides. Our students are too often taught every thing else but how to use their knowledge. Vast stores of most valuable information lie hid (so far as we English are concerned) in German writers, which might well be made available for such a work, since they are not theological but philological. The object will be totally distinct from that of either Alford or Bloomfield. The syntactical construction, the compound verbs, the Hebraisms—in short, whatever may be needed, in order to light up the text, will receive attention. It is especially designed for students, and will supply them with the most recent and thorough scholarship of Germany, minus neology. We have been favoured with some specimens of this work, and perceive that it will form an excellent class-book, supplying all that may be wanted in order to understand critically the original. If the plan answers, the editor contemplates that the Epistle to the Romans might be treated in the same manner; and eventually corresponding editions of the Psalms and Isaiah might be furnished.

A valued contributor to this Journal has executed the compilation of a Syriac English Lexicon to the New Testament. In this work, the *first of the kind*, the words are arranged alphabetically, and referred to their roots, and the principal roots are compared with the Asiatic dialects—Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic in particular. Greek derivatives are pointed out; the proper names are all given; many Scripture references are introduced; numerous grammatical forms and idioms are indicated; all the important various readings in Lee's and Bagster's editions are marked. The

author has taken all pains to insure correctness, completeness, portability and usefulness: and there can be no doubt that the work will be received as a most acceptable boon by Biblical students.

There has been publishing for about two years, a very interesting weekly journal, entitled *Notes and Queries*: a medium of communication for literary men, artists, antiquarians, genealogists, &c. In the hope of gleaning something that might be useful to our readers, we procured the four volumes already published, but have been less successful than we had hoped in meeting with Biblical materials. No. 122, contains a letter from the editor of the *Chronological New Testament*, (a work which has been noticed in Nos. 12 and 13 of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*.) soliciting some help from other biblical scholars in his preparation of the Old Testament. As we consider the *Chronological New Testament* a model of a useful edition of the Sacred Scriptures, at once simple and judicious, its alterations, improvements, and its plan almost perfect, we have great pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the letter. The main points in which assistance is sought, are 1. In dividing into sections, and making an analysis of each section of Job, Ecclesiastes, Proverbs, and the Prophets; 2. Making up the Chronology into four great periods, "Adam to Abraham,—Abraham to David,—David to the transportation of Judah to Babylon,—and from that time to Christ;" 3. Critically to examine the introductions, marginal quotations, and the analyses of the Epistles, as given in the *Chronological New Testament*. The writer states he will be glad to make an arrangement with any gentleman willing to afford him such literary help.

We are informed that Mr. Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, which we have repeatedly had occasion to mention, is now, after many years of preparation, nearly ready for publication.

LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL.

PYE SMITH SCHOLARSHIPS.—[In making the following announcement, the Trustees of the "Pye Smith Scholarships" wish it to be distinctly understood, that the regulations mentioned below apply only to the Scholarship for the year 1852, and may be altered or modified in future years.]—1. A Pye Smith Scholarship, of the yearly value of £30, and tenable for three years, will be awarded by the Trustees after an Examination, to be held in the last week of the long vacation in 1852.—2. All students for the ministry in New College are eligible, who have taken the degree of B.A. in the University of London, or an equal or a higher degree in some other University of the United Kingdom, and have, at least, two years of their theological course still uncompleted; since it is the intention of the Trustees that the Scholarship shall be held by a student for a period of not less than two years, during his attendance upon the lectures of the College.—3. Every candidate must produce the cordial testimonial of the Senate to his correct moral and religious character.—4. Candidates will be required to pass an examination in the following subjects:—(1.) The four Gospels in Greek.—(2.) The early portion of the Book of Genesis, in Hebrew.—(3.) Dr. Pye Smith's work "On the Relation between the Holy Scriptures and some parts of Geological Science."—(4.) Butler's Analogy, and Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*.—(5.) Dr. Pye Smith's work "On the Scripture Testimony to the Messiah."—(6.) The first book of Cicero's Tusculan Disputations and the Phædo of Plato. Candidates will also be required to write a Sermon upon a subject appointed by the Examiners.—5. If the holder of the Scholarship leaves the College before the expiration of his regular term, for any reason whatsoever, without the previous consent of the Trustees, he will thereby forfeit the Scholarship.—6. The Rev. Dr. Harris, the Rev. Thomas Binney, and Dr. William Smith, have kindly consented to examine the candidates for the above Scholarship.—7. A second Scholarship will be awarded in the year 1853.

The Hulsean prize for 1851 has been awarded to John Beckford, Head Scholar

of Caius College, and the Trustees have announced that a premium of about £100 will this year be given for the best dissertation on the following subject:—"The Evidences of Christianity as exhibited in the Writings of its Apologists down to Augustine inclusively." The dissertations are to be sent to one of the Trustees (the Vice-Chancellor, the Master of St. John's College, or the Master of Trinity College) on or before the 19th of October, 1852, with the names of the respective authors sealed up. The subject for the Seatonian prize poem this year is, "Mammon." Each candidate for this prize is to send his performance, without his name, to the Vice-Chancellor (fairly written, or it will not be attended to) on or before the 29th of September next, with some Latin verse upon it; and he is at the same time to send a paper sealed up, with his name written within, and the same Latin verse on the outside. The subject for Sir Peregrine Maitland's prize (three years' interest on £1,000) for an English essay in conjunction with the Propagation of the Gospel among the heathen, is "The duty as well as policy of Christian States to encourage missions for the conversion of the heathen." Candidates must be Bachelors of Arts under the standing of M.A., or students in civil law or medicine of not less than four or more than seven years' standing. The exercises must be sent in to the Vice-Chancellor before the division of the Easter Term, 1852, each bearing some motto, and accompanied by a sealed paper, bearing the same motto, and enclosing the name of the candidate and that of his college.

At Paris a prize of 1,200 francs has been awarded to M. H. Steinthal, Ph. Dr., for an Essay on certain languages spoken by the Yolloff and Bambarra negroes, considered in a phonetic and psychological point of view. A prize amounting to the same sum to Mr. Munk, the celebrated Hebraist, for a notice on some Hebrew Grammarians of the tenth and eleventh centuries; a work remarkable for the sagacity displayed by the author in his researches, and for the singular results obtained. Dr. Lorenz Diefenbach, obtained honourable mention for his Comparative Dictionary of the Gothic Language.—*American Lit. World*, December 6th, 1851.

At the Asiatic Society, March 6th, a letter was read from Colonel Rawlinson, strongly confirmatory of his former discoveries. "On a black obelisk, he has found among the senders of tribute to the Assyrian monarch, not only the name of Jehu king of Israel, but also, which is strongly corroborative of the correctness of the reading, the name of Hazael king of Syria, who was contemporary with Jehu, and of Ishbaal king of Zidon, father of Jezebel. These three identifications constitute a synchronism on which I consider that we may rely, especially, as all the collateral evidence comes out satisfactorily. The tributes noted on the obelisk are all from the remote nations of the west; and what more natural than that the tribute of Israel should thus be put next to the tribute from Egypt. I have not had time to go through the very elaborate history of Assur-akh-bal, who was contemporary with Elijah. I expect to find other synchronisms which will set the chronological question at rest for ever." We are now fairly entitled to expect the discovery of more synchronisms, when the mass of inscriptions already published shall be examined with the aid of Colonel Rawlinson's alphabets and analyses, by the many English and foreign *savants* who are thus put in possession of a key to their contents.—*Literary Gazette*, March 13th.

The lovers of northern literature will be delighted to hear that the great Icelandic English Dictionary of our late distinguished countryman, Mr. Cleasby, who had devoted many years and much research to its completion, is now nearly ready for the press; the late Mr. Cleasby's MS. collections having been arranged and copied for this purpose by another distinguished Icelandic scholar, Hector Konrad Gislason, author of the great Danish Icelandic Lexicon.—Copenhagen Correspondent of *Morning Chronicle*.

The Bishop of Oxford has determined to commence at once a college in which candidates for holy orders in his diocese may pursue their studies systematically, and prepare themselves, without interruption, for the responsibilities and work of the ministry. The college will be under the bishop's own eye, at Cuddesden, and the principal is to be the Rev. Mr. Pott, his lordship's chaplain and curate.

Trinity College, Toronto, founded by private munificence, was opened on the 15th January. The morning service of the Church of England was read in the temporary chapel; after which a procession was formed to the entrance hall, in which the Bishop, the authorities of the College, and the students ranged themselves. The matriculation of the students was then gone through; after which the Bishop delivered an address, alluding to the circumstances under which the College had been founded, the collegiate system which was to prevail, and the principles upon which the institution was to be conducted.

The Austrian Government in order to secure the improvement of Hebrew works of devotion for its own subjects, has authorized the establishment of a special printing press at Goritz, in Illyria; and it calculates that it will henceforth be able to supply the vast demand which exists in the East. Heretofore, the Jews of Eastern Europe, of Asia, and of Northern Africa, have obtained their religious books principally from Amsterdam, or Leghorn.—*Bent's List*, February, 1852.

In the press, "A Commentary on the Proverbs, by Professor Moses Stuart. This is a new work, and the last which will be written by the distinguished author, whose death is noticed in another paragraph. The last proof sheets were received from Professor Stuart only a few days before his death.

To the numerous Literary and Scientific Societies of the metropolis, another has been added, the Chronological Institute of London. Its object is the promotion of chronological science by literary contributions, by collecting and diffusing information, by interchange of correspondence, by lectures on chronology, and its various branches and applications, and by the publication or encouragement of chronological works. The Secretary of the Institute, is William Henry Black, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Public Records, Rolls House, London, and the terms of membership are a subscription of 5s. per Annum.

The publication of the magnificent work, called the "Catacombs de Rome" for which the National Assembly voted £8,000, will shortly commence under the direction of a commission nominated by the French Government. The work will contain exact copies of the architecture, mural paintings, inscriptions, figures, symbols, sepulchres, lamps, vases, rings, instruments; in a word, of everything belonging to, or connected with, the primitive Christians, which, by the most diligent search exercised during many years, have been brought to light in the catacombs of ancient Rome. For many years, no publication of such importance, or requiring such an enormous outlay, has appeared; but it is to be regretted that whilst its contents are calculated powerfully to interest every historical student, and indeed every Christian who cares to inquire into the history of his faith, its enormous price between £50 and £60, will keep it out of the hands of all, except the most wealthy.—*Literary Gazette*, February 14th.

Letters from Rome state that the Pope has formed a commission for seeking and preserving Christian antiquities. Amongst other things, it is directed to cause copies of all the most remarkable frescoes in the catacombs to be made at once, many of them being in danger of being destroyed by damp; also to publish a weekly periodical containing detailed accounts of the labours of the commission, and information on all matters relating to Christian archæology. The Cardinal-Vicar is president of the commission, and amongst its members are some persons of scientific attainments. The design talked of a long time ago, of establishing a museum of Christian antiquities at Rome, is likewise at last to be carried out. It is not very creditable to the Papal government that these matters have been neglected so long; and perhaps they would have continued to be neglected still longer, if it had not been for the recent minute searches in the catacombs by an enterprising Frenchman, M. Perret.—*Literary Gazette*, January.

Extensive excavations have been recently in progress in and near Rome under the superintendence of the Secretary of State. Besides the works on the Via Appia, where many interesting researches are in progress, the Forum Romanum also is the subject of thorough examination.

The Catalogue of the Library of the late Cardinal Mezzofanti has just been published at Rome, in Latin. It is divided into forty-five sections, and contains the titles of works in more than 400 languages, idioms, or dialects. The library cost the learned Cardinal the labour of a long life, and no small amount of money; and nothing more complete, curious, or valuable of the kind exists in the world.

Mr. Talmage, of the American Mission, Amoy, mentions an experiment which is now making by the use of the Roman alphabet, to reduce the colloquial to a written language. The first book printed was a small tract, containing the first part of the History of Joseph; an elementary spelling-book, and the remainder of the History of Joseph have since been completed. It is hoped to have shortly three of the Gospels prepared for the press. Mr. Talmage adds, "the plan is yet only an experiment, but it seems to be perfectly feasible. We trust that in some such way much may be done to elevate the great mass of this people. By the use of their present cumbrous characters, the large majority can never become intelligent readers; but by the new plan, if we can only furnish the requisite number of books, the means of learning to read will be within the reach of almost every individual. We cannot expect that the mass of the people will immediately fall in with this plan; but, as the advantages of it become apparent, we may hope that many will avail themselves of it."—*American Missionary Herald*, January, 1852.

It will, we doubt not, interest our readers to know that the press of the American Mission is actively employed at Constantinople. Nearly 2,000,000 pages have been printed in Armenian, more than 600,000 in Armeno-Turkish, and about 200,000 in Hebrew-Spanish. In addition to the Scriptures, works on the Holy Spirit, and British Martyrology, Upham's Intellectual Philosophy, Goodell's Commentary on Matthew, etc., have been issued.—*American Missionary Herald*, January, 1851.

The Missionaries belonging to the Church Missionary Society, like the American Missionaries, in consequence of the difficulties connected with the acquisition of the Chinese written characters, not only by foreigners, but by natives, have become impressed with the necessity of introducing a new mode of orthography. They have been engaged, therefore, in writing down in Roman characters the colloquial language of Ningpo. Mr. Cobbold, says, December 31st, "I am writing out a Dictionary of Ningpo colloquial, arranged under the various sounds. This has been some time in operation, and is now a book of some substance. My plan of proceeding has been this: After having accurately distinguished between the various sounds, and written them out in order, I have made my teacher write each on a blank leaf, and then at his leisure write under that sound all the words and sentences he could think of. This he was continually doing for about six months, and on his leaving me, he wrote all out fair into a blank book, and this I am now writing out in Roman letters. The meaning of each word or sentence I write by its side." That this attempt is likely to be successful, and lead to important results, appears from the fact that the Chinese who have been taught so to write by the Missionaries, are able to correspond with each other.—*Missionary Register*, March, 1852.

The two Chinese who were sent to Kae-fung-foo, found the inscriptions in the Synagogue correspond exactly with the account given by the Jesuit Missionaries a century ago; but the outer wall of the enclosure was broken down, the front gate choked with rubbish, the various ornamental appendages broken or prostrated, and the very walls of the Synagogue in many places dilapidated. The side apartments but poorly served to afford shelter to the few wretched sons of Israel who were huddled together in them, sleeping on the bare ground, with scarcely a rag to cover them, and barely sufficient to support nature; there are not more than 250 individuals in all, and their family surnames are reduced to seven in number. Not a man could decipher the Hebrew letter with which a Jewish merchant at Shanghai furnished the travellers. Circumcision had been discontinued, and they shewed no expectation of a Messiah.—*Missionary Register*, March, 1852.

A Meeting was recently held in Sussex Hall, Leadenhall Street, in pursuance of an invitation issued by the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Adler, to take into consideration the

defective state of Jewish education, and to take steps for the foundation of a Jewish College, where not only their future ministers might be educated, but also where the sons of the middle classes would receive a thoroughly good, religious, and secular, education. A council was formed to carry out the details of the plan. The effect of this will be the gradual displacing of the present teachers, who are chiefly foreigners slavishly bound in the fetters of Rabbinical traditions, by a staff of educated men, who have received the benefit of the literary development and practical tendencies of our country and of the age, and who are likely eventually to discard the absurd and childish fables so long foisted on the Jewish mind as expositions of the truth of God.—*Jewish Herald*, March, 1852.

The Jews in Paris, headed by MM. de Rothschild, and other distinguished persons, have just established a society at Paris, for the study and propagation of the sacred sciences. Rooms have been taken, in which religious instruction is given gratuitously to young men destined for the priesthood, and in which Jews of all classes assemble to pray and hear religious books read. A Rabbi is attached to the establishment, and every Sunday M. Albert Cohen, a distinguished Oriental scholar, reads and explains passages from the Fathers of the Synagogue.—*Jewish Herald*, March, 1852.

The Report of the Sierra Leone Grammar School for the year ending September, 1851, states the number of pupils in the establishment to be fifty-three. Four of these are sons of native chiefs. The first class have read part of Nicholl's *Help to the Bible*, and have got up the natural, historical, and political geography of Greece, and the account of Grecian idolatry. They have advanced as far as mensuration of superficies, and are reading fractions in algebra and arithmetic. Some attention has been paid to land surveying. The historical, political, and natural geography of Asia has been prepared for examination, and thirteen good maps have been drawn, and this knowledge has been made their own by study and reflection.—*Missionary Register*, March.

The Bengalee version of the Book of Common Prayer is at last completed, and the Bishop has sanctioned its immediate publication at the College Press, Calcutta, under the authority of the Syndicate.

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

The *Jewish Intelligencer* for March, says, "Our attention has lately been directed to a tribe of Jewish Arabs, who are to be found at a distance of six or eight days' journey from Jerusalem, east of Kerak, beyond the Dead Sea, on the way to Mecca. They are called 'Yehud Chebr,' and are described as being a gigantic and powerful race, but friendly towards the neighbouring Bedouin tribes. They give a kind and hospitable reception to strangers who come to them in peace, but are dangerous to encounter as foes. They speak Arabic, but have books in another language, which is understood by them; and they dress their hair in a peculiar way. They are supposed to be the descendants of Heber the Kenite. See Judges iv. 11; 1 Chron. ii. 55; Jer. xxxv. 8, 9. They are also called Arab Sebth, i.e., Arabs who keep the seventh day Sabbath; but they will form no connection or acquaintance with the Jews, asserting that they are of the common Arabic descent, and yet they always stand at some distance from other Arabs, should their barter trade at times bring them together, so as not to come into any mediate or immediate contact.

In our columns of this day appears an advertisement of a "New Subscription Issue" of *Scott's Commentary on the Bible*, in six volumes 4to. This only complete edition of the great commentator's work has just passed into the hands of Messrs. Wertheim and Macintosh, who offer the six volumes (by subscription), with all the maps, engravings, topical index, etc., on good paper, and well bound, for a short time at a moderate price. Our readers will, we are sure, thank us for calling their attention to this important announcement.

MR. AARON PICK.—We beg to direct the attention of our readers to the case of this industrious and able scholar (as reported in our advertisement sheet), whose services in Biblical literature entitle his case in an especial manner to *their* attention and assistance. No branch of literature finds so little extrinsic encouragement in this country; and as Mr. Pick has had the increased disadvantage of not being a native of (though long naturalized in) the country, which has reaped the best fruits of his labours, he has necessarily had even more than the usual discouragement, and remains with less than the usual resources. We trust the step now taken on his behalf will redeem Mr. Pick's old age from the discomfort with which it is threatened.

The Rev. Professor Robinson, D.D., of New York, who, it was stated in the *American Literary World*, had left that city for another tour in the Holy Land, from which valuable topographical and critical results might be expected, arrived early this year in London, whence he proceeded to Berlin, preparatory to his proceeding to Palestine, which he expected to reach at the beginning of April. His stay in London was short; but the Editor of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, was enabled in repeated interviews to renew an acquaintance commenced twelve years ago, on the learned Professor's return from his first journey, and to confer with him on the objects of his present undertaking. These have been alluded to in the article on Recent Travels in Palestine. It appears to be Dr. Robinson's view rather to direct his researches to ground not previously traversed, or only imperfectly explored, such as the region beyond the Jordan, and of the southern and northern districts, than merely to test or verify previous conclusions, except, perhaps, at Jerusalem. We have reason to hope that Dr. Robinson will from time to time forward some account of his proceedings for insertion in this Journal.

Proposals have been issued for the publication in Philadelphia of a new quarterly journal, to be called the *Presbyterian Quarterly Review*, with the promise that it shall be second to no Review in Europe or America. The names of the editors (Rev. Messrs. Wallace, Brainard, Parker, and Gilbert), are a sufficient guarantee that the work will be undertaken with ability and spirit.—*Methodist Quarterly*. [There seem to be too many editors; and one would hardly suppose that the American Presbyterians, having already two quarterlies, could sustain another.]

From the *American Methodist Quarterly Review*, we learn that the works of the late Dr. Olin are already in the press, and will be printed uniformly with his excellent volumes of Travels. They seem to consist chiefly of Sermons, Lectures, and Addresses.

THEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE.—A plan is on foot, under high and extensive clerical patronage, for founding in the metropolis a Theological Institute, combining the advantages of a Theological and General Circulating Library and Reading Room, with those of a Club. It is proposed to secure and render permanent for the use of clerical and other students, the valuable library (known as the Clerical Library) of nearly 30,000 volumes, which has in the course of years been brought together, by the exertions of Mr. Darling, of 81, Great Queen-street. This object is to be effected by the payments of shareholders and of subscribers; the former (the first 500 of them) at £5 each, with an annual subscription of £1 1s.; and the latter (the first 500) at an annual subscription of £2 2s. Those who have enjoyed the advantages of this excellent library, will contemplate with pleasure this plan for extending its usefulness and perpetuating its existence; and such as have had experience of the liberal and accommodating principles on which the library has been conducted, will need no other satisfaction than is to be found in the assurance that its operations will be carried on exactly in the same manner as hitherto. The club is a subordinate feature of the plan; but, as its terms will be arranged on a moderate scale, it will be of special advantage to the clergy visiting the metropolis, by obviating the heavy expenses they are now obliged to incur. The books are and will be of all shades of opinion, and the members of all denominations.

A History of the Romish Inquisition. By the Rev. William H. Rule. This History of the Inquisition is derived exclusively from original historians of that tribunal, and from its own standard authorities.

Mr. George Offer is engaged in editing the works of Bunyan, comprising nearly sixty treatises, some of which are exceedingly rare. The whole will appear in three large volumes.

Theophilus Hibernicus. By the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, D.D.

The Second Volume of the Rev. Henry Alford's edition of the Greek Testament. With Marginal References, Various Readings, and Copious English Notes. In 8vo.

Thoughts on some Portions of the Revelation of St. John the Divine. By the Rev. Edward Huntingford, B.C.L., Oxford.

The Directory of the Westminster Assembly in 1644; and the subsequent Revision of the Book of Common Prayer by Royal Commissions in the Seventeenth Century; and by a Clerical and Lay Convention in the Eighteenth Century. Edited by James Heywood, M.P., F.R.S.

Christophany: the Result of original Investigations into the Manifestations of the Son of God, under the Old Testament Dispensation. By the late Rev. G. B. Kidd. Edited by the Rev. O. T. Dobbin, LL.D.

CONTEMPORARY PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

JANUARY.

THE BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW is one of the oldest and best of the American theological quarterlies. It is, we think, the literary organ of the Presbyterian body—a predominant one in the United States—though the *Bibliotheca Sacra* is also mainly supported by the same body. Its articles are in general more exclusively theological than those of the *Bibliotheca*, which gives considerable attention to classical, and some to general literature. The January number is a fair specimen of this Review. We have first a very useful article (we may call it bibliographical) on the Antiquities of the Christian Church, in which it is shewn, we apprehend, that there is no English work on the subject equal to the wants of the age. There is a review of Hengstenberg on the Book of Revelation, or rather a statement of the author's exegetical method and conclusions. This we need not repeat, as we shall soon have to bring the whole matter under the notice of our readers. The reviewer is struck with the fact, that "of the vast apocalyptic literature of England, the only trace we find is a quotation from Mede, a reference to him, and a correct but very general statement of the English Millennium doctrine, as to one important passage. There is nothing more curious, indeed, in the theological literature of Germany, than the general silence, if not ignorance, of its learned men as to the history of opinion in England and America, except where some anomalous or eccentric vagary of belief and practice has been, accidentally or otherwise, transplanted to the continent of Europe. It is sometimes as amusing as it is instructive to read thorough, clear, and masterly analyses of such fungous excrescences as Darbyism, Irvingism, Southcottism, etc., even in systematic works, which are entirely blank as to the controversies and discussions which have agitated England and America for many generations with respect to the doctrines of Atonement and Regeneration." The article, "Did Solomon write the book of Ecclesiastes?" satisfactorily meets the reasons which Professor Stuart has advanced in favour of his conclusion in the negative. The largest paper, on "The Heidelberg Catechism, and Dr. Nevin," is an able vindication of this celebrated catechism, from the misrepresentations to be found chiefly in Dr. Nevin's introduction to "the first American edition" of Mr. Williams's translation of the commentary of Dr. Zacharias Ursinus on the Heidelberg Catechism. There

are also articles on the True Progress of Society; on Moral *Æsthetics*; and on Gilfillan's Bards of the Bible, the style of which is regarded with disfavour, the writer finding that a perpetual effort and struggle is made to produce a style that will surprise and startle.

The AMERICAN BIBLIOTHECA SACRA opens its January number with an article on the "Resurrection of the Body," a subject on which Dr. John Brown's work has satisfied us for the present. A paper on "The Sin Offering," translated from the German of J. H. Kurtz, aimed chiefly at the refutation of the views advanced by Dr. Bähr, in his *Symbology of the Mosaic Cultus*. A criticism by the late Moses Stuart, under the title of "A Word more on Psalm xxii. 17." A continuation of Professor Stowe's "Vindication of the Four Gospels, as we now have them in the New Testament, from the Hegelian Assaults." The present portion refers mainly to the Apocryphal Gospels in comparison with the canonical ones. The next paper is an examination, by an American missionary in Western Africa, of the character and results of the Roman Catholic mission to the kingdom of Congo, prefaced by a sketch of the civil and religious history of the country. The "Analogies of the Theology of Richard Baxter," is then resumed. And the number concludes with an article on "New England Theology," in answer to the *Princeton Review*, which has, it seems, accused the *Bibliotheca Sacra* of "Rationalism, Schleiermacherism, infidelity, profaneness, and, worse than all, Pelagianism." This controversy is, it seems, of some standing; and the sooner this unnatural strife between two kindred publications ends, the better we, on this side the Atlantic, shall be pleased. They are both Presbyterian publications, as we have just before intimated. But the *Biblical Repertory*, or *Princeton Review*, represents, it appears, old high and dry Calvinism, whereas the *Bibliotheca* is the organ of the "New England Theology," which seems to be a kind of "low church" Presbyterianism, a "new and improved Calvinism," which may in some questions have taken some colour from German influences. It seems the *Repertory* had given over the discussion on the sensible ground that it was becoming too personal; but the *Bibliotheca*, not content with this mode of withdrawal from the controversy, persists in its own vindication, and that of the body it represents. Having seen but one side of the controversy, we shall abstain from any opinion upon its merits.

The METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW for January is even less than usually theological, but is, nevertheless, a very able and interesting number. The first article, *On Faith and Science*, has reference to Comte's Positive Philosophy, a very clear and satisfactory report of which is here given. *Latin Lexicography*, is a useful, and *Dante* an elegant paper, which the lovers of the great Italian poet will do well to read. It is a genial and discriminating article, the writer of which regards Dante as, "in the true sublime, inferior to Milton. He has nothing equal to Milton's Satan, yet he falls short only a little. His *Inferno* is full of well sustained sublimity. The sublime of Milton, is often like the deafening peal, which ceases; in Dante, it is like a heavy roar, varying its tone, but never parting with its strength. If Milton is more impressive, Dante is more copious; if the former has a loftier, the latter has a stronger and more even flight." The article on *Methodist Preaching*, is, in the main, an argument for extempore preaching, and urges the retention of this, and the other characteristics of the old Methodist preaching. "The two greatest preachers of modern times, Whitfield and Robert Hall, were extemporizers; their written sermons were composed after delivery. We have said that the Wesleyan preachers of England are, as a body the best sermonizers, and the most successful speakers in the United Kingdom; and they are the only extemporizers in it, except the Roman Catholics. Such a thing as a manuscript sermon is not seen in the pulpits of the continent, except when American or English clergymen happen to ascend them. If the European clergy, Catholic or Protestant, write their discourses, they have, nevertheless, the good sense to deliver them memoriter, and thereby save them from the dullness of reading." There are some mistakes in this, the reading of sermons being by no means so universal in the United Kingdom as the writer supposes. The other papers are "On the tendency of current events in the Moral and Material World," which has no fault but that of being too short; followed by a learned classical paper

"On the Antigone of Sophocles;" and succeeded by one "On William Penn," with reference to the recent charges against his character by Mr. Macaulay, and their refutation by Mr. Dixon. "Without being intellectually great, he did that, by the unity, energy, and directness of his purposes, which greatness failed to accomplish; and, without being the faultless monster which his eulogists endeavour to depict him, he was a high-souled, manly, and open-hearted Englishman—a friend who never shrank from avowing his affection, a patriot who scorned to conceal his sentiments, and a Christian who was never ashamed of his cross." This is certainly a capital number of one of the ablest and most readable of the American quarterlies.

FEBRUARY.

THE NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, No. XXXII., for February, contains an able and interesting contribution to Sacred Literature, in an article (No. V.) on Dr. "Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament." We commend it to the notice of our readers. The writer considers that "the very idea of the existence of a Protevangelium involves a high improbability," . . . and that "it is not by any means clear that the three synoptical evangelists made use of one another. Such a thing might, indeed, account for some similarities, but how then shall we explain the numerous discrepancies in structure and arrangement, or what reason shall we assign for so many gospels? The truth is, that the whole inquiry is to a great extent superfluous. The phenomenon of resemblance among the three gospels is neither so uniform or so striking as to necessitate the formation of such theories. Let three honest and intelligent men write the life of a friend and teacher—let it be their object to present a faithful, literary portrait, and let it be considered necessary to such fidelity that a special account of his more remarkable sayings be given, and that the scenes and results of his more striking actions be described. Now, where might we expect similarity in three such biographies? Plainly where they record the sayings of their common Master, and when they describe the peculiarity of his most famous deeds. The case stands precisely so with the Gospels. Real and direct similarity is found principally in their records of Christ's lessons and conversations. . . . In the sections of simple narration, where each Evangelist was free to use his own diction, verbal similarity rarely occurs."

The February Number of the CHRISTIAN OBSERVER contains a paper entitled "Drink Water out of thine own Cistern." The writer thinks that the present generation "has appreciated to a far greater degree than most of its predecessors the advantages arising from the sympathy and co-operation of their fellow-men," and "to such an extent has this spirit gone that what we stand in danger of at the present day is a want of individuality—a want of minds standing out from the mass. This matter is of some importance.

In the Review department there is a notice of a remarkable work entitled *The History of the Church of Rome to the end of the Episcopate of Damascus*, A.D. 384, by the Rev. Edward J. Shepherd, Rector of Luddesdown. Mr. Shepherd says—"I think I have proved—or to say the least have given such indications as will lead to the proof—that some documents which have been quoted as authorities in the history of the early Christian Church, are neither genuine nor authentic; that they were not written by the persons to whom they are ascribed, and that the alleged facts which they contain are fictions; that they are, in short, forgeries of a date later than that which they bear, or to which they pretend." The reviewer adds—"Few readers of ecclesiastical history have failed to mark with peculiar interest the record of the sayings and acts of Cyprian; yet Mr. Shepherd suspects the whole history of this singular personage to be a fable. Not content with supposing that several treatises, and the large collection of letters which bears his name, are interpolated to suit a purpose—he imagines them to be forgeries from beginning to end—the product of a corrupt age, for the purpose of establishing the right of the Church of Rome to interfere in the government of other Churches." . . . Mr. Shepherd has laid the Church of Christ under deep and lasting obligation, even although all may not go to the same length of scepticism with regard to the documents of antiquity, and we hope that he will

proceed with his promised volume on *St. Augustine*." Then follows a learnedly printed notice of the "*Makâmât*; or Rhetorical Anecdotes of Hariri of Basra," translated from the original Arabic, with Annotations, by the Rev. Theodore Preston:—"By the term *Makâmât* is generally meant a sort of composition consisting of both verse and prose which a single speaker recites standing." Hariri, as his name implies, was a trader in silk, and "was an extraordinary proficient in Arabian literature, and the most learned and eloquent writer of his country."... What makes the work of Hariri of great value to the student of the Scriptures is the fact, that it abounds in archaisms, proverbial expressions, and ancient grammatical and rhetorical usages, which exist to a very considerable extent in the Hebrew Bible, but are to be found in no other Arabian author. We join heartily in the counsel of the reviewer, that as Mr. Preston has so far succeeded in his first essay, "that he would betake himself to the far more engaging, more widely extended, useful, and honourable field of exertion that lies before him; we mean the elucidation of Holy Scripture." "No science can compare to it in importance, and no quarter can supply to it the same species of contribution which he has learned to explore." The purely Oriental character and structure of the Old Testament, "defies in a thousand ways the efforts of ingenious conjecture, and demands elucidations derived from Oriental research—a method which certainly has not hitherto been sufficiently applied to it."

The SCOTTISH CONGREGATIONAL MAGAZINE for February contains a paper worthy of notice, "The Influence of Study on the Spiritual Health of the Student." "If ever the subject of ministerial piety were pre-eminently indispensable, it is so at the present time. The almost universal complaint of religious apathy in the Churches shews that there is required a peculiar class of men to rouse them, and bring them back to a healthy tone and to practical Christian activity, and men of languid piety are not the men to do this. Spiritual decay is always an insidious disease, but the danger is aggravated if there are none to mark the symptoms, to sound the alarm, and promptly to apply the proper remedies."

The EVANGELICAL CHRISTENDOM. The subject of this month's paper is "The Present State of Evangelical Religion in French Switzerland," by the Rev. Professor Baup, of Lausanne. The intelligence is from France, Germany, Sweden, Portugal, and Smyrna.

The JEWISH INTELLIGENCER, a monthly journal of the proceedings of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, contains in the February and March numbers an interesting paper on the "Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai."

The BIBLE AND THE PEOPLE contains a vigorous paper on the "Battle of Life, and How to Win it." It is the first of a series of papers on the Temptation of our Lord, in which the writer notices three points of special importance:—

"1st. That temptation of man in paradise, or since by Satan, or whatever deceiving influence, is not simply an assertion of the Bible, but a fact in nature and society, going on every day; therefore the Bible is not responsible for these things, it only comes to remedy them, by such lessons as the temptation of Christ.

"2dly. The value of Christ's temptation consists in 'its being thus applicable to our life, a symbol or lesson on the way mankind are tempted.' If it were only history—if it ended in Christ, it would be only a scene of wonder and mystery, doubt and confusion.

"3dly. We have in this scene not only a picture of our temptations, but the secret of our possible victory—our certain victory—if we become strong in the Lord who was tempted."

After some just animadversions on a very objectionable volume, entitled *Social Statics*, by Herbert Spencer, there is a pleasing culling of a few of Shakspeare's beauties. While the writer admits that there are "spots of impurity which here and there diminish the fairness of his beauty," he maintains "the immense preponderance of higher qualities; useful, practical truths, wrapped up gracefully in witty expressions; elevated and noble sentiments, uttered in language of befitting sublimity, and altogether

calculated to wipe out baser impressions, except with those whose impurity needs but slight occasions; for in reading Shakspeare, as in everything else, it is every one to his taste, and men will select their own appropriate food. Those who wish to enlarge their thoughts, to escape from every-day littleness, to refresh and invigorate their whole mental frame, by an excursion into the vast world of intellect, with its forests, and mountains, and torrents, and its quieter scenes of loveliness, have here a large and free domain conquered and subdued to them as a perpetual inheritance." The article is a fine string of pearls, and though a little foreign to our Journal, yet is healthful to the spirit from the pleasing manner in which it points out the fine sentiments and fair pictures which the poet so exquisitely sets before us.

MARCH.

The THEOLOGICAL CRITIC for March opens with an article on *The Credibility of Revelation*, from the pen of Mr. Johnstone, whose *Israel after the Flesh* is reviewed in our Journal. This article is a searching examination of Mr. Greg's *Creed of Christendom*, and ably sets forth and exposes the views of the school of writers, in England and the United States, "upon theological and biblical matters, of avowed infidel principles, while yet claiming the title of Christians and even of clergymen." The article which follows consists of remarks on the first eleven chapters of Dr. Henderson's *Isaiah*. "This translation is generally accurate and literal, shewing a good knowledge of the Hebrew idiom, yet not often departing unnecessarily from the Hebrew authorized version, but frequently more terse and concise, happily transferring into our own tongue the force and beauty of the original." Yet there are some passages in which the authorized version and some in which Bishop Lowth's would appear preferable, and with instances of this the paper is occupied. We have next a curious account of *Gottschalk and the Predestinarian Controversy of the Ninth Century*, the history of which is justly described as "both interesting from the character and sufferings of the man himself, and instructive, as presenting us with a lively picture of theological activity and ability in a century which is too often supposed to have been an age of intellectual darkness." The fourth article is *Romans ix. x. xi. explained by way of Paraphrase*. The fifth is part of a review of Newman's *Lectures on the present position of Catholics in England*, followed by part of a paper founded on the Rev. H. Browne's *Cycle of Egyptian Chronology*, and probably by Mr. Browne himself. The number concludes with a short paper on 1 Tim. iv. 7—10, which forms a good specimen of New Testament criticism. This is a good number of this ably conducted journal, and not so heavy as some that we have seen. The editor writes in the first person singular, which in a publication of this kind is startling from its strangeness, especially as the contributors mostly write in the established first person plural.

The CHRISTIAN OBSERVER has for its first article one on the *Temptation*, the place of which in the story of the Incarnation, the writer thinks, is less as presenting to us a model of human obedience, as in manifesting to us the perfect righteousness of the man Christ Jesus. "Though the narrative is singularly rich in food for contemplation of the Lord Jesus as 'the great example and companion of men,' it holds a place distinct in significance and high importance in regard to the primary object of the Incarnation."

In the Review department there is a long and able article on BEQUESTS TO CHARITABLE USES:—"If there be one time more than another when undue influence, whether of man or things, does its work on the human mind, a dying hour is that time. Take even a man of enlightened understanding, one who has not now for the first time to compose his thoughts into a religious frame; yet even he is unfit at that moment duly to weigh the duties which belong to a testamentary act. If superstition does not darken his judgment, yet the full reality of things to come, their transcendent excellence, their pre-eminent claims, the nothingness of this world as compared with the eternal future, may in many cases present religious objects to the mind in too strong contrast with family claims."

The WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE contains some interesting "Memorials of Christian David, of Herrnhut," compiled, by the Rev. John P. Lockwood, from various sources. This honoured name is suggestive of interesting religious and historical associations. The able papers entitled *HORÆ BIBLICÆ* are continued; subject of the March number, the EPISTLES TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES; No. II. SMYRNA.

The BIBLE AND THE PEOPLE continues the "Battle of Life, and how to Win it; or the Moral of our Lord's Temptation." It is very elaborately handled. After stating at some length the various opinions, conjectures, and explanations as to "its machinery, or the external events by which the spiritual truths contained in it are conveyed," the writer adopts the opinion that it was mainly "a series of actual occurrences, which were at once historical and parabolical, that is real and significant events—events actually occurring, but like our Lord's life in general, symbolical of spiritual truths and duties. These trials involve the main principles of human conduct. In the first scene of the Temptation, men are tempted to forego Providence, and follow passion or appetite instead of conscience and the Divine Will; in the second scene they are tempted to presume on Providence, go beyond their means, and all reasonable hope of security, tempting instead of trusting to Providence; and doing all this to maintain appearances before men. The corrective is, therefore, a reasonable estimate of God's Providence, and regard to His will. The remedy in the third scene is of a similar nature, such a regard for the approbation of God, as is willing to forego the most enticing offers, looking for another recompense, not selling ourselves to Satan for the ready money of temporal honours and advantages, to be repaid at death, but steadily adhering to the will and promises of God, serving Him alone, without any reserve or attachment to mammon or ambition." *The Bible and the People* is well fitted for distribution amongst the sceptical.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND MAGAZINE, amidst its varied interesting matter, contains the "Annual Letter (the fifth) of the Bishop of Jerusalem." Ten years have passed since the consecration of the first Protestant Bishop of Jerusalem, and his Lordship has still reason to complain of the "dead apathy of the great number of the objects of our solicitude."

THE UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE contains a paper entitled "Christianity suited to Man," preliminary to a short series in answer to such questions as these:—"Does not the Gospel carry on its front its own demonstration? Does not Christianity present an aspect so bland to men who will look on it, that they will feel assured of its love; so dignified, that they will stand in awe of its majesty; so appropriate to themselves, that they will acknowledge its truth, and confidently receive its doctrines."

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH.

Adshead (Joseph).—The Progress of Religious Sentiment the Advancement of the Principles of Civil and Religious Freedom. 12mo. pp. 400.

Alexander (W. L.), D.D.—The Ancient British Church: being an Inquiry into the History of Christianity in Britain, previous to the Establishment of the Hierarchy.

- Aunt Edith ; or, Love to God the Best Motive. A Book for the Young.
 Bagster's Analytical Lexicon to the Greek New Testament : an Alphabetical Arrangement of every word found in the Greek Text, in every form in which each appears. 1 vol. 4to.
- Battles (the) of the Bible. By a Clergyman's Daughter. 12mo. pp. 310.
- Beecher (Rev. H. W.), Brooklyn, New York.—Lectures to Young Men ; with an Introduction by the Rev. O. T. Dobbin, LL.D. 16mo.
- Bellis (Rev. Richard).—The Ark, and other Sermons : with a Preface by the Rev. Dr. M'Caul.
- Blackie (Professor J. S.).—On the studying and teaching of Languages. Two Lectures.
- Bowen (George F., M.A.).—Mount Athos, Thessaly, and Epirus : being the Diary of a Journey from Constantinople to Corfu. post 8vo.
- Brown (Rev. John, D.D.).—The Resurrection of Life : an Exposition of 1 Corinthians, XV. 8vo.
- Browne (Rev. H., M.A.).—A Hand-book of Hebrew Antiquities ; for the Use of Schools and Young Persons. Edited by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A., Rector of Lyndon. 12mo.
- Buckley (T. Alois).—Great Cities of the Ancient World, in their Glory and their Desolation. With illustrations. 12mo. pp. 380.
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- Catechism of the Council of Trent. Translated into English, with Notes. post 8vo.
- Cairns (Rev. A.).—The Second Woe. 12mo. pp. 163.
- Cambridge Theological Papers : being those proposed in the Examination of Candidates for the Croase University Scholarship for Fifteen Years, and in the Voluntary Theological Examination from the commencement in 1843 to 1851. Edited by the Rev. A. P. Moore. 8vo. pp. 230.
- Candlish (R. S., D.D.).—Contributions towards the Exposition of the Book of Genesis. Vol. II. pp. 450.
- Cape Town (Bishop of).—Journal of Visitation Tour in 1850. The Journey here recorded occupied nine months, and was performed mostly in a waggon or on foot through the Karroo, the Orange, Natal, Fakers Territory, British Caffraria, and the Eastern Province. Fep. 8vo.
- Carlington Castle : a Tale of the Jesuits. By C. G. H. 12mo. pp. 470.
- Catalogus Codicum MSS., qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus hodie adservantur. Confecit H. O. Coxe, A.M. 2 vols. 4to.
- Champneys (Rev. W. H., M.A.).—Drops from the Deep Well. 18mo.
- Cheever (G. B.).—Incidents and Memoirs of the Christian Life, under the Similitude of a Voyage to the Celestial Land. With a preface by the Rev. T. Binney. 12mo.
- Clinton (H. Fynes).—Fasti Hellenici : the Civil and Literary Chronology of Greece and Rome from the 124th Olympiad to the Death of Augustus. 2nd edition, with additions.
- An Epitome of the Fasti Hellenici. 8vo.
- Colombo (Bishop of).—The Visitation Journal of, in Ceylon, Mauritius, and Sechelles. 1850. 18mo.
- Colquhoun (Lady).—The Works of. 8vo.
- Cox (Rev. F. A., LL.D.).—Biblical Antiquities, illustrating the Language, Geography, and History of Palestine. pp. 470.
- Cox (John E.).—Protestantism contrasted with Romanism by the acknowledged and authentic Teaching of each Religion. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 680.

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OBITUARY.

At Edinburgh, aged 70, the Rev. Christopher Anderson, the author of the *Annals of the English Bible*, and of the *History of Irish Literature*. Mr. Anderson was educated at Bristol, at the college of which Dr. Ryland was president. He intended, in early life, to accompany Drs. Carey, Marshman, and Ward to India, when the Baptist Missionary Society was established; but being prevented by the state of his health, he settled at Edinburgh, where he has for nearly half a century been the respected pastor of a Baptist church. In Missionary work, both at home and abroad, he always took deep and active interest. He travelled much through Ireland, and knew well the state of the people. His historical narration of the various attempts to educate the Irish in their own tongue, is referred to by all who are engaged in Irish education and missions. Mr. Anderson visited Copenhagen some years ago, in order to obtain the protection of government for the Serampore mission. The king granted him an interview, received him cordially, and granted him a charter of incorporation. It is from the Serampore press that the Scriptures first began to be issued in the languages of the East; and the names of Carey and of the other superintendents of the Serampore mission, are memorable in the realms of literature as well as of the church. Mr. Anderson published, in 1845, the *Annals of the English Bible*, an historical account of the different English translations and editions of the Bible; a work of much learning and research.—*Literary Gazette*, February 28th.

At Andover, on the 4th January, at the age of 71, Professor Moses Stuart. He was born at Wilton, in Connecticut, in 1780, and educated at Yale College, where he was for two years a tutor. He afterwards studied law, but left law for divinity, and was for four years pastor of a church at New Haven. In 1810, he was appointed Professor of Sacred Literature in the Theological Seminary, at Andover, and held the place till the year 1848, when the infirmities of age and ill health obliged him to resign it. He is awarded by a writer in the *Tribune*, the praise of a singularly ardent temperament, an activity ever-seeking new spheres of exercise, in novel methods of exposition and original forms of illustration, in the advocacy of the system to which he was pledged. He gave a new impulse to theological learning, through his German studies, making it less metaphorical and more critical, removing it from the field of abstract speculation to that of Biblical philology. His personal qualities were of an original and striking character, generous in disposition, not without harmless traits of vanity, and occasional bursts of satire, he was a sturdy Puritan, and a genuine and enthusiastic love of good learning inspired his efforts.—*American Literary World*, January 17th. [We entertain the expectation of being furnished from America with a full memoir of this eminent Biblical scholar, for the next number of our Journal.]

At Calcutta, Aug. 12, aged 50, the Hon. John Elliott D. Bethune, Fourth Legislative Member of the Supreme Council of India, and President of the Council of Education. Mr. Bethune's name is immortalized in India by the establishment of a school in European hands, for native females of the higher classes. This achievement, which all public men had considered a hopeless vision, was attained by Mr. Bethune pledging his word, that no attempt should be made to influence the religious faith of the pupils. A few hours before his death, Mr. Bethune placed his work in hands both European and native, most likely to carry it on in his own spirit, and also secured the school against immediate dissolution, by a legacy sufficient to meet its expenses for six months, besides a bequest of 30,000 rupees for the completion of the building.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, January, 1852.

At Edinburgh, on Dec. 6th, in his 78th year, George Dunbar, M.A., Professor of Greek Literature in the University of Edinburgh, and F.R.S.E. Mr. Dunbar was born at Coldingham, in Berwickshire. He was of humble parentage, and was designed in early life as a gardener; but, having received serious injury by a fall from a

tree, he was thus incapacitated for the humble occupation of a lecturer, cum variis lectionibus. While still suffering from the immediate effects of his injury, of a neighbouring proprietor, who aided him in pursuing a liberal education, he was ultimately rewarded by seeing him appointed Professor of Greek in the University of Edinburgh in 1805. His publications in connexion with the language to which he had devoted himself, were numerous. His most important work was a Greek-English Lexicon, with Addenda and Critical Remarks on various passages of the classic authors and in the New Testament. On it the author was engaged for of eight years, and of his assiduous industry and unwearied research it is a fitting memorial.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1852.

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Inspiration. We have been requested by the author of the article in No. 61. of the Old Series to state, that a paper in reply to that in No. XIV. has not been inserted, because it appeared inexpedient to re-open in the New Series the discussion of the Old.

A letter from W. S., in answer to Dr. Tregelles (in our last), has been received but too late for insertion in this Number.

The new postal arrangements afford greatly increased facilities for the transmission of books, manuscripts, etc.; but in availing themselves of these, we request our Correspondents to observe that the parcel must not contain anything sealed, so as to preclude inspection, nor any letter sealed or unsealed; and that the parcels must always be prepaid by affixing postage stamps to the amount. In the neglect of these precautions, double letter postage will be charged for the parcel, however heavy. Any written or printed matter, bound or in sheets or separate leaves, as well as proof sheets with writing in the margin, may thus be forwarded either separately or together; anything, in fact, except letters.

1852.]

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No. IV.—JULY, 1852.

THE RELIGION OF GEOLOGY.

The Religion of Geology, and its connected Sciences. By EDWARD HITCHCOCK, D.D., LL.D., President of Amherst College, and Professor of Natural Theology and Geology. London: David Bogue. 1851.

THE multitude of works on geology constantly issuing from the press furnishes unequivocal proof of its growing popularity. Reverence for science forms one of the most marked features of the present age. The many wondrous practical proofs science has given in our day of its bearings on the well-being of man, have commanded respect in quarters where a love of it for its own sake could scarcely be looked for. It is, however, only the favoured few who can penetrate into the inner sanctuary of the temple of science; the crowd without must be satisfied with the results proclaimed by the priest ministering at the altar. The higher departments of science must ever remain a sealed book except to those who have patience to master profound analytic operations, and who can devote themselves almost exclusively to their favourite line of inquiry. To those, however, who have no pretensions to the character of *savans*, but who cherish a love for the truths of science, geology presents a most inviting field. No preparatory training in the mathematics is necessary, and no unreasonable amount of hard nomenclature has to be surmounted. Theory is pleasantly mingled with fact, and the tameness of natural history is thus relieved by the zest which

speculation always affords. It no doubt owes much of its attraction to the fact that it furnishes some of the most striking and most easily understood inductions in the whole field of science: and certainly one of the highest enjoyments of which our nature is susceptible is the flashing of truth upon the mind after a process of rigid scientific induction. The thrilling joy of Kepler, and the overpowering agitation of Newton, when they saw the mysteries of the universe suddenly revealing themselves to their inquiring vision, present in its loftiest form that pleasure which is derived from ascending step by step to some general law, from which, as from a watch-tower, we may take a wider and more comprehensive survey of the works of God. We do not mean to say that geology affords no scope for the display of high scientific power; all that we mean to assert is that no department of science admits the student so readily to the enjoyment which flows from the study of nature.

One remarkable feature of the popularity of geology, is the rapidity with which it has risen in popular estimation. How very short a time is it since its cultivators formed but a small knot of inquiring minds, and were looked upon with suspicion and distrust, as propagators of wild and dangerous speculations. A complete revolution has now taken place. No books or lectures on science are so popular as those on geology. At the meetings of the British Association, the geological section bids fair to monopolize all the regards of the unprofessional members. The largest hall is invariably assigned to it; and it is always crowded, while the other sections are left to be attended only by the few *savans* attached to their own special pursuits. So rapid has been the progress in popular estimation, that we venture to say that the great prominent facts and speculations of geology are now more or less known to the great mass of the educated and reading classes.

The wide dissemination of the facts and theories of geology assumes an important aspect when we come to regard the religious bearings of the science. Any conflict between the teaching of the geologist and that of the theologian must be regarded as of very serious moment. The necessity of an adjustment becomes every day more urgent, as geology is constantly multiplying its votaries. The points of apparent conflict are not points which are withdrawn from popular view, and are presented only to the speculative thinker. The difficulties are presented at the very threshold of the inquiry, and the shock to preconceived notions cannot but be felt on the slightest survey of the subject. Nay, there is little doubt that the difficulties revealed by geology have given a decided impulse to the study in the

case of both the friends and foes of Christianity. Many who would be repelled by the tameness of physical inquiries, have been attracted by its exciting religious aspects. Seeing then that the necessity of an adjustment is so urgently and prominently presented, the Christian teacher must be ready to meet this demand.

We welcome the appearance of Professor Hitchcock's volume as well calculated to promote the adjustment so urgently required between the interpretation of Scripture and geology. He has long and honourably signalized himself in this good cause. He took up his position at a time when it required more courage than now to urge the demands of geology. In his controversial writings he has manifested much candour and courtesy, though his assailants were sometimes not the best tempered controversialists. He has lived to see the close of the controversy, and to enjoy the triumph of his own views. When we say that the controversy has closed, we do not mean to assert that there are not some who still adhere to the old interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis, and refuse to acknowledge the time drafts of the geologist. It would be unreasonable to expect this in the currency of the generation in which the controversy originated. The first controversialists on either side are still among us; and we cannot but expect that some champion of the old cause, like the Dean of York, should sometimes give forth his indignant utterance. It may, however, be safely averred that the fire of controversy is now reduced to the last smouldering embers, and that the next generation will class the geological difficulty with that which astronomy presented when the Copernican theory began to be promulgated. There is now no difference of opinion among geologists, many of whom are distinguished for their reverence for Christianity, and a like unanimity prevails among theologians who have felt themselves constrained to become acquainted with the facts of geology.

Although the subject of dispute with regard to the antiquity of the globe may be settled with geologists and theologians, yet the practical teaching of the church has not fully corresponded with this result. A natural feeling of reserve has been experienced, even by those who have had their own views matured on the subject. They have recoiled from disturbing those convictions in the popular mind, associated from the earliest period with the most cherished truths of revelation. It ought, however, to be remembered, in addition to the paramount demands of truth, that the rapid spread of geological knowledge amidst the masses must render reserve a dangerous policy. The initiative can never be so safely taken as by the Christian teacher. The view of Professor Hitchcock on this subject is characterized by much good sense and wisdom.

"If the geological interpretation of Genesis be true, then it should be taught to all classes of the community. It is indeed unwise to alter received interpretations of Scripture without very strong reasons. We should be satisfied that the new light which is come to us is not that of a transient meteor, but of a permanent luminary. We should also be satisfied that the proposed change is consistent with the established rules of philology. If we introduce changes of this sort before these points are settled, even upon passages that have no connexion with fundamental moral principles, we shall distress many an honest and pious heart, and expose ourselves to the necessity of further change. But on the other hand, if we delay the change, long after these points are fairly settled, we shall excite the suspicion that we dread to have the light of science fall upon the Bible. Nor let it be forgotten how disastrous has ever been the influence of the opinion, that theologians teach one thing and men of science another."

We would not have it supposed that our sympathies are wholly with the astronomer or the geologist who would rudely force new interpretations upon the Christian mind. We would not lavish all our regards upon a Galileo proclaiming the demands of science, and at the same time shewing, by his weakness and insincerity, how slight was the power of moral truth in his heart. We can also respect the feelings of those who, from profound reverence for the sacred record, were perhaps too sensitively jealous of any change in the received interpretation. On this subject we usually find two extreme parties,—one too presumptuous in tampering with the record, the other morbidly averse to all change. We only find in this an illustration of a law which seems to pervade all nature, physical and moral,—the law of polarity. We arrive at the golden mean, not by a single force, but by antagonisms which yield by their synthesis a useful resultant. It would be unwise to delay too long the acknowledgement of a new interpretation suggested by science; but it would be equally unwise to sanction such hasty alterations as would produce a feeling of instability regarding the words of inspiration. A question on this point at once suggests itself: "Is there any canon which can guide us in deciding when an old interpretation must be given up for a new one?" This question was forced upon Cardinal Bellarmine, who was appointed to deal with Galileo and pronounce upon him the papal sentence. The canon is this, *Let a demonstration be given*. This is at first sight plausible, but will be found to fail on application. It would indeed hold if we had to deal only with the relations of magnitude and number; but in the case of moral evidence it is totally illusory. The word *demonstration* being thus used only in its loose sense, the next question will be what amount of moral evidence constitutes a demonstration? so that we are as much at sea as ever. We cannot then rely on any

definite rule; we must be guided by the specialties of every particular case. It would be inconsistent with the essential nature of moral conviction to have a strictly demonstrable standard. We must, in interpreting the Word of God, be satisfied with such regulating principles of belief as the very condition of our moral nature imposes. The conditions of a responsible being necessarily imply the weighing of evidence in order to fix the precise point where truth demands the relinquishment of an old interpretation for a new and better one. To shew how useless the canon of Bellarmine is, we have only to refer to the case to which it was meant to apply. One would think that the evidence which Galileo offered was of a pretty demonstrative character. He pointed to the system of Jupiter with his surrounding satellites, as a proof of the Copernican theory of the solar system. The priests refused to look through his optic tube, as they held such evidence was not demonstrative. It was only in the year 1818 that the papal edict anathematizing the motion of the earth was repealed. Prefixed to the third book of Newton's *Principia*, there is in the edition of the learned Jesuits a memorable declaration, which, as it is retained in every recent reprint, will long remain as a monument of papal tyranny over the human mind. The editors declare that, for the sake of explanation, they were under the necessity of assuming the Copernican hypothesis, but that they nevertheless bowed to the papal authority in anathematizing the motion of the earth.* Pope Pius VII., unwilling to bear the scorn of Christendom, repealed the edict in the year above mentioned, and in the words of Cardinal Toriozzi, "wiped off this scandal from the church."

Although it is now admitted by all competent authorities that the Mosaic creation is a comparatively recent event in the world's history, there is a considerable diversity of opinion as to the manner in which the first chapter of Genesis is to be adjusted to this view. Professor Hitchcock adopts the hypothesis which is now most generally held, viz., that the days of creation are to be regarded as natural days, and that an unlimited period must be allowed to have elapsed since the primitive creation of the earth. The words, "In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth," indicate the first absolute creation. There is then a pause sufficiently long to account for the various geological epochs previous to the introduction of man upon the

* The following is the declaration of the commentators Le Seur et Jaquier:—"Newtonus in hoc tertio libro telluris motæ hypothesin assumit. Autoris propositiones aliter explicari non poterant nisi eâdem quoque factâ hypothesi. Hinc alienam coacti sumus gerere personam. Cæterum latis a summis pontificibus contra telluris motum decretis nos obsequi profiteamur."

globe; and the remainder of the narrative details the work of the six days' creation. By this simple interpolation of an indefinite period the author holds that Scripture is brought into complete harmony with geology. Although there are difficulties connected with this interpretation, we think that it is on the whole most satisfactory. It is no inconsiderable support of this view, that it was held by many who were under no pressure of geological requirements. Augustine, Theodoret, Justin Martyr, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Cæsarius, Origen, held similar views with more or less explicitness. In more recent times, but still before the need of a geological adjustment was felt, similar opinions were held by Bishop Patrick and others; the essential point being the admission that a long period may have intervened between the absolute creation and the Mosaic plastic creation.

It is important to inquire whether any principle of exegesis has emerged from this protracted controversy. It has been admitted that the draft of the geologist for an indefinite pre-adamic period must be allowed; but this special adjustment is not the only result of the inquiry. A general principle of no ordinary importance has been recognized and acted upon. We allude to the claim of science to be regarded as a distinct and independent element of exegesis. If science can throw light upon a passage, it has a distinct claim, along with philological requirements, to fix the meaning of the passage. It seeks to be put on precisely the same footing with history. We do not scruple to alter the received interpretation of Scripture, if by new light regarding the manners and customs of the East, we can give a more plausible interpretation. In old commentators we find an absurd interpretation put upon the watering of the land with the foot mentioned in Deuteronomy; we would not hesitate to discard that interpretation when we obtained light as to the mode of irrigation to which allusion is made. When it is related that the paralytic was let down through the roof to where Jesus was, we would not scruple to dissent from the received interpretation that the roof of the house was literally broken up, if by more recent information regarding the East we could shew that it was only a slight awning in the inner court of the house that was raised. If the inscriptions from Nineveh should throw new light on any dark passages of Scripture, we should hold ourselves bound to weigh the evidence, and if necessary make a change in the received interpretation. Now geology claims to be treated in precisely the same manner. There is no essential difference between the tablets dug from the mounds of Nineveh, and those dug by the geologist from the earth's strata. The inscriptions on the latter have as dis-

tinct a meaning as those of the former, and are sometimes more legible. Why should not the preadamitic monuments be placed on the same level with the postadamitic. They are perfectly homogeneous, and the same principle should apply to both.

All this appears now so obvious that it is matter of astonishment that the principle should ever be lost sight of. We find, however, that in the controversy it was entirely overlooked. Moses Stewart, for example, constantly takes it for granted that philology and geology are two antagonist sources of interpretation, and therefore feels no difficulty in scouting the pretensions of the latter. But the case is not philology *versus* geology, but philology *plus* geology. We are bound in sitting down to the examination of the sacred record, to take advantage of any light science may communicate. The frequently repeated objection of Moses Stewart is, "Was Moses acquainted with modern geology? and if he was not, how can geology throw any light upon his meaning?" It might as well be said, Was Moses acquainted with archæology? and if he was not, how can modern research in Eastern antiquities throw any light upon his language? Now there is no essential difference between the two cases. Geology is as purely of an archaic character as any researches regarding the remote history of the human race.

Besides all this, the received interpretations have invariably been founded on the contemporary state of science. Interpreters may have imagined that they were guided by purely philological requirements, while all the time they were unconsciously swayed by the current scientific notions. The Pope anathematized the Copernican system in order to punish the audacity of science in suggesting a new interpretation, but the received interpretation was also due to science. The Ptolemaic theory of the system was the current one, and Scripture was interpreted in accordance with it; though from its not presenting itself as a novelty its influence was unconsciously admitted. Nay, we find that Moses Stewart, in combating the pretences of geology, appeals himself to science, and in a very questionable manner, too, in support of his own position. The hypothesis which he advances in regard to the nature of light, in order to remove the apparent discrepancy between the creation of light on the first and the heavenly bodies on the fourth day, is far more doubtful than the theories of the geologist. To maintain his position, he also takes up the dangerous ground of transmutation of species. He cannot deny the great difference between the organic remains revealed by geology and the creatures now inhabiting the earth; but as he was forced to account for this without successive creations, he maintains that

the difference has been induced since the Adamic creation—that the present inhabitants are lineally descended from the fossil species,—the difference being brought about by climate and other like influences. This illustrates the inconsistency of decrying science as a source of interpretation while the most dangerous scientific theories are propounding in support of views professing to be based solely on philological grounds. It is plain, however, that the argument of the instability of the species was used by Moses Stewart without any idea of the dangerous consequences it implies. Development theories, when the argument was first used, were not so rife as now; and no evil consequences were supposed to flow from denying the permanence of species.

Geology being now rescued from that suspicion which so long hung over it, is foremost among the sciences in contributing sustenance to the devout and contemplative mind. The chief design of the volume before us is to exhibit in a popular and attractive manner the contributions of geological science; and we can congratulate the author on the successful manner in which he has put before the reader many pleasing views of the benevolence and wisdom of the Creator opened up by geological research, as well as the difficult questions which it presents for solution. We shall first direct the reader's attention to what is usually considered the most valuable contribution of geology to natural religion; we allude to the fact of several distinct creations of organic beings, revealed by the historical tablets of the earth's strata. In regard to this point the author says:—

“Including the existing races, the world gives us six wholly distinct groups of organic beings that have lived in succession upon the globe since it became a habitable world. But even if it should be found that a few species are common to adjoining groups, the great truth would still remain, that the different groups were too much alike to be contemporaneous, and that consequently a new creation must have taken place whenever each group commenced its course. It is probable that the earth has changed its inhabitants more than the six times that have been mentioned: some think as many as twelve times. But a larger number cannot as yet be found so clearly, and could they be, they would add nothing to this argument; for it rests mainly on the fact that this change of organic life has even once been complete. We may, however, very safely assume that the present animals and plants are the sixth groups that have occupied the globe.”

In turning over the leaves of the earth's stony record we are arrested at distinct periods by the creative energy of God. There are distinct chapters in the geological record, and each chapter opens, like the first chapter of Genesis, with a new creation. We can point distinctly to the periods when new organic forms were issued into being, and we witness as it were the

creative fiat of the Omnipotent. In no other department of God's works do we behold in so startling a manner the finger of the Creator. The materialist has endeavoured to account for the introduction of new species by the theory of development. He holds that by mere natural law one species is transmuted into another along an ascending scale, so that we are not under the necessity of imagining the intervention of creative power to account for the introduction of new species. This theory is now triumphantly refuted. Although there are many plausible analogies which impose upon the half-learned, yet it has been clearly demonstrated by the most distinguished authorities that there is no real ground for the theory. The most eminent naturalists, geologists, and physiologists combine in repudiating the development hypothesis. Agassiz, Lyell, and Owen are at one in the opinion, that the proofs usually adduced in support of the instability of species are wholly illusory. There is not a single name of any note that now countenances in the slightest measure the doctrines of the *Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation*. We have then the introduction of new species totally unexplained by natural laws, and have vividly fixed upon our minds the recognition of the creative acts of the Almighty.

While we heartily acquiesce in the importance of this contribution of geology to religion, and Professor Hitchcock evidently regards it as the most important, we feel constrained to protest against the function assigned to it in natural theology. We regard the error committed on this subject as of a most serious and disastrous character. This error consists in basing the great argument of design altogether on the geological fact, that new species have been introduced at distinct periods in the past history of the world. The validity of the whole argument of design is staked upon this one fact. The ground of natural theology is narrowed to this one point. We do not mean that other departments of nature are ignored as tributary to the great cause, but that all other evidence is held to be unavailing without the establishment of this fact in the world's history. Now when we consider that the teleological argument is the one which has been, and ever will be, most level to the comprehension of mankind, it is a matter deeply to be regretted that its stability should be perilled by placing it on a basis so very narrow. It has been the fashion very much of late to depreciate the argument drawn from design. The intense subjectivity of the German theology has extended its influence to the English mind, and one fruit of this is the disparagement cast upon the *a posteriori* argument. Now we have no quarrel with those who can arrive at Deity by a more direct route. If they are satisfied

that the religious consciousness of Schleiermacher brings them at once into contact with the Absolute, we can only congratulate them in attaining the great end so directly. But we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that this convenient mode of dealing with all difficult problems—this direct reference to a court from which there is no appeal—will not satisfy the minds of most men. We believe also that the ontological and cosmological arguments may in certain minds have some weight in dispelling difficulties. But while allowing all this, we hold that the grand bulwark of natural theology must be the argument drawn from design. While the other sources of proof have been very much confined to subtle metaphysicians, and have often been lost sight of, the teleological argument is level to every capacity, and its force has been felt in every age of the world. While we would then strenuously contend for the argument of design, we must earnestly deprecate any course that would in any measure peril its validity. We are the more anxious on this point as the view advocated by Professor Hitchcock is now obtaining a wide popularity, and is received with unquestioning faith in almost every recent work on the subject of geology and religion.

It must be a matter of some interest, in the history of natural theology, to ascertain how such a position should have been taken up. The geological argument owes its currency chiefly to the eloquence and genius of Dr. Chalmers. It was he that invested it with an importance which threw into the shade every other phase of the *a posteriori* argument. It was resorted to by him as the only effectual way of meeting the arguments of Hume. But how was he led to adopt a position so singular and apparently so uncalled for? We shall more clearly understand this point by adverting to a criticism on Reid's statement of the argument of design by Dr. Crombie, in his work on *Natural Theology*. Reid's statement is, "that design and intelligence in the cause may be inferred with certainty from demonstration of marks or signs of it in the effect." Dr. Crombie holds that this is a begging of the question, as it assumes that the world is an effect. He maintains that it is a mere identical proposition, "demonstration of intelligence in the effect" being only an equivalent expression for "demonstration of intelligence in the cause."

He puts Reid's argument thus: "Marks of design in the effect prove design in the cause. The works of nature are an effect, and exhibit marks of design; therefore the works of nature prove design in the cause." He holds this syllogism to be fallacious as the minor premiss is an assumption of the chief thing to be proved, namely, that the world is an effect. His objection

is, however, after all only a verbal one, for he holds the validity of the argument of design, though he would state it in a less objectionable manner. Chalmers seems to have been impressed with the force of this argument, for he admits that the being of a God cannot be proved by marks of design unless the world can be proved to be an effect. A given organism may be proved to be a wondrous system of adaptation of means to an end, but Hume holds that the chain of beings stretched back *ad infinitum*, and that a beginning must be proved before an intelligent cause distinct from the chain of organization can be proved. Chalmers concedes this point. He holds that we are bound to lay our finger upon the first link of the chain, and shew that it has had a beginning. Geology furnishes many illustrations of such chains terminating abruptly; and hence he concludes that it has solved the grand problem of natural theology, by bridging over the chasm between the collocations of matter and the designing cause. The organization is proved to be an effect, and now, and *only* now, are we entitled to say that the adaptation which it exhibits infers an intelligent cause.

It is to us altogether inexplicable that the philosophic mind of Chalmers should have landed him in such a startling result. For what is the necessary conclusion from such a position? Is it not that the argument of design was all a delusion till the geologist revealed his cabinet of fossils,—that poets and philosophers and theologians were all guilty of a gross paralogism in turning their eyes upwards from nature to nature's God; that mankind in general have been deceived in the imagination that the wondrous proofs around them in the world pointed to a wise Creator and Governor, and that it is only the discoveries of geology in these latter days that have given validity to the argument. The very statement of Chalmers's argument is sufficient, one would think, to demonstrate that an egregious error has been committed somewhere. Men are not apt to sift very narrowly the validity of arguments which go to confirm their most deeply cherished convictions; but it is always the wiser course to submit to the closest scrutiny the arguments on the one side as well as on the other. And in the present case, the aid proffered by geology is counterbalanced by an incalculably greater loss. But is there any absolute necessity for our giving up the validity of the argument for design *per se* in order that we may welcome the contribution of geology to natural theology? We think not. We maintain that we can fully recognize the value of such contributions while we positively refuse to regard them as the *sine qua non* of the teleological argument.

The great battle-ground of natural theology is the *existence*

of an intelligent cause. This is the initial step to the complete proof of the natural and moral perfections of Deity; and consequently the atheist takes his stand here as the turning point of the whole controversy. He knows that if an intelligent cause be once established, the perfections necessary to the complete idea of God follow in logical order. Instead, however, of directing his argument to this point, he frequently diverts attention by cavilling at the consequences flowing from the admission of an intelligent cause. Hume, for example, objects to the conception of a God inasmuch as the order in the divine mind demands the recognition of a cause as well as the order in the natural world. This point Chalmers satisfactorily meets by denying that the conception arrived at by the theist implies such a consequence. He however turns from this negative argument, and concentrates his strength upon the proof of the *existence* of an intelligent cause.

It is the favourite tactics of the materialist to entangle his opponent with the logical subtleties of infinite series. He knows that when he has once got him fairly involved in the meshes of the argument there is no escape. Chalmers was too familiar with mathematical conceptions to put any value on the argument regarding the impossibility of an infinite series of finites, or of a chain of causes and effects.^b He was well aware that no such scholastic subtleties could furnish a solid basis for natural theology, and he felt as if a great triumph was gained when, instead of groping for a beginning in the darkness of a past eternity, he could lay his finger upon the creative fiat as recorded in the inscriptions of the earth's strata. The fatal error in the geological argument lies in the assumption that we must prove a thing to be an effect before we can conclude that the traces of design which it exhibits imply an intelligent cause. If then the doctrines of equivocal generation or transmutation were proved to be laws of nature, the whole superstructure of natural theology, as far as it is founded on the *a posteriori* argument, would fall to the ground. No doubt, if it can be proved that natural theology is so dependant on the fact of the intro-

^b The argument found in most theological works regarding the impossibility of an infinite series of finites is invariably vitiated by an ambiguity in the use of the term *infinite*. The revolutions of the planets are often taken as an illustration. If the revolution of one planet be twice greater than that of another, then the number of these revolutions cannot be infinite, for in that case we would have one infinite twice greater than another. But to arrive at this *reductio ad absurdum*, another absurdity has been assumed. The argument supposes that infinities must be equal, but neither equality nor inequality can be predicated of infinities; to do this is to reduce them to the category of finite quantities. The strict meaning of the term *infinite* has thus been reversed in the process of proof.

duction of new species, we owe the deepest debt of gratitude to the geologist for the revelation of this all important fact. Indeed all other departments of science in a theological point of view would possess a very secondary interest. They would be valuable only in as far as validity is communicated to their testimony by the light of geology. Now while we are quite willing to acknowledge the value of the contributions of geology to natural theology, we would strenuously resist any claim that would infer the sacrifice of the great argument of design. The whole value of the argument lies in its at once pointing to an intelligent cause. It has no meaning whatever if it does not enable us at once to infer a designer from the design. It is by no means necessary to prove first that the design is an effect. The essence of the argument consists in the supposition that design implies causation. A thing is an effect just in virtue of the traces of design which it manifests. The geological argument reverses the whole matter. By the *a posteriori* argument a thing is an effect because it exhibits design, but the geologist says a design argues an intelligent cause because it is an effect. Let us for illustration take the watch of Paley. The watch, when picked up from the ground, at once and irresistibly suggests a designing cause. The mind does not wait in suspense till it can be proved to be an effect. The idea of effect is necessarily involved in the inference of a designing mind. The inference has a general and specific aspect. When we infer a designer from the design, we also virtually assert that the design is an effect of a particular kind of cause, the cause being an intelligent one. It is not necessary to prove that the watch has not lain there from eternity before we can prove that it must have had an intelligent cause. We infer its non-eternity, or rather the priority of its cause, from the fact of its indicating a design. The watch may be conceived to have been constructed by another piece of mechanism, that again by a third, and so on. But this does not lessen the force of the inference. According to the old scholastic method of dealing with this point, it must first be proved that the series cannot be infinite without involving an absurdity. By Chalmers's method it must be proved historically that the chain has had a beginning. We hold, on the contrary, that the design implies a beginning instead of being dependant upon the proof of a beginning for its validity as an argument for a designing mind. There is no need of ascending to the first term of the infinite series, or to the historical commencement of the chain. Any one link is as valid as the first. Whatever link we touch refers us to an intelligent cause, and the force of this reference is not in the least weakened by ascending or descending along the chain. That the

chain as a whole must have had a beginning is given in the fact, that each link implies an intelligent cause. And if we could conceive the introduction of a first link in an infinite chain, that first link, just as strongly as the last, would point to a prior intelligent cause. So far then from the argument of design requiring the proof of a beginning, it is one of the great objects of the argument to establish this point. If the historical monuments of geology prove a beginning, good and well; we shall gratefully accept the proof as a valuable contribution: but we protest against the perilling of the whole a *posteriori* argument on such a proof.

The great error in combating the materialist's arguments consists in regarding the matter in question as one of *time* instead of pure *causation*. The time element wonderfully complicates the matter, and there is no escape from the subtleties about infinities whenever the play of this element is allowed.

Chalmers in abandoning the argument of design as valid *per se*, argues that the principle by which we infer a designing mind from the design is not an ultimate one. He holds that this principle can be referred to a higher, viz., that by which we associate the same antecedents with the same consequents. When we see an antecedent followed by a certain consequent, we are so constituted that we must always expect a like antecedent to be followed by a like consequent. Granting that the argument of design is not founded on an intuitive principle, but can be referred to this higher principle of causation, it by no means follows that its inferences are not valid. A regulating principle of belief is by no means invalid merely because it is susceptible of analysis. The results of physical inquiry are not in the least affected though we should hold different views as to the manner in which the first principles are established. We may hold with Whewell that the three laws of motion are referable to an intuitive principle, or we may hold with Mill that they may be traced to experience; but whatever view we hold, we never think that this uncertainty as to the first principles involves in doubt the results of dynamics. In like manner a doubt as to the origin of the subjective principle, by which we infer that a design must have a designer, ought not to involve in like doubt the results arrived at by this regulating principle of belief. Besides all this, though we should grant that the principle in question may admit of analysis into that of causation, we would by no means be disposed to allow that even on this ground it would be necessary to prove the design to be an effect before we can prove a designer. We would hold that the consequent is proved to be a consequent or

effect by the very marks of design which entitle us to infer a designing mind.

But what, after all, is gained by the geological argument which maintains that we must hold the latter term of the sequence to be an effect, before we can arrive at a designing mind? The geologist says, We can shew you the finger of God actually originating the series: we will shew you the first link of the chain, so that there can be no doubt. Are we, then, to conclude, that the first introduction of new species is to be regarded as an actual miracle? Geologists speak of the *creation* of new species; but this term is often used so loosely that we are by no means entitled to conclude that an actual miracle is meant. Oken, for example, applies the word *creation* to natural procreation. Each new individual of a species is with him a creation. When geologists, then, speak of creative acts, it is necessary to ascertain the precise meaning attached to the word. But do we find *creation* used as tantamount to a miracle even in the case of those who repudiate most sternly the theory of transmutation. Let us take, for example, Sir Charles Lyell. He holds the absolute permanence of species; nay, goes so far as to hold that geology countenances no progression whatever. Professor Sedgwick, the great champion of creative acts *versus* development, holds that there has been a historical development,—that the creative acts have been ranged on an ascending scale. He triumphantly explodes the theory that the development has been effected by transmutation, but he fully admits the fact of a general elevation of type. Sir Charles Lyell, however, does not admit even this: he maintains that this successive elevation, admitted by Sedgwick, is founded on defective evidence, and that further research may yet discover the highest types in the most ancient strata. Now does Sir Charles admit the idea of miracle to account for the introduction of new species? It is plain from the whole tenor of his theory, that he scouts such an idea. He proceeds on the uniformitarian hypothesis,

* Sir Charles Lyell, in a postscript to the last edition of his *Manual*, gives a summary of the progress recently made in disproving a regular development of organic forms. The following are the more important points. The progress dates from the year 1830. Then no traces of mammals were in rock older than the Stonesfield oolite; now they are found in the trias of Germany: Then birds were found no lower than the middle eocene; now in the lower eocene and trias of North America. Then reptiles were found only as far down as the permian; now in the coal measures, the old red sandstone, and lower silurian. Then fish were found scarcely lower down than the coal; now in the Devonian and sparingly in the silurian. Sir Charles builds much on the fact, that we have traces of a tortoise older than any known fish. These new facts are good against the natural development theory, but are nevertheless consistent with a historical progress in elevation of type.

and holds that the laws which regulate the world at the present day are sufficient to account for all the phenomena revealed by geological research. In accordance with this hypothesis, he holds that we are still under the same laws which, in former periods of the world, introduced new species. Sir Charles manifests some reserve on this subject: but, while he does not condescend to give any idea as to the nature of the law by which new species are introduced, it is plain that he admits no miraculous interference.

We find that Professor Sedgwick, though he would apply the term miracle, resorts to a definition of miracle to meet the peculiarities of the case. He would define a miracle to be the introduction of a new organic law. Professor Hitchcock would hold the introduction of new species to be a miraculous act, but he also resorts to a definition which subverts the validity of the miracle. He would make the miracle to consist in the apparent violation of a lower law, while it is in conformity with a higher. This is now the popular mode of getting rid of the difficulty of miracles, but it only masks it a little longer. We have no objection to this phraseology, if used in such a way as to preserve intact the validity of the miracle; but the illustrations usually given shew that the reality of the miracle is often endangered. Let us, for example, advert to the illustration of Babbage's Machine, employed by Professor Hitchcock and most writers on this subject. The introduction of new species is compared to the interruption of a regular series after some millions of terms. In virtue of the mechanism of the machine itself, one series of natural numbers may proceed with undeviating regularity for one hundred millions and one terms, and all at once the law is broken, and a new series is commenced; and thus one law may be made to give way to another at periods indefinitely prolonged. Now it is held that this fully illustrates the subject of miracles, inasmuch as the new series, while apparently a violation of one law on the machine, is in accordance with a higher. But this resolves the miracle into a matter of time, not of causation: its essence is thus made to consist in its infrequency, for the source of causation is the same both in the regular laws of the series and its interruptions. In the case of the interruption of the series, we look no higher than the machine itself: in the case of miracles, we are bound, so that the cases may be parallel, to look no higher than the system of nature. If a new species is represented by a new series, then we have no evidence of a beginning of causation, though we have historical proof of the beginning of the species. Though we could trace a series of Babbage's Machine for millions of years back, and put our finger on the first term of the series,

this would be no proof of the interference of the great First Cause. The machine would explain all; it would shew that this commencement was no commencement of causation, but of another cycle of evolution; so that by parity of reasoning, a new species is only a new cycle of a system which may be going through a process of evolution from a past eternity. The proof of a beginning thus fails, and the whole superstructure of natural theology must be prostrated, if the argument of design is made to rest on so narrow a basis.

We have dwelt thus long on the argument founded on the introduction of new species, both on account of the prominent place it occupies in the work before us, and the wide currency which it is obtaining in works of a similar kind. Its plausibility harmonizes with our most cherished convictions, and we are therefore not prone to scrutinize it too narrowly. But if it demands the rejection of the validity of the argument of design and the reality of the miracle, the gain to religion will be far more than counterbalanced by the loss. On the remaining topics we must be very brief.

On the subject of development we would remark that the ground on which the materialist is often met gives him a virtual triumph, though he should be baffled in establishing the special point in dispute. For example, the materialist maintains the nebular hypothesis with a view of dispensing with the idea of God. Now this argument may be met in such a way as to give him a virtual triumph, while we succeed in disproving the position that the solar system has been evolved from a nebulous mass. It has unfortunately been tacitly admitted, in arguing against the nebular theory of Laplace, that, if this hypothesis were established, the materialist would gain a triumph. Now the materialist can afford to give up the nebular hypothesis if such a fatal concession be granted him. For what is this concession equivalent to? Is it not an admission that every step in science must necessarily obliterate the former traces of a God? The work of science is just to refer to general laws the wondrous adjustments in the world evidencing a designing mind; but if we acknowledge that these generalizations come in the place of a designing mind, we virtually admit that religion must disappear like a spectre of the night as the light of science advances. But the necessity of a designing mind is not less felt because we can trace certain adaptations to general laws. These general laws from which spring so many wondrous adaptations of means to an end, only impress more forcibly upon our minds the necessity of a lawgiver. It is unwise, then, to argue against the nebular hypothesis, as if the cause of theism were staked

upon the result. The weight of evidence already brought forth in support of this hypothesis is far from sufficient to establish it as a well-founded theory : but though it were established, that the mechanism of the heavens was evolved from a chaotic, nebulous mist, we would hold that this evolution furnished the most striking proof of that wisdom which endowed the constituent atoms with such wondrous susceptibilities. In the case of organic development, we have a vital interest, on the ground of Christianity, in impugning the theory as a representation of historical facts ; and on the ground of natural religion there are great moral presumptions which jar with such a theory ; but we would by no means concede to the materialist that if transmutation were established the existence of an intelligent cause would necessarily be disproved. The theistical argument would not in the least be affected. The law of development would still imply a lawgiver.

The arguments of our author in reference to the connexion between sin and death are very ingenious, but we confess that we cannot yield to their cogency. Geology reveals the fact that suffering and death existed among irrational creatures before man sinned, and the author would hold that death is a necessary law of animal organization. He would extend this law even to man in his state of innocence. He would hold that man was created mortal, and that sin affected only the mode of dissolution. He holds that the idiom in the original, "in dying thou shalt die," countenances this idea, as it seems to indicate only an aggravation of what was previously certain. The more natural interpretation appears to us to be that adopted in our translation, viz., that only the idea of certainty was intended to be conveyed. Besides, we do not see that the law of uniformity requires that man should suffer dissolution like the inferior animals. A vast gulf is fixed between man and the inferior animals in another respect : the possession of reason and responsibility in man constitutes a sudden break in the law of continuity ; and we can have no difficulty in regarding immortality as the original correlative of this.

Scripture nowhere declares that death was inflicted on the inferior animals, on account of man's sin, yet to most minds the fact of death before the commission of sin appears at first sight startling. Viewed in reference to natural theology the discovery of death and suffering before the fall only presents, in a more striking view, the grand difficulty which the providence of God has always presented. It has been the practice to establish the unmixed benevolence of God by shewing that the evils which exist in the constitution of the world are made to

serve some benevolent purpose ; but this does not at all satisfy the mind. The mind still demands why evil was necessary to work out the benevolent designs of God. This problem is presented in its most naked form by geology, as it reveals to us suffering and pain altogether unconnected with the sin of responsible beings. We would rejoice at any approximate solution of this question, but we do not think Professor Hitchcock's theory affords any satisfaction. He holds that suffering and death were introduced on account of the prospective sin of man, as such a state of things was adapted for the fallen state of man. Granting this adaptation, we have not advanced a single step towards the solution of the difficulty. The matter is only the more hopelessly complicated, for if sin is to afford any real solution, we must define the nature of the connexion between man's guilt and the suffering that existed long anterior to the guilt. To attempt to establish anything like a causal connexion would only involve us in more inexplicable difficulties. Are we then to conclude that physical evil may exist in the world without sin, or that the suffering and death of irrational animals are not to be regarded as real evils? To the full solution of these and similar questions regarding God's government of the world we need a higher theodicy.

Our author's speculations about the physical condition of a future state will to many appear the most attractive part of the book. In regard to the resurrection, he expounds the nature of the identity between the resurrection body and that laid in the grave. He holds that the identity consists not in sameness of particles, but of proportion, form, and structure. In reference to this view he says, "I am not aware that this reply to the objection was ever advanced till the publication by myself, last year, of a sermon on the resurrection." Our author will however find the same doctrine illustrated at considerable length by Bishop Butler in his dissertation on personal identity, and also in the first chapter of his *Analogy*. This view is also the one commonly held by English theological writers.

Our author however, in the eleventh lecture, seems to adopt a very different hypothesis. He holds that the future spiritual body may be composed of that ether which is supposed to pervade space, and through which light is propagated according to the undulatory theory. On this subject he remarks :

"Finally, on this supposition the germ of the future spiritual body may even in this world be attached to the soul ; and it may be this which she will come seeking after on the resurrection morn. I know not but this wonderful medium in some unknown form may attach itself to the sleeping dust : and though that dust be scattered to the winds, or diffused in

the waters of the ocean, and transformed into other animal bodies, still that germ may not be lost. The chemist has often been perplexed when he thinks how the bodies of men are decomposed after death, and how every particle must in some cases pass into other bodies; he has been perplexed, I say, to see how the resurrection body should be identified, and especially how these particles should become a part of different bodies. Perhaps the hypothesis under consideration may relieve the difficulty. Perhaps too it may teach us how the soul exists and acts when separated from the body. It may act through the universal medium, though in a manner less perfect than after it has united itself to the spiritual body raised from the grave."—p. 368.

This theory of the identity of the future body seems to coincide with the idealistic theory of Origen, and which was in later times maintained by Joannes Scotus Erigena.^d It was held that, besides the crass external body, there was an ethereal and internal essence which was permanent, while the former was only phenomenal. The identity was made to consist, not in the sameness of this essence, but in its perfect adaptation to the expanded forms of the soul. The germ of Professor Hitchcock seems to fulfil the same function as the essence, or *λογος σπερματικός*, of Origen; but we are at a loss to know what kind of entity he would regard it. His object is to apply science to the elucidation of this subject, and it would be a matter of curiosity to ascertain among what class of substances it would be ranked by the chemist. Origen and Scotus enjoyed a pleasant latitude of speculation which can hardly be accorded to a writer in these days, when everything must be tested by the prosaic canons of inductive science.

If we may judge from the past history of speculation, there is no subject so fascinating to the speculative mind as that of world-making: we are limited and fettered on every side in this imperfect state, and the imagination feels a delight in painting new physical conditions, in which all restraints shall be removed. The problem is a very simple one. Given certain known powers and susceptibilities of nature to construct a world out of all their possible and imaginable relations. One has only to apply the method of Des Cartes, and with some ingenuity a world is evolved, with new and startling conditions of existence. For example, our author paints the glorified saint treading on

^d This scholastic divine, in his work, *De Divisione Naturæ*, gives the following statement of his views: "Est enim exterius et materiale corpus signaculum interioris in quo forma animæ exprimitur, et per hoc forma ejus rationabiliter appellatur. Et ne me existimes duo corpora naturalia in uno homine docere, verum enim est corpus, quo connaturaliter et consubstantialiter animæ compacto homo conficitur. Illud siquidem materiale quod est superadditum, rectius vestimentum quoddam mutabile et corruptibile veri ac naturalis corporis accipitur quam verum corpus; non verum est semper quod non manet."—iv. 13.

incandescent lava with higher pleasure than Eve ever trod the greensward begemmed with flowers in Paradise. With a few simple suppositions the present conditions of existence may be reversed, and powers more than angelic may be bestowed on man. The following is an example of the manner in which such results are evolved:—

“Now I am not going to assert that the spiritual body will be composed of this luminiferous ether. But since we know not the composition of that body, it is lawful to suppose that such may be its constitution. This is surely possible, and that is all which is essential to my present argument. Admitting its truth, the following interesting conclusions follow. In the first place, the spiritual body would be unaffected by all possible changes of temperature. It might exist as well in the midst of the fire or of ice, as in any intermediate temperature. Hence it might pass from one extreme of temperature to another, and be at home in them all. And this is what we might hope for in a future world. Some indeed have imagined that the sun will be the future heaven of the righteous, and on this supposition there is no absurdity in the theory. Nor would there be in the hypothesis which would locate heaven in solid ice or in the centre of the earth. In the second place, on this supposition the spiritual body would be unharmed by those chemical and mechanical agencies which matter in no other form can resist. The question has often arisen, how the glorified body, if material, would be able to escape all sources of injury, so as to be as immortal as the soul? In this hypothesis we see how it is possible; for though the globe should change its chemical constitution—though worlds should dash upon worlds—the spiritual body, though present at the very point where the terrible collision took place, would feel no injury: and, safe in its immortal habitation, the soul might smile amid the wreck of matter and the crash of worlds.”—pp. 367, 368.

The above affords a good illustration of the ingenuity which may be displayed in constructing a world out of possibilities. Perhaps the best apology for such fancies is that of Isaac Taylor, that the mind cannot help speculating about the physical conditions of a future state, and that it is our duty to give such speculations as harmless a turn as possible. We are disposed however to assign them no higher rank than the question at one time gravely discussed in the schools: How many angels can be accommodated upon the point of a needle?

We cannot close our remarks on the volume before us without adverting to the author's interesting Dedication. The book is dedicated to his wife, in terms exceedingly touching. The reader on perusing it is at once put *en rapport* with the warm heart of the writer, and feels throughout the work that he is holding communion not with an abstraction, but a living reality. The restraints of authorship too often prevent such genial glimpses of the inner life and the every-day sympathies of the author. But we must lay before the reader the Dedication in full.

"Both gratitude and affection prompt me to dedicate these lectures to you. To your kindness and self-denying labours I have been mainly indebted for the ability and leisure to give any successful attention to scientific pursuits. Early should I have sunk under the pressure of feeble health, nervous despondency, poverty and blighted hopes, had not your sympathies and cheering counsels sustained me. And during the last thirty years of professional labours, how little could I have done in the cause of science had you not in a great measure relieved me of the cares of a numerous family! Furthermore, while I have described scientific facts with the pen only, how much more vividly have they been portrayed by your pencil! And it is peculiarly appropriate that your name should be associated with mine in any literary effort where the theme is geology, since your artistic skill has done more than my voice to render that science attractive to the young men whom I have instructed. I love especially to connect your name with an effort to defend and illustrate that religion, which I am sure is dearer to you than everything else. I know that you would forbid this public allusion to your labours and sacrifices, did I not send it forth to the world before it meets your eye. But I am unwilling to lose this opportunity of bearing a testimony which both justice and affection urge me to give. In a world where so much is said of female deception and inconstancy, I desire to testify that one man at least has placed implicit confidence in woman, and has not been disappointed. Through many chequered scenes have we passed together, both on the land and on the sea, at home and in foreign countries; and now the voyage of life is almost ended. The ties of earthly affection which have so long united us in uninterrupted harmony and happiness will soon be sundered. But there are ties which death cannot break, and we indulge the hope that by these we shall be linked together and to the throne of God through eternal ages."—p. iii.

The author speaks of the voyage of life being nearly ended, but we can detect no symptoms of declining powers in the genial tone and youthful vigour of the volume before us. We learn from a note that in the summer of 1850 he and his devoted partner were in this country, and that they scaled together the steep ascent of Snowdon. And if we can judge from the vivid description of the view from the summit, no boy from school could have enjoyed the scene with more joyous elasticity of spirits. We trust his valuable life may be prolonged for further usefulness in the important field to which he has devoted himself. The present volume will, we have no doubt, be the most generally acceptable of his productions. The most recent geological discoveries are explained in a highly attractive style, while no other work affords so complete a view of the bearings of geology on religion. The treatise is pervaded throughout by a fine moral tone and elevated religious sentiment.

THE REPHAİM, AND THEIR CONNEXION WITH EGYPTIAN HISTORY.*

CHAPTER XII.

The Anakim.

“HEAR, O Israel ! Thou art to pass over Jordan, this day, to enter and take possession of nations greater and mightier than thyself ; cities great and fenced up to the skies ; a great and haughty people, the children of the Anakim, whom thou knowest,—for thou hast heard : Who can stand before the children of Anak !” (Deut. ix. 1, 2.)

In such a strain of poetic energy does the sacred historian refer to this once mighty nation, that he may awaken in the breasts of his countrymen a noble spirit of emulation. Not less powerful is the impression of their formidable appearance, produced by the report of the Hebrew spies, though the tone of the speakers now sinks to the level of a terror-stricken populace : “The people who dwell in that land are strong, and the cities are fortified and exceedingly great. . . That land is a land that consumeth its inhabitants ; and all the people whom we saw there are men of great stature ! And we have also seen *the nephilim* (*expelled* or *refugees*^b)—the children of Anak (who come) of *the nephilim*,—and we were in our own eyes as grasshoppers, and so were we in their eyes !” (Nu. xiii. 32, 33.)

The report of those who explored the land, in the same chapter, conveys a glowing description of its fertility. “They came to the vale of Eshcol, and cut down from thence a branch with one cluster of grapes, and bare it between two (men) on a staff ; also of the pomegranates and the figs. . . and said : We came into the land whither thou sentest us, and surely it floweth with milk and honey, and this is its fruit.” (verses 23—27.)

The accounts of modern travellers are quite in harmony with this statement. Dr. E. Robinson^c describes the country about Hebron as covered with fields of wheat ; and the mountain slopes, as clothed with olive groves. The vicinity of Nezib, on the western side of the mountain, is also highly commended as “a rich and fertile region, which once teemed with an abun-

* Continued from the April Number of the *J. S. L.*

^b נפילים The interpretation of this obscure term by *refugees* or *expelled* will be found in the next chapter on *The Philistines*.

^c *Biblical Researches*, vol. iii., pp. 14, 19.

dant population, as is shewn by the numerous former sites now in ruins and level with the ground."

It thus appears that the Rephaim of southern Palestine had early established themselves in the choicest part of the country; and took care to protect their possessions by dwelling in strongly fortified cities, which occupied the most commanding positions. The high antiquity of their settlement may be gathered from the incidental notice of Moses, that Hebron, the city of Arbá, where Abraham lived, died, and is buried, "was built seven years before Zoan"—the capital of the Delta, and one of the most ancient cities in Lower Egypt. (Nu. xiii. 22.)

The claim of the Anakim to be classed among the Rephaim nations is indisputable. They are distinctly referred to that stock by Moses, in his reference to their Emim kindred, in Deut. ii. 11: "A great, numerous, and haughty people, like the Anakim; who were also accounted Rephaim, like the Anakim." And since the evidence that the Rephaim nations beyond Jordan were not Canaanites is so positive, the fact thereby established necessarily proves that the Anakim, being Rephaim by origin, could not have been Canaanites either.

Nevertheless, the ethnographical position of the Anakim has often been misconceived, like that of the Rephaim of Bashan, and much on the same grounds. It will, therefore, be necessary to the complete rectification of this error, that we should enter into a more critical examination of its origin; and that, at the same time, we should define, as clearly as the indirect intimations afforded by Scripture will justify it, the relative positions of the Anakim and the Canaanites. Numerous enough are the hints and casual allusions disseminated throughout the early Bible history, relating to this ancient people, and from which a general idea of their political extension and condition may be arrived at. The ordinary reader, with his mind bent on the progress of Israel which forms the immediate subject of the Bible records, and who merely walks over the beaten ground of this surface-history, is very liable to disregard the substratum of collateral history he now and then lights upon in his course; a substratum fraught with the relics of a primeval social world, cropping out from below in isolated patches, and telling a tale full of meaning to the curious investigator who may be patient enough to explore them, and to hunt up the traces of their continuity.

Hebron, or Kiriath-Arbá, chief city of the Anakim, is sometimes alluded to in the Bible history as being in the land of Canaan. Whether the insulated position of the Anakim cities among the Amorite children of Heth is a fact sufficient by itself

to explain such references as a mere geographical generalization, or whether, in the origin, the whole of the land occupied by the Anakim really had been Canaanite territory, of which the Rephaim had obtained possession, and which they retained by their superior power and political discipline, constitutes a separate question which we will also examine, but which does not affect the one now under consideration; as in neither of these two cases would the *geographical* statement, that Hebron is in the land of Canaan, necessarily draw after it the very illogical *ethnographical* consequence, that, because *some* Canaanites dwelt about Hebron, *all* the people of Hebron—even those who were masters of the city—were Canaanites.

The children of Anak and the Amorites were evidently co-residents in southern Judea. The Amorites not only had many towns of their own on the western sides of the mountain, but they also appear to have formed no inconsiderable part of the population in the cities on the eastern side, which the Anakim held. Each of these Amorite dependent communities had its local chieftain, or *melek*,—a title generally translated *king*. There is no reason to believe that these chiefs were on a different footing among their older Anakim rulers, than we see their descendants under their subsequent Hebrew rulers. In the time of the Judges, we find "Hamor, the father of Shechem," retaining his hereditary title and sovereignty over his own clan; and the Shechemites are even divided in their inclination whether to serve him or the judge of the dominant Hebrew race (Jud. ix. 28). Later still, when the Canaanites "paid tribute of bond-service to Solomon," we find "the kings of the Hittites," as well as those of the Aramites, engaged as the Jewish sovereign's merchants to bring chariots of valuables out of Egypt. (Comp. 1 Kings viii. 20, 21; and x. 28, 29.) And yet later, we find them alluded to as liable to be hired as mercenaries against Aram by the Israelite king. (2 Kings vii. 6.) The part taken by the Amorites, in the wars of the Emim, the Anakim, and the Philistines against Egypt, also presents them in the same subordinate position; while the statement of Scripture history bears out the same conclusion by expressly representing the Philistines as rulers over five chief Canaanite cities. In the contest between the Israelites and the Philistines which follows the conquest, it is equally apparent that, although the Amorites of western Judea are the standing population, the Philistines are masters of every important post in the land; and when Samuel had subdued the Philistines, and recovered the line of frontier from Ekron to Gath, the account winds up with "there was peace between Israel and the Amorites," although

the Amorites had not been heard of whilst the struggle was raging; which even leaves it doubtful whether they had borne any part at all in it, while the Philistines were contending with Israel for lordship over the western Amorite territory,—or whether they had fought for and under the Philistines, and without them had not even power of peace and war on their own soil. From these indications, we may gather that, whether as aborigines overpowered by a stronger people, like the Amorites of Pelesheth, or whether as tolerated settlers, like the Amorites of Shittim, their political *status* was altogether subordinate. The *kings*, or heads of tribes, appear to have enjoyed a considerable amount of local authority over their clans, and of civil independence in the management of their internal concerns; but subject to a certain degree of political dependance on the far more powerful race who garrisoned the chief citadels in their land.

There is no direct intimation of their having paid tribute of personal service or of property; but as this was usually exacted by the overruling power, according to the law of nations of those times, it is exceedingly probable that they did, since they are found under such a tribute to their subsequent Israelite subjugators.

Such being the relative positions of two people who have been so strangely confounded with each other—the Amorites and the Rephaim,—we shall be able to reconcile with ease certain accounts in the book of Joshua, which would have presented insuperable difficulties, had these people been the same.

The local chiefs of the Amorites residing about Hebron and Debir, are counted among the five Amorite kings who combined against the Gibeonites in Joshua's first campaign. On this occasion, Joshua not only routed their forces and slew their chiefs, but he also smote, destroyed, and burnt Hebron and her cities, and Debir and her cities. And yet, six years after, when the Canaanites of the north have been subdued, and the land is portioned out among the Israelite tribes, we find that Hebron or Kiriath-Arbâ, and Debir or Kiriath-Sepher, were still standing; and that the children of Anak, Sheshai, Ahiman, and Talmi, held these cities; that Caleb himself, as soon as he had been formally invested with his territorial rights, commanded the special expedition by which Arbâ, in the portion of his inheritance, was taken; and that his nephew, Othniel, performed the no less formidable feat of dislodging the Anakim from Kiriath-Sepher, and capturing their city, for which he was rewarded with the hand of Caleb's daughter.

It is very apparent that the Amorite quarters of these cities,

the suburban dwellings of a vast dependant population, enclosed by the outer wall, were alone destroyed in the rapid attack of Joshua's victorious host in his opening campaign ; but that the strongly fortified primitive citadels, garrisoned by the children of Anak, were not included in this destruction.^d The expulsion of the Anakim and capture of their fortresses are totally different transactions, both in point of time and in point of fact. Indeed the order of the narrative of Joshua (chapters. x., xi.) implies as much. It relates three distinct sets of events : Firstly, the campaign against the Amorite league ; in which he swept round the mountain of Judah, returning by Hebron through the vale of Eshcol to Gilgal. Secondly, the campaign against the northern Canaanite combination. "Joshua made war a long time with all those kings." (xi. 18.) Finally, the general statement of special expeditions against the Anakim. "At that time came Joshua, and cut off the Anakim from the mountains, from Hebron, from Debir, and from Anab ; from all the mountains of Judah, and from all the mountains of Israel : Joshua destroyed them utterly with their cities. There were none of the Anakim left in all the land of the children of Israel ; only in Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod, some remained." So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses, and Joshua gave it for an inheritance unto Israel, according to their divisions by tribes. And the land had rest from war." (Josh. xi. 21—23.)

After this summary statement, the filling up of its detail is given in the succeeding chapters. Thus the enumeration of tribes and kings subdued is an amplification of the summary of ch. xi. 18 ; and the episode of Caleb, at the allotment of the lands then subdued (ch. xiv.), is an amplification of the summary of ch. xi. 21—23, whereby we discover proof positive that the expeditions against the Anakim were not only posterior to the first campaign, when Hebron and Debir were said to be taken and destroyed, but were even posterior to the allotment of the lands related in that chapter. Otherwise, in the first place, if the Amorites and the Anakim were the same people, and the events identical, how could Caleb and Othniel have taken their cities of Arbâ and Sepher, since they would have been utterly destroyed six years before ? And in the next place, how could the Anakim still have occupied those cities with a sufficient force to call for a regular siege and a special expedition to dislodge them, if, *before* the allotment, Joshua

^d Vide Jud. ix. 50, 51, for a parallel case. Abimelech first besieges and *takes* the town of Thebez ; and afterwards attacks the central fortress.

had already expelled *all* the Anakim from Hebron, Debir, Anab, and all their other cities,—and there were *none left in the land*, except at Gaza, Gath, and Ashdod?

The inference to which these circumstances point is manifestly this :—that the Amorite towns and communities of Hebron and Debir, ravaged by Joshua in the first year of the Canaanite war, must not be confounded with the children of Anak and the “cities great and fenced up to the skies” of Arbâ and Sepher, in which they had for a while securely entrenched themselves. That they were in some sense distinct places—the outer town, and the fortified central citadel,—and that their relative occupants were two distinct people, is the only reasonable explanation of the difficulty presented by the collation of the two accounts. This explanation arises quite naturally out of the ascertained political relation of the inhabitants, and completely dismisses the supposition that the Anakim in any way belonged to the Canaanite stock.

The prophetic denunciation of the ancient seer, that “Canaan should be servant of servants to *his own brethren*,” *first*, had long been working out its fulfilment, when Israel entered the land to accomplish the second stage of the prophecy, by striking at one blow the degraded Canaan a willing servant at the feet of Shem. They had so long held the secondary place, that they were used to the yoke. One effort was made to repel the invader; one hasty, ill-organized combination was attempted. It proved unsuccessful; they yielded to a change of masters, and never sought to cast them off again. Not so the Rephaim; they were of another blood—of another spirit. We have seen two sections of this intrepid race decimated and annihilated, but never yielding a permanent submission to the conqueror. The popular saying so well known to Israel,—“*Thou hast heard, Who can stand before the children of Anak!*”—could not have thus passed into a proverb without a cause. Caleb knew, when he received a nominal authority over the land allotted to his tribe, that although the Amorites of his district were ready to bend and serve, the other haughty race that held its ground in the fortresses, was not. He knew that he could only secure the permanent possession of his inheritance by capturing the strongholds in which the Anakim had entrenched their forces. Otherwise, his posterity must only look forward to dwelling on the same terms as the Amorites had done before them. If weaker, they would be treated as dependants. If strong enough to be esteemed rivals, they would be regarded as allies or as foes, according to the caprice of the Anakim rulers. The nation that could not be subdued must be expelled from the land. When

the Canaanite population had been brought under control, special expeditions were framed against the Anakim, under the direction of Joshua; those in which Caleb and Othniel took a prominent part on their own behalf, among the number. By such means, the land was finally cleared of those dangerous rivals.

The subordinate position of the Canaanites to the Rephaim being thus made out, the collateral question,—which race had a prior claim to the land they jointly occupied?—becomes a point of secondary consequence. The indirect evidence of Scripture is divided on both sides of this question. In such a case, a candid historian is bound simply to state the matter as he finds it; and not to give his own prepossessions as a judgment, but to leave the reader to form his own decision from what evidence is producible.

On behalf of the original Canaanite claims upon central Judea, it may be urged that this region is tacitly included within the geographical definition of the primitive and lawful boundary assigned by Moses to the Canaanite race. If, in this definition, the southern boundary is left undescribed, it may be because the line of desert between Sodom and Gaza formed a natural limit easily understood. But it may be also because the Anakim settlements lay along the mountains that form the backbone of the country; so that those of the Canaanites, as far as they extended in the time of Moses, could only have been described by the two lines he draws: a western line along the sea to Gaza; an eastern line along the banks of the Jordan, from its sources at Lesha or Dan, to its final receptacle, the Dead Sea. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that every geographically descriptive reference to Hebron, in Scripture, is coupled with the idea that the land in which that city lay is “accounted to the Canaanite.”

This fact leaves it very probable that the cities of the Rephaim alluded to in Scripture as “strongly fortified and fenced up to the skies,” were only a line of military outposts, in which they stationed the garrisons that maintained their mastery over the country, and kept up a line of communication with Lower Egypt more direct than the tedious and circuitous route by the Wady Arabah and the Sinaitic desert. It may be that the Canaanite tribes formed the original population of this central mountain tract,—a pastoral, industrious, unambitious people; who had yielded themselves, while they were as yet few in numbers, to the superior power and discipline of the kindred Hamite race that erected its fortresses and planted its dominion along the heart of their land. It may be that the Anakim thus lorded it over the aboriginal population, as the Philistine branch

of the same nation subsequently spread its power over the western district, which is also "accounted to the Canaanite."

But on the other hand, it is equally probable that the two national settlements were coeval; that by the time the junior Canaanite families had spread themselves abroad so far as to reach their utmost southward limits, the Rephaim had already laid the foundation of their supremacy by building their walled cities in the strongest positions among the mountains, leaving the Canaanites to constitute the standing population of the land, but only as suburbans under their control, though they claimed no territorial right in the land, as a paternal inheritance, beyond the immediate circuit of their cities.

We have not even any direct scriptural authority for defining the utmost northward limits of the territory thus occupied by the children of Anak. The most ancient records of the human race only hint at their end;—so utterly lost is their beginning in the gloom of a recordless primeval antiquity. The account of their expulsion merely intimates that they were cut off from their strongholds, in "all the mountains of Judah" and "all the mountains of Israel." But this certainly entitles us to believe that, up to the time of Joshua, they still had possessions beyond the lot of Judah, although the three cities of Hebron, Anab, and Debir are the only ones mentioned by name as belonging to them.

There is, however, definite authority for tracing them as far north as Bethel, under circumstances that even rather appear to tell in favour of their priority of settlement. When Abraham first crossed the Jordan, and arrived near "the place of Shechem," it is remarked that "the Canaanite was then in the land;" as though the presence of Canaanites in that neighbourhood was something new (Gen. xii. 6). Moreover the peculiar locution, "*the place of Shechem*," and the fact, that this place was actually a *grove* at the time—"the grove of Moreh,"—would suggest that the city was not yet built. When Abraham returned to his first resting place, which he called Bethel, after his journey to Egypt, he found the Canaanite and the Perizzite then dwelling (or settled) in that land (Gen. xiii. 3—7). These parenthetical remarks look very much as if the Hivites and Perizzites were at that time quite new-comers in the vicinity of Bethel and Mount Ephraim.

Five centuries afterwards, we find the Ephraimites of the Bethel district complaining to Joshua^d that their land was in-

^d Josh. xvii. 14, 15. In this passage, as in the next quoted, Josh. xv. 8, the geographical and historical value of these notices is disguised in the common version

sufficient to sustain their population; and he recommends them to go down to the forest-country in the land of the Perizzites and of the Rephaim, and clear the ground for themselves, if Mount Ephraim be too narrow for them. Here is very direct scriptural evidence that a part of the country about Bethel had been known of old as "the land of the Rephaim," and still retained its name, although, when this was spoken, the Hivites had not only extended their settlements considerably southward of Shechem, even to Gibeon, but were also in possession of the city of forests,—"Kiriath-Ieárim," in the above-mentioned "forest country;" and of Chephirah, a little to the north of Jerusalem; while the Jebusite tribe were in actual possession of the metropolis, Shalem, which they had called Jebus (Josh. xv. 8, 63.) This city was thus in the very heart of the land of the Rephaim. The valley which leads to it from the south-west, and terminates in the valley of Jehoshaphat, almost in sight of the ancient citadel, is always called in Scripture "the valley of the Rephaim." All these circumstances tend to point out the deep-rooted claim of this people to the land. Indeed, no stronger proof of this can be given, than its being called by their name.

It is a very remarkable circumstance, that Jebus, which in the days of Abraham was called Shalem, is only found bearing a new name—that of a Canaanite tribe—in the time of Joshua. Such a change of name did not always follow upon a conquest; but wherever it does occur, it invariably marks a change of proprietors. The Israelites also occasionally conformed to this usage. The children of Reuben, we are told, rebuilt Heshbon, Elealeh, etc., etc., their names being changed, and gave (other) names to the cities which they built: "... and Nobah went and took Kenath and its villages, and called it Nobah after his own name." (Nu. xxxii. 37—42.) The Danites also, when they took Laish, called it by the name of Dan their father (Judges xviii. 27, 28.) Bethel itself was a name given by the Hebrew settlers to a city formerly called Luz (Judges i. 23). The recent alteration in the ancient name of Shalem is thus as strong an indication of its having passed over to the power of the Jebusite children of Heth, as its geographical position, in the very middle

by the conventional mistranslation of "Rephaim" by "*giants*." In 2 Sa. v. 18, 22; and xxiii. 13; 1 Chron. xiv. 9; and Isa. xvii. 5, it is rendered rightly as a proper local name.

* These names are unknown. When the Moabites recovered the lands taken from their territorial predecessors by the Amorites, and from these by the Israelites, many of the original names were restored: that of the capital, Heshbon, certainly must be more ancient than the Israelite conquest, since it is mentioned upwards of a century before, in the fifth year of Rameses II.

of the line along which the domains of the Rephaim are traceable, is, *per se*, strong evidence that the metropolis of Palestine originally claimed them as its masters.

The few fragments of Manetho's history which have been handed down to us by his copists—though in so garbled a form, through their own preconceived misapprehensions of his statements, as to look more like fable than the valuable historical truths they really are,—these mutilated fragments contain references which, by implication, leave no doubt upon the matter—that Shalem was once the great metropolis of the shepherd-kings. In relating the expulsion of the Hyksos by Amosis, Manetho says that they marched into the country now called Judea, where they built a city large enough to contain so great a multitude, and called it Jerusalem.^f He afterwards represents the shepherds of Goshen, who revolted from Amenophis (Menephtah, son of Rameses II.), as sending an embassy to that city for assistance, as though it were well known as the head-quarters of the government. The anachronism of confounding the return of the expelled shepherd rulers to their own metropolis, with its original foundation, may be excused in the Egyptian historian who wrote nearly fifteen centuries after the event, with nothing to guide him as to the personal history of the inimical nations but remote and imperfect traditions. The actual existence of Shalem at the time of Abraham's victory, more than a century *before* the expulsion of the shepherds from Lower Egypt, is sufficient proof that, in this respect, Manetho was mistaken. Nevertheless, the error itself virtually implies that the city was known as having belonged to that people. This indeed, among other circumstances, may have misled Josephus into confounding the exode of the shepherds in the reign of Amosis, at the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, with that of his own people during the reign of Menephtah, near the close of the nineteenth. It may also have beguiled him into his clumsy attempt at identifying the principal actors in great political revolutions of Egypt, with his own forefathers, whose part in them, as far as we can gather from what he quotes *verbatim* from Manetho, amounted to nothing more than an unsuccessful endeavour to free themselves from an unjustifiable bondage, by joining the oppressed captive race of Lower Egypt who revolted against Menephtah. For it appears that ever since the accession of the nineteenth dynasty, when the wars with the people of Palestine broke out again under Seti-Menephtah I., the Hebrew nation had been involved in the servitude to which the indigenous

^f Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, l. i., c. 14.

tribes of Goshen were subjected as a conquered people, in common with the remnant of their Hyksos abettors.

Another remarkable instance of evidence by implication, that the great metropolis of the Shepherd race of Palestine was situated in their province of Anak, is found in Manetho's dynastic lists. He calls the fifteenth dynasty of "foreign kings who also took Memphis," *Phœnicians*. I shall have to instance other confirmations besides the present case of Bochart's important suggestion, that the Greek form *Φοινικες* is derived from the Hebrew פִּנְיָ, *ônk*—read according to the primary value of the letters without the points—and with *p* (the Egyptian article) prefixed: *Φ-οινικ-ες* is exactly equivalent, verbally and grammatically, to פִּנְיָ the *Onkites*, or *Anakim*. For the present, we may safely admit the resemblance of *form*, and the consequent etymological inference, that, from the extensive influence this powerful nation obtained over the whole *land* of Palestine, its *people* collectively became known to subsequent generations as the *Onkites* or *Phœnicians*, without distinction of race; and then, by a further extension of the same idea, the name of *Phœnicia* became the Greek equivalent of *Canaan*, or—to speak more correctly—a conventional geographical substitute for the Hebrew patronymic.

Now although Manetho calls these six kings of the fifteenth dynasty *Phœnicians*, as coming from the land of *ônk* or *Anak*, because their chief royal city was *Shalem* in the province of *Anak*, it is nevertheless manifest, by his historical narrative, that they were of the *Royal* *Shepherds*—*Hyksos*—or chief tribe of the *Zuzim*, whose particular province was *Bashan*; for the names of these kings in the lists, and duration of their reigns, substantially correspond to the names quoted in the detailed account extracted by Josephus from his history, of the wonderful manner in which they gained a footing in Lower Egypt, without fighting; the ready submission of the population, and their final election of a king from among their race, who established his court at *Memphis*. All this implies, as clearly as historical records can speak, that the sovereign chiefs of the elder Shepherd state—that of the *Zuzim*, who were regarded by the other tribes as the political and military head of their national confederacy, and who took the lead in the conquest of Egypt—had fixed the seat of their government in the most central point of their extensive domains, which was *Shalem* in the province of *Anak*.

The part taken by the king of *Shalem*, when the allied Asiatic kings who had invaded the *Rephaim* were suddenly discomfited by Abraham's well-directed expedition, is another

instance pointing to the same conclusion. For had this king-priest been no greater a personage than the local chief of the particular tribe of Rephaim called Anakim, there are no sufficient grounds apparent in the historical account of the transaction in Gen. xiv., why he should be presented with a tenth of the spoils which the enemy had taken from another tribe of Rephaim called Emim, and which Abraham had rescued and restored to them; neither can we satisfactorily make out why the king of Shalem should receive this tenth so evidently as a right conceded by the Emim chief of Sodom. But the moment the important fact comes in by way of explanation, supported by sufficient extrinsic evidence, that the king of Shalem was the supreme chief of the entire nation, and the local chiefs of tribes were his subordinates, the whole transaction becomes perfectly intelligible, because we understand the mutual relation of all the parties concerned in it. As feudal lord of the land in which Abraham had settled, Abraham paid him this tribute. As head of the national body to which the Emim belonged, the chief of the Emim sanctioned it. As head of the state in religious as well as in temporal concerns, according to the primitive patriarchal order, Melchizedek received the tribute, both as a votive offering of gratitude from the givers for the rescue of the goods, and as an acknowledgment of his lordship over the goods rescued.

Besides these numerous tokens that Shalem was the metropolis of the whole nation, and not of the children of Anak only, we have a direct intimation to the same effect in some occasional references to Hebron, which indicate that city as the metropolis of the Anakim. For instance (Josh. xiv. 15): "The name of Hebron, formerly, was the city of Arbâ, he who is the great man of the Anakim;"⁹ a primitive and very expressive equivalent for the chieftain of the tribe. It further appears that this dignitary bore the name of his city as a title of supremacy; for we have again, in Josh. xv. 13, "The city of Arbâ the father of the Anakite, this is Hebron." The primeval city, or rather citadel, seems to have been the true city of Arbâ, the original foundation; and the local name, Hebron, (the *confederacy*) may have been subsequently given to the collective group of this citadel and its Amorite suburb—all that was included within the outer wall. Both names, however, are more ancient than

⁹ הָאִישׁ הַגָּדוֹל בְּאֶנְכִּים הוּא. "The great man among the Anakim is he." The common translation (*which Arba*) was a great man among the Anakim, is a misinterpretation; "*which Arba*" is not in the text; the emphatic pronoun of actual existence, הוּא *he is*, cannot be rendered by a past tense, and the definite article ה precedes אִישׁ *the man*.

the Israelite establishment, since both are found on Egyptian monuments a century older than the conquest, under the corresponding forms **ABO** and **CHERBU** or **CHEBRU**, denoting the same locality and people. The *proprietary* name, "the city of Arbâ," was dropped when the Anakim lost the dominion over the place; but the *local* name, Hebron, was retained.

It is a striking peculiarity that the recurrence, both of local names as names of persons who were chiefs of the places, and of the title "father" of the place, is very frequent indeed in the genealogies of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin who succeeded the Rephaim in a land where such local names and titles had been a matter of long-established custom; whereas there is not a single instance of these peculiarities in the genealogical lists of the other tribes.^a

There is monumental evidence that Shalem still bore its original name in the time of Rameses III., up to the fifth year of his reign, when the submission of **SHALĀM'U'NA** and of several Philistine cities are recorded as among his greatest triumphs. From this, we gather that the encroachments of the Hivites and Jebusites on the northern quarters of the Anakim, were very recent in the days of Joshua. The same might be inferred from the ease with which the Israelite host were able to rout the confederate Canaanite communities; shewing how little their power in the land was consolidated.

We shall be better prepared to trace the progress of Rameses III., and his conquests in the land of the Rephaim, when we have gone through the next section of this history, relating to the Philistines, who occupy a conspicuous, though not very honourable position, in the monumental memorials of the last Egyptian war against the Rephaim. In the present, we will limit ourselves to establishing the identity of the few local names referable to the land of Anak which the historical inscriptions afford; and this, at the same time, will bring the history of the Anakim up to the period of Rameses III., and of the final catastrophe of the nation.

Some among the grounds of local and verbal correspondence on which I was led to infer the identity of the formidable **ABO** people who appear so conspicuously in the sculptures of Medinet-Abou, with the Anakim of Kiriath-Arbâ, have been already stated. The geographical proximity of the Anakim and Philistines is one among many corroborative proofs of this identity;

^a Refer to the following passages:—1 Chron. ii. 24, 42, 44, 45, 49—51; iv. 3—5, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18. In the Benjamite district:—1 Chron. viii. 29; ix. 35. Among these are numerous instances of individuals assuming territorial names.

for the appearance of both these people on the same monuments, under the names of PULSA'TA and RBO, as engaged in the same wars, whether for or against Egypt, proves at least that they must have been near neighbours.

The earliest mention of the metropolis of Anak on monuments, occurs in the time of Rameses II., in the expedition against the Shethite Rephaim already referred to, when we meet with its local name, CHERBU=Hebron, in the explanatory inscriptions; RBO=Arbâ, also occurs in the legend affixed to the body of the chief drowned before ATESH, as a prefix to his proper name. The captives of this people are distinctly recognizable by their remarkable costume.

The name of another city of the Anakim, called TAHI, and sometimes TAH'N or TAH'N'NU, appears on the monuments at a much earlier period, and more frequently, than the former. Its radical Egyptian form, TAHI, exactly corresponds to the radical Hebrew form תַּיִתָּה, which, with the points, is read Iuttah. The site is still extant by name in *Yuttd*, a village about seven miles south of Hebron, on the border of the desert of Judea. Iuttah was one of the Levitical cities.

The costume of the TAH'N'NU people is already a strong proof that this was their fortress; for even if we had not found a site near RBO, corresponding to their name, the resemblance of their costume to that of the RBO people would have sufficed to point them out as a tribe of Anakim.

But there is another remarkable circumstance which, if it would be of little value by itself, cannot be overlooked when added to this double correspondence of locality and costume. I have already had occasion to notice how the two synonyms of the same city, Arbâ and Hebron, are rendered into Greek by the Alexandrian translators of the Bible in a manner more closely resembling the Egyptian versions of those names, than the pronunciation assigned to them by the modern pointed Hebrew text; viz., RBO, רְבוֹ 'Αρβωκ; and CHERBU חֶרְבּוֹ Χερβων. In the first name, they render the true primary vocal power of the final guttural ׀; in the second, they, like the Egyptian, give a strong aspirated guttural power to the initial ח.ⁱ

Now in the Septuagint version of תַּיִתָּה (Iuttah), the result of a similar comparison is still more remarkable. They seem to have purposely gone out of the way of the Hebrew

ⁱ In another name, Heshbon חֶשְׁבּוֹן—where the same letter has only a vowel power, with a very slight aspiration absorbed by the next radical, and the Egyptian SHEB'TUN does not express it; the Septuagint likewise disregard it, and have not even given the sign of aspiration to the initial, 'Εσβων. Ptolemy the same,—in his form, 'Εσβουρα.

radical form, *by making additions to it*, in so pointed a manner as to suggest a suspicion that, up to their time, popular tradition, in Egypt, might yet have handed down a remembrance of the true situation of the lands once tenanted by her enemies, and that they availed themselves of the knowledge. For Iuttah is only mentioned twice in the Bible; in the first instance that occurs, the list of Judean cities, Josh. xv. 55, they render it *Ἰτάν*, like the Egyptian composite form ΤΑΗ'Ν; and in the second instance, the list of Levitical cities (Josh. xxi. 16), they imitate the *peculiarly* idiomatic Egyptian form ΤΑΗ'Ν'ΝΥ, by rendering it *Tavò*.

From its having been made a Levitical city, we might conclude that Iuttah was formerly a place of consequence. Its prominent position on the border of the desert, facing the entrance into the vale of Eshcol, so as to shelter Anab, Debir, and all the southern cities of the valley, must have made it a post of great importance to the children of Anak; and being the first of their cities on the line of march towards Hebron, it was necessarily the first frontier-fortress that an enemy entering from the south would attack. Accordingly, in case of invasion, the whole force of the nation would be concentrated on that critical point. Iuttah was therefore the scene of frequent engagements. Every Egyptian conqueror who has any sculptured memorials of his prowess to boast of, has recorded a victory over the ΤΑΗ'Ν'ΝΥ as one of his greatest triumphs.

The statistical tablet of Karnak,^j one of the most ancient systematic records of Egyptian conquest extant, introduces the Anakim who garrisoned the fortress of Iuttah, at the very opening of the list:

"In the twenty-ninth year, then his majesty (was in the land of ΤΑΗ) about to molest all the abominable lands in it in the fifth expedition with his force; then the fortress of the UA·UA·^k was captured by his majesty those who were the good, surrounding his majesty, did all as appointed, and his majesty went to the treasury of offering and received the pure and good things of . . . (name lost) with bulls and steers and waterfowl brought by the descendants of the vanquished of that land, one chief of the fort, 329 men, 100 ingots of gold, tin (?), copper, and vases of brass and iron. Then was the loading of the ships . . . all other good things as his majesty went on his return towards Egypt . . . in triumph: after that his majesty sacked the fort of the ΛRD·TU of its corn, and smote all its arms: after that his majesty went to the

^j From Mr. Birch's dissertation; *Trans. R. S. of Literature*, vol ii., 2nd series.

^k The Egyptians often double monosyllabic names. This, like the κση, must not be confounded with a negro people of a similar name. ΛΥ is also found in the *Asiatic series* of the list of Seti-Menephtah at Karnak.

land of TAHI in triumph their fine wine in their waters likewise their corn of navigating their waters, their infinite for bread of offering; honey 6428 measures of wine, (metals) 618 bulls, 3686 goats,¹ bread, corn, flour."

Although a name and several words are missing in the above first line of this valuable memorial, it is sufficiently intelligible to yield several confirmations of the identity of Iuttah with the TAHI therein referred to.

Firstly, we need only look at a map of Palestine to see that the ARD'TU and UA'UA collocated with TAHI both find their correspondents in the Canaanite city Arad, very near Iuttah, and in the אַרְבִּי Avvim of the south-country, neighbours of the Philistines (Josh. xiii. 3) ; whose district, according to Moses (Deut. ii. 23), had been seized by the Caphtorim who came forth from Caphtor—the shepherds expelled from the Delta, who established themselves near the Philistines in the Goshen of Judea.

Secondly, the produce of the land, as described by Dr. E. Robinson (quoted in the beginning of this chapter), agrees equally well with the rich booty of *corn* and *fine wine* carried off by the victorious Egyptians. Kiriath-Anab, the city of Anak in the vale of Eshcol, covered by this very fortress of Iuttah, is literally "*the city of grapes*;" and the vale itself received its name from the luxuriance of the sample-clusters brought back by the spies (Nu. xiii. 24).

Between the decisive conquests of Thothmes III. and the close of the eighteenth dynasty, the historical monuments of Egypt merely affirm from time to time the tributary state of a few among the inimical tribes, but relate no fresh victories, and all memorials of the kind disappear prior to the close of that dynasty.

The course of active warfare begins again with the nineteenth dynasty, after Seti-Menephtah had again driven the SHAS'U from Pelusium. This time, hostilities do not cease from reign to reign, until the enemies of Egypt have been exterminated. The children of Anak were not inactive in the last deadly struggle. On the contrary, while, from their geographical position, they were sure to be the first attacked, the Egyptian annals concur with Scripture in testifying that they were the last to yield. One of the earliest triumphs of Seti-Menephtah was a signal victory over the TAH'N'NU; a cast of the battle-scene is hung above the staircase leading to the gallery of antiquities, in the British Museum. A long train of captives, and a rich array of spoils, were presented by the

¹ This item indicates a mountainous country.

Theban king to his gods in the temple of Amun. This is the first known representation of the children of Anak and their manly, picturesque costume, of which a description will be given with the rest in the concluding chapter of this account.

The records of the successes obtained by the great Rameses II. over the Anakim, are equally rich in graphic particulars. In the sculptures of the Ramesseum, he is represented killing one chief of the TAH'N'NU with his own hand, while his foot rests on the neck of another. This symbolical method of denoting complete subjugation was apparently customary in Palestine (comp. Josh. x. 24). There is monumental evidence that Rameses II. had made himself master of the principal fortresses of Anak, prior to his invasion of the Shethite Rephaim in the fifth year of his reign. For it was in the land of Iuttah that his force was at first encamped; and he afterwards seized the camp of the Shethites in the land of Hebron or CHERBU. This incident is represented in the Abou-Simbel tableau of the expedition, where the Egyptians are evidently in possession of the camp, and are rejoicing in security over the booty; and the mention of Caphar-barucha (near Hebron) in the Anastasi papyrus itinerary, as "*CAFIRI, the house of Ramessu, the fortress of the CHERBU,*" further corroborates the fact that the king, at this time, actually was in possession of the place. Indeed, if he had not previously made himself master of the whole route through Judea, he could not have penetrated to the land of the SHET'TA (Shittim) that way. The ready surrender of the SHAS'U (Zuzim) on that occasion, also argues that he had already obtained such advantages over their kindred, as to leave the intimidated SHAS'U no hope of a successful resistance.

Driven from their capital by the Egyptian conqueror, the Anakim, seeing that the camp of their Shethite brethren had also been taken, followed them across the Jordan, to aid them against the threatened invasion. The people of Hebron and the Amorites bore an active part in the fight before ATESH. The few incidents thus selected for pictorial illustration by the Egyptian hieragrammatists—not because they embody all the notable deeds of their sovereign, but because those were the deeds which most glorified his name, whether from the importance of the victory, or from the prowess and celebrity of the conquered foe—those incidents speak highly for the dauntless bravery of the Anakim, and for their immoveable fidelity to their brethren and to their national cause.

The CHERBU or CHEBRU, alias RBO, and the TAHI or TAH'N'NU, are the only monumental names traceable, with any certainty, to particular cities mentioned in the Bible as situated in

the Anakim territory. But the name of the nation itself is of frequent occurrence, whether in memorials of conquest or in tributary lists, during the whole period of the warfare. The name which heads the Asiatic series in the great list of Seti-Menephtah at Karnak (vide *Onomasticon*, plate, col. v., fig. 27) is the full group which stands for the land of the Anakim; though it is oftener written with the last character of that group only. The full group reads: MNA'T'UN*** *land of the shepherds of**** I here express with *** that last character, the figure of a neck-collar or bracelet. It is not a letter, but an ideograph, the *sound* of which has not yet been determined, though its *sense*, when it occurs alone, as a name, is generally taken to denote the hitherto unknown *land of the shepherds*, from its following in the present group a series of phonetic characters which have that signification. On this account it has been assumed to be only the *determinative* of that group. But in the progress of this enquiry, I have found reason to believe that this is only a *part* of the truth. The following decisive facts will help us to attain the whole. They contain in themselves such a clear indication of the *particular land* the unknown character stands for, that this essential point, once obtained, may perhaps in its turn give us a clue to the true reading of the character.

In the first place, the proof that this character denotes *geographically* Southern Judea—i. e., the land once belonging to the Anakim, is, that in the list of the conquests of Shishak, at Karnak,^o it denotes the land invaded by that monarch when he went up against the king of Judah. Now we know from the Bible that the domains of Rehoboam were the lands of Judah and Benjamin; and also, that Shishak penetrated as far as Jerusalem, from whence, according to the custom of Egyptian conquerors, he carried off as spoils "the treasures of the house of the Lord, and of the king's house." (1 Kings xiv. 26.) In their memorial, the Egyptians have not changed the name of the land, though it had fallen under the rule of a different

^m Vide for this group *Onomasticon*, col. v., fig. 27, Anakim group.

ⁿ An explanation of this term may be of use to those who are not familiar with the peculiarities of Egyptian writing. Egyptian proper names are sometimes spelt with letters, and sometimes written with syllabic characters, or with a single ideographic character; but in all cases, the grammatical formatives of gender, number, etc., are followed by a peculiar symbol by which we know whether the name be that of a man, woman, god, chief, house, or land. This symbol is called the *determinative sign*. The *three mountains* at the end of the proper names in the *Onomasticon* are the det. s. of a *foreign land*.

^o On the south wall; here, Champollion read IUTAH'MALK, *Kingdom of Judah*, in the list of names. Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. 148.

people. That land is the hill-country of Judea, which belonged to the Anakim, and geographically includes Jerusalem.

In the next place, that character denotes *ethnographically* the land belonging to the people of which the RBO, TAH'N'NU, MASHUASH, and Philistines were sections; i. e., the land of the Anakim. There are several evidences of this. Firstly: in the long inscription (subsequently quoted) it forms the *name* in the group which stands for the proper name of the land invaded by Rameses in his first expedition,^p and this name is immediately followed by the well-known group TAH'N'NU as the particular locality of the battle; the notices of this victory, in the presentation of captives, also state that the contest took place in the land of TAHI,^q and the prisoners are the RBO. Secondly: in the war which closed with the twelfth year of his reign, Rameses III., when presenting long chains of RBO and T'AKKAR'U captives to Amun-Ra, is congratulated by the god for his victory over the people whose name is written with that character—and the RBO of Arbâ are Anakim.

In fact, these two tribes, the Anakim and the Philistines of Scripture, or their subdivisions, are the only people ever mentioned on Egyptian inscriptions, as directly referable to and as forming a part of the collective body implied by the name for which that character stands. This quite tallies with its use to express the land invaded by Shishak. The inference from these instances, both of positive and of negative evidence, is obvious: that it is not the land of the shepherd-races generally, but only *that particular part of it occupied by the children of Anak*, which is the region expressed in Egyptian inscriptions and memorials, either by the full group MNA'T'UN * * * (neck-collar or bracelet figure), or by that figure alone with its appropriate grammatical affixes. Its geographical and ethnographical *sense* is "the land" or "race of Anak"—although the *sound* or proper name it represents, may be unknown.^r

When the Egyptians meant to express the land of the

^p Vide the group 27, b, col. v., Anakim group, of the *Onomasticon*. The character is the *proper name* written ideographically, followed by the sign of *gender*, then the det. s. of a *race*, a man and woman, with its *plural* sign, three strokes=u, and the det. s. of a *foreign land*. "Land of the race (or nation) of * * *."

^q Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. 135.

^r The following suggestion of its probable reading occurred to me from the interpretation given in Chevalier Bunsen's vocabulary of the Egyptian word *anka*, "to clasp." The Hebrew root כּוּץ *ank* has the same radical signification, and its noun denotes a collar or an ornament of some kind, that fastens round the neck. According to the genius of the Egyptian and Hebrew languages, the name of any *clasp* object derived from this root, whether a bracelet or collar, would be called an *ank*, and the figure of the object would thus become an ideograph to denote the name of a synonymous region; as a throne (*hes*) writes the name of Isis; a hawk in

shepherd-people generally, or the shepherd-race collectively, without any particular reference to distinctions of district or tribe, they employed another epithet, the origin and etymology of which are unknown,—the TEMAH'U. This may be regarded as the Egyptian equivalent to their Biblical name 'Rephaim.' It occurs frequently in the conquests of Rameses III., where it can have no other sense. In his first expedition, he is said to have conquered all the lands of the TEMAH'U; but we find, by the details of the conquest, that it includes Jerusalem, besides several Anakim and Philistine localities. Again, when Rameses was starting on his last expedition, Amun-Ra says he goes before him "to prepare his way in the lands of the TEMAH'U;" yet on his return we find among his trophies and memorials of victory, not only the names of the Anakim and Philistines, but also those of all the other tribes of Rephaim and names of localities in their lands.*

The tombs of the Theban kings are embellished with figures, which from their costumes and epithets are evidently intended to represent the subjects and foreign vassals of the sovereigns doing them homage. In that of Seti-Menephtah, there are four nations, bearing the following epithets:—1. The RT'U "*the race*"—the Theban Egyptians. 2. The NAHS'U or "*rebels*"—the aboriginal negroes of Ethiopia, who were always revolting. 3. The SHEM'U "*Shemites*"—the Aramites. 4. The TEMAH'U, who here represent the Rephaim, claimed as subjects of Theban Egypt by right of conquest. The costume of the SHEM'U, in these groups, is the type of the Aramean Horites; and that of the TEMAH'U is—even to the minutest detail—that of the monumental RBO and TAH'N'NU. In its leading features, it also resembles that of the SHET'TA; and a still more ancient memorial, which will be described in the sequel, points out that costume as the original national costume of the Rephaim.

The Philistines are so deeply involved in the last struggle of the Anakim with Egypt, that, before we conclude our notice of the fortunes and fall of that remarkable people, it will be desirable to trace out their primary connexion with Pelesheth, so far as the limited materials furnished us by a few passing allusions

a square, the name of Hathor, or as we might write *Turkey* ideographically, by a figure of that bird. If this suggestion were admissible, we should have in Manetho's "*Phœnician Shepherds*," both a literal and a grammatical equivalent of the hieroglyphic group in *Onomasticon*, fig. 27, col. v.; MNA'T'U'N ANKA, "*People of the shepherd-land of Anka*." MNA denotes a shepherd or herdsman.

* In the expedition of Rameses II. against the SHET'TA, the two ambassadors of the SHAS'U who come to tender their allegiance are styled in Rosellini's version, "*brethren shepherds of the race MAHUT*." This name seems a transposed form of TEMAH'U.

to them in the sacred authors are able to afford a shade of assurance on a subject avowedly so obscure.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Philistines.

The Philistines are first introduced to our notice, by name, when Abraham passed through their land on his return from Lower Egypt. At that time, they do not appear to have been an important tribe as to numbers; for their chieftain, Abimelech or "*the Royal Father*," considered Abraham's retinue as quite on a par with his own, and was glad to secure the friendship and alliance of the wealthy patriarch by the compact of Beersheba. They had not acquired much additional importance in the days of Isaac, since we find them jealous of his prosperity, and in fear that he was becoming mightier than they. (Gen. xxvi. 14—16.) This state of things would indicate, at the time, their very recent separation from the parent tribe out of which they had sprung.

All the habitable lands beyond Gaza, the Mosaic limit of the Canaanites, were the original apanage of the Mizraimite race, of which we have, in Gen. x. 14, a positive affirmation that the Philistines were a sub-tribe. The valley of Gerar must therefore have marked the northern limit of the primitive Philistines' original location. Their extension southward is unknown, but cannot have been considerable, since the very name of their tribe, "Pelishtim," points out that this branch of the Rapha people had taken up a maritime position.¹ To look for them inland beyond the valley of Beersheba would be fruitless; all scriptural references to the mountain and desert strongholds southward of Judea, indicate as their owners the Amalekites, a branch of the Shethite Rephaim, and suggest that these were the original population: "The Amalekites, Geshurites and Gerezites were of old the inhabitants of the land as thou goest to Shur, even unto the land of Egypt." (1 Sam. xxvii. 8.) The chief cities of Amalek, ravaged by Saul, come under the same geographical description: "Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah till thou comest to Shur which is before Egypt." (1 Sam. xv. 7.) The report of the spies (Nu. xiv. 29) gives out that the Amalekites dwelt in the land to the south of the Anakim and

¹ *וּפָלַשְׁתִּים* to roll over, describing the action of the waves on the shore. *Pelasheth* *פֶּלֶשֶׁת* "seashore-land."

the Amorites. No room is therefore left for the Philistines, but the maritime district connecting the Delta with Canaan proper.

Their extension inland being limited to the valley of Beer-sheba, is one circumstance pointing out the origin of their establishment; for this valley is only a continuation of the vale of Eshcol through an opening in the Judean hills, and it extends westward to the sea.

All the country intersected by this line of wadys, and further east to the border of the naked mountain-desert, is described by recent travellers as a vast tract of low undulating swells clothed with luxuriant pastures. It was therefore admirably adapted to the wants of a tribe whose chief wealth was cattle. A corresponding description of this country occurs in 1 Chron. iv. 39, 40: "They (the Simeonites) went to the entrance of Gedor, eastward of the valley, to seek pasture for their flocks; and they found rich and good pasture, and the land was extensive, quiet, and at peace. But they of Ham had formerly dwelt there."^a

The Philistines of the Mosaic period are not altogether the same people as those contemporaneous with Abraham. An important accession to their numbers had accrued to them from a kindred stock, on the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt. A great number of emigrants from the Delta were among the number, and it seems that these established themselves in the pastoral region of the Avim, and subsequently extended themselves northward, becoming intimately blended with the Philistines. From that time, they are no more heard of as a separate nation, though the prophets, many centuries after, intimate their subsequent connexion with the Philistines, as a well-known fact. Jeremiah says (chap. xlvii. 4),—

"For Jehovah ravageth the Pelishtim,
The remnant of the abode of Caphtor."

And Amos likewise (chap. ix. 7) considers the Philistines as the descendants of a people whose deliverance from political annihilation in Caphtor, he places in poetical parallelism with the corresponding deliverance of Hebrews:—

"Have I not brought up Israel from the land of Mizraim,
The Pelishtim from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir?"

Which is a palpable allusion to the great army of shepherds who marched out of Egypt after capitulating with Amosis, and who established themselves in Palestine. Those who belonged

^a "They of Ham," *i. e.*, the Amalekites, whom these Simeonites destroyed, and pursued the remnant into Mount Seir, whither they had fled.

to the Rephaim nation, returned to their tribe. Those of Lower Egypt who accompanied them, settled in the south; and we subsequently find the district in which they settled bearing the significant name of Goshen.

With the addition of such a large body of warriors to their former numbers, it is not surprising that the Philistines, whom we saw, in the days of Abraham and Isaac, an inconsiderable pastoral tribe, should have suddenly become sufficiently powerful to take and retain possession of five Canaanite principalities on the coast northward of Gerar; so as to be found, in the time of the Judges, one of the most warlike and formidable nations of Palestine, the terror and scourge of the twelve tribes of Israel.

I apprehend that the offspring of this colony of expatriated Caphtorim from Goshen, are the people alluded to under the description of "the children of Anak descended from the *nephilim*," in the report of the terrified spies. This word, from the root נפ to fall, sink, settle, cast down, etc., has been translated by *giants* in our common version, quite as inappropriately as "Rephaim." The associated reference to the stature of the people may have beguiled the translators into admitting this misinterpretation of a term to the true sense of which they had no historical clue. One secondary sense of the root נפ is "to settle," which some critics assign to it in Gen. xxv. 18: "Ishmael settled in the presence of his brethren." Perhaps the idea in the text we are analyzing may be the same, and the derivative noun נָפִי may mean *one who is settled*. It is also likely that this noun, which is of the perfect participial form, like the corresponding form ἐκπεπτωκώς of the Greek radical πετ (=πιπτω, I fall,) may be susceptible of a corresponding extension of meaning; inf., to *fall out*; perf. part., *one who is cast out*, an exile, refugee." In order to include the ideas implied in both these possible derivations of an ambiguous root, we may venture to translate it by *refugee*, viz., a person cast out from one place, settled in another. "We have also seen the refugees—the children of Anak who come of the refugees: and we were in our own eyes as grasshoppers, and so were we in their eyes!"

This compound race being here called "the children of Anak," is one circumstance which points to that branch of the great Rapha stock as the parent of the primitive Philistine sub-tribe, rather than to the direct elder branch. This also agrees

* Others suppose it to mean, he sank, fell, i. e., died; so our authorized version.

* Some interpreters assign to נָפִי the signification of *robbers*, people who *fall upon*—assault—others. The grammatical form is against this interpretation; as, if that were its sense, the form would have been the *present* participial, נֹפְלִים Nophlim.

better with the geographical position of their earliest known settlement, which, as I remarked before, was neither more nor less than a continuous line of communication kept up from the pass that leads out of the vale of Eschcol along the Wady-es-Sebâ, and through the ancient stations Raphæa and Rhinocolura, to Pelusium on the eastern frontier of the Delta.

Another still stronger token that the Philistines claimed original affinity to the tribe of Anak, is found in the peculiar head-dress of the nation. It consists of a helmet surmounted by a circular crown of tall upright feathers, precisely like that characteristic of the Egyptian goddess *ANK*, whose name, in Greek inscriptions, is rendered *Ἀνουκίς*. This is the same name as Onka, the Phœnician Athene; and this goddess was so evidently the patronymic of their original land and nation, that her Phœnician name is better rendered by the primary Hebrew or Phœnician power of the letters composing their national tribe-name *ONK* *𐤀𐤍𐤊*, than by the modern Hebrew conversion of it into Anak. The Judean branch of the Rapha nation assumed the religious denomination of "children of Onka,"—Onkites or "Phœnicians," to distinguish their family from the elder tribe, whose local patronymic was the goddess Ashtaroth; just as the southern transjordanic branch assumed the religious denomination of children of Suth or Sheth, Shethites or Shittim, to distinguish theirs. And the junior province of Pelesheth wore the badge of *ANK* or Onka on their heads, in battle, to shew their affinity to one tribe, and to distinguish themselves from the others; just as the Zuzim of Bashan are found wearing the badge of *ASTRTA* or Ashtaroth on theirs, and for the self-same reasons.

If we feel thus far warranted in regarding "the Pelishtim, who came out of the Casluhim," as a junior branch parted off from the parent stock of Anak at a comparatively late period, we shall easily apprehend the prime cause of their unrelenting animosity towards the Israelites, whom they regarded as interlopers in the domains of their injured brethren of Anak. The part we always find them taking in the later political movements of Palestine, as allies of the Amalekites and Ammonites, are perfectly in accordance with the same view.

If we regard them, not only as a nation of kindred extraction with the Mizraim of Lower Egypt, according to the evidence of Scripture; but also as kindred to those Rephaim who occupied Lower Egypt in the time of Abraham, and ruled it according to the usages of their own nation, as the traces of the local worship of the Philistines, and their personal peculiarities and costume in monumental representations, suggest, we shall

also understand the resemblance of certain customs in both lands, casually disclosed to us in the narrative of Abraham's journeys to both, which appear more like a repetition of the self-same adventure in other words, than like two accounts of separate transactions.

But if, according to the more commonly current notion, we look upon the Mizraim as colonists of no other country but Egypt; the position of this outlying tribe, dwelling geographically and politically apart for unnumbered centuries from the rest of its kindred, isolated from all the concerns and institutions of Egypt, forms, it must be admitted, an ethnological anomaly exceedingly difficult to explain.

We may seek to evade the difficulty by following the opinion wrought out with great labour and ingenuity by some of the most distinguished scholars in archæological research of Germany, who assign to the Philistines an origin altogether foreign to Palestine. But in that case, we must be prepared to set aside the scriptural affirmation, that they are an offset of a particular Mizraimite family; we must sacrifice the unequivocal statement of an ancient contemporaneous historian, who had the main facts close at hand from his immediate ancestors, in order to make way for conjectures originating in analogies of language, names, and religion, which certainly are very striking and very significant; but which are fortunately susceptible of being construed the other way. It has yet to be shewn, and can be shewn, that the facts from which the foreign origin of the Philistines has been argued have been read backwards in that conclusion; that the uniform traces of settlement and tradition dispersed over the Mediterranean coast region by Pelasgic, Phœnician, and Egypto-Phœnician colonies are rather indications that they were founded by a nation whose original homestead was Palestine; that instead of bringing their religious traditions into the East from the West, these nations carried them out into the West from the East; and that the Philistines themselves are only a remnant of several branches of that nation, reunited into a political body which long outlived the nominal extinction of the others, and the expulsion of its head from their own territories.

Thus only, while strictly following the Bible as far as it will lead us, and construing all extrinsic evidences in conformity with its fundamental statements, can we avoid the error of taking a part for the whole,—as Movers, for instance, when he identifies the Hyksôs invaders of Egypt with the Phœnicians, who—as the Onkites or Anakim—were only a member of the great confederate Shepherd body, and not even its head;—or the other

error of mistaking the branch for the root, with Calmet and his followers, who would trace the Philistines originally from Crete, at the suggestion of Ezekiel's parallelism of the Cherethites and Philistines. If Crete really were called so, after the Cherethites, it is just as likely that it was because a colony kindred to the Philistines was established in that island. Would not the city *Phœnice* of Crete (Acts xxvii. 12) be thought just as likely to owe its name to a Phœnician commercial station, than to have been the original centre of the Phœnician people? If there was a *Caphtora* in Crete, and another in Cappadocia—and a *Goshen* in Palestine,—is it not much more likely that these isolated settlements in the midst of nations altogether foreign in race to the scriptural Caphtorim of Mizraim, may mark out the refuge of their dispersed remnant, rather than their original homesteads?

The Philistines do not appear by name on the monumental annals of Egypt until the time of Rameses III. It is only after their union with the refugees from Lower Egypt, and their establishment in the Canaanite cities of the coast, that they acquired sufficient political consequence to become independent of Anak, both as a state, and as a subject of hostility on the part of Egypt. Before that time they may have fought in the ranks of the Anakim, and thus would be included under the general denomination of that people, the "MNA" or shepherds of * * * (Anka?)

Nevertheless the Philistine people are not unrepresented in earlier memorials. In the Luxor version of the attack of ATESH, among a row of figures in a boat approaching the city, we discern some attired in the peculiar high crown, and short kilt and corslet, of the Philistine. A people whose name reads KESH or GSH were among those whom the SHET-*TA* summoned to their assistance on that occasion. As it is utterly impossible that these should be the black KSH-KSH of the land Cush or Ethiopia beyond the cataracts, who are always represented as negroes, and whose name is written with the same characters, it is most probable that the laud of Goshen is thereby intended. Not the original Goshen of the Delta, whose land had become part of the Egyptian dominions, but that of the expatriated Goshen of Palestine colonized among the Philistines, who ultimately spread their dominion northwards, even to near Gibeon (Comp. Josh. x. 41; xi. 16). And if the descendants of this immigrant body became the bulk of the Philistine population, we must not look for any other costume in a pictorial representation of them, but that of the Philistines.

The monumental form of the Scripture local name Pelesheth

is PULSA'TA. The radicals are exactly the same as the Hebrew form פֶּלֶשׁ, and where the vowels differ, the Septuagint form again gives us an approximation to the Egyptian version which cannot be accidental—Φυλιστιειμ, in Gen. x. 14; the only instance in which they render the proper name at all.*

In another Philistine dependency, Ekron, Ἔκρον, we may safely recognize the ΤΑΚΚΑΡ'U people, a conspicuous name on the Egyptian monuments, constantly associated with the PULSA'TA, and whose costume is exactly the same. The modern name of the place is *Akir*. The prefixed *T* is probably the article, equivalent to the Hebrew prefix ת in תִּקְוָה, "the Ekronite," which the Egyptians took for part of the name, as the Greeks did the φ in Φοινίκες, *Phenicians*. The Septuagint have again imitated in their form Ἀκκαρων, the Egyptian *expedient* of doubling the *k*, in order to imitate the rough guttural sound of the Hebrew כ, for which they had no true equivalent.

Three more names of Philistine people are found in the same monumental series. One, written under a row of prisoners taken with the PULSA'TA, and wearing the same costume, reads TWINUNA, for which I cannot recognize any equivalent in the scriptural lists and notices. The two others are in the long inscription of Medinet-Abou, and the names have for their determinative a Philistine prisoner. This leaves no choice as to the region in which we must look for their equivalents. The first, ASHAK'NA, agrees with אֶשְׁכָּנָה, Azekah, a city of note at the head of the vale of Elah (Josh. x. 10, 11; 1 Sa. xvii. 1). The other, ALAIU, is most probably Aialon, Ἰαλὼν (now *Yalo*), in the same neighbourhood.† Both these places are situated between ΤΑΚΚΑΡ (Ekron), and SHALÂM'U'NA (Shalem), mentioned in the same inscription.

CHAPTER XV.

Final Wars of the Anakim with Egypt.

Having thus far gone through the technical analysis of the names, we are now prepared to follow up the incidents to which they give us a key, in the most important series of campaigns

* In all the historical references, the Septuagint paraphrase the proper name by οἱ ἄλλοφυλοι, *those of another tribe*, i. e., different from the Canaanites, or the Hebrews.

† Azekah and Aialon were noted strongholds, and are both named among the fortresses repaired by Rehoboam to strengthen his frontier against Shishak (2 Chron. xi. 9).

conducted by Rameses III., leader of the twentieth dynasty; which laid the Rephaim of Palestine prostrate among the surrounding nations, opened the gates of the land to the children of Israel, and transferred into their hand the yoke of Canaan.

The Rephaim of Bashan had bowed before Rameses II. The Emim had braved his power twenty years, and ended by making peace with him. Exhausted by a prolonged furious warfare, both nations were glad of a truce. A new generation arose, and a new king reigned in Egypt, Pthahmen or Menephtah, the Amenophis of Manetho, a weak prince, who was entirely under the control of the priests. They persuaded him to open a fresh series of persecutions against the oppressed race of Lower Egypt. These unfortunate captives were removed from the land, and sent across the Nile to labour in the stone quarries that are opposite Memphis. After a while, they were allowed to occupy the deserted city which had formerly belonged to their ancestors, Avaris the city of Typhon. Here they contrived to organize a plan of revolt, and sent for assistance to the descendants of their exiled forefathers, who had joined the branch of the great Shepherd-body seated at Shalem.

Such an opportunity of regaining their power in Lower Egypt was not to be cast aside. Manetho relates that the Shepherds of Shalem sent a large army to the relief of their kindred; and that king Amenophis was afraid of fighting against the gods by opposing them in battle, because a priest, called Amenophis, the son of Papis, had prophetically announced to him that the ill-treatment of the captives of Goshen which he had countenanced would be avenged by their obtaining the dominion of Egypt for thirteen years. Accordingly, as soon as the Shepherds appeared, Amenophis provided for the safe keeping of the sacred animals, and of the images of the gods; he committed to the charge of a trusty friend his son Sethos (who is also called Rameses), then only five years of age; retired from before the invaders without an attempt at resistance, and withdrew with thirty thousand men into Ethiopia, where he remained until the appointed period of thirteen years had expired. He then came forth from Ethiopia with a great force; and his son Rameses came also with an army; they together attacked the Shepherds, overcame them, and pursued them to the frontier of Syria.*

On the part borne by the Hebrews in this last Egyptian revolution caused by the Shepherd contest, it would take us beyond the range of our immediate subject to dwell. The only

* Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, l. i., c. 26, 27.

apocryphal feature in the account, is the prophecy of the priest Amenophis, and the superstitious king's alarm at contravening a divine decree. This looks very like a tale devised by popular tradition to cloke over the pusillanimity of Menephtah, who doubtless was much more frightened at the idea of fighting the terrible human foes who now presented themselves in warlike array on his border, for the second time since their expulsion, than of contending against the gods by upsetting their prediction. Well might the saying go forth throughout all Palestine as a popular proverb: "Who can stand before the children of Anak?"—when their force of twenty thousand men, by merely appearing on the frontier, sent the Theban king, with an army of thirty thousand picked warriors, off beyond the cataracts, terror-stricken—fugitives—without striking a blow!

But the young Rameses retrieved the honour of Egypt; he proved himself worthy of his illustrious grandfather. When he led the army that expelled these invaders, he was only eighteen years of age; and as the thirteen years' interregnum caused by the Shepherd-invasion are reckoned in the nineteen years and six months of his father's reign, he must still have been very young when he ascended the throne.

His first known armament, after his accession, is that dated in his fifth year. Within seven years he finally restored peace to Egypt and crushed her foes for ever. We will now go through the occurrences of these seven years, by following the monumental records on which they are depicted.

Inasmuch as the country about Jerusalem was so decidedly the scene of the great wars conducted by Rameses III., we are thus far authorized to infer that the reduction of the two eastern tribes by his predecessors had thrown the weight of political ascendancy upon the Phœnician branch; and that the Anakim took the lead in this last invasion of Egypt, which—after a brief triumph—proved the signal for their destruction.

The pictures representing the triumphs of Rameses III. bear no dates. The first dated document is the long inscription on the south wall of the inner court of the palace at Medinet-Abou, which appears to explain the four tableaux sculptured on the other walls of the same court.^a The references to the king's most remarkable deeds, and the names of lands and nations reduced, will enable us to follow up the leading incidents of this war; and as the royal historiographer who recorded those deeds has not indulged in quite such towering flights of eloquence and circuitous mazes of poetical imagery as his predecessor who

^a Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. 135—138. Long inscription, pl. 139—140.

glorified Rameses II., he will be found by so much the more intelligible to our more matter of fact understandings, when transferred to a familiar modern dialect. I will take advantage of Rosellini's valuable interpretations of the inscriptions, to select from them the most characteristic passages, as illustrations both of the style of thought and expression in those remote ages, and of the historical occurrences they propose to embody. There may be some interest in knowing that we have the narrative as much in the Egyptian hierogrammatist's own words, as a translation admits of.

"In the fifth year, under the sacred presidency of Horus-Phráh, the mighty enlarger of Egypt, the guardian of power, the victorious arm which has subdued the impure TAH'N'NU, the lord of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Amun-mai Rameses (III.), who has crushed the inimical TAH'N'NU, and ravaged their dwellings," etc., etc.

(We may here pass over a long complimentary oration to the king, in the style of the above specimen, and proceed to the narration of his deeds.)

"In the night, the king Rameses smote the lands of the foreign foes. He returned to Egypt, and distributed the offerings among the priests, and presented the vanquished as an oblation to the gods, the submission to his grasp of the impure race of the land of ANKA, the TAH'N'NU. His archers smote the enemies, as terrible bulls among the sheep; his horses were like hawks!

"By the renown of his name, he conquered the lands of the TEMAH'U. He reduced to submission the *T and the B*M*U^b lands, and laid the land of MASHUASH desolate. The carnage was stopped, their hearts being filled with contrition. Their princes prayed with their lips, and he refused not to grant their petitions; they prayed to that god, lord of lords, the great man of Egypt, and he, in the midst of victory, accepted the supplication of the foreign lands and of their princes who humbled themselves to the great king of kings.

"His Majesty had come to the land of the perverse TEMAH'U; and his arm was stayed by their prayers from distressing the land by siege. Praised above all the other Phráhs be the clemency of his Majesty!

"The terror that he, bull-like, inspired, was as the quaking of little kids. The blows dealt by his Majesty to the confines of the land glared before their gates like flames of fire: from the place where he struck and smote down the ramparts, the defeat was marked by dead to the right and to the left. His Majesty compelled submission with his own members, like *Mentu*.^c The king Rameses led off the slaves and caused the dead to be numbered." * * * *

After another long description, which may be omitted, of

^b In these two names, the * stands for a character either obliterated or unknown.

^c Mentu, or Muntu-Ra, is the Egyptian Ares or Mars, god of war.

the mercy the king shewed to some prisoners, whose lives he saved after ravaging their country and levelling their walls to the ground—and another fragment, partly illegible, partly destroyed, in which the names of ASHAK'NA (Azekah) and ALAIU (Aialon) remain among those mentioned, we have a fierce description of the contest with the RBO:—

“By the great spirit that came from Egypt, the land of RBO (Arbâ) was a conflagration before and behind, and the gods themselves caused those to perish who went beyond the gates of their city; and those who were saved were brought to Egypt; Ra having commanded that the ruler of Egypt, looking on them, should conquer, like the sun, guardian of the pure race.” (*i.e. the Egyptians.*)

After this, comes a fragment that we may abridge, in which the submission of SHALĀM'U'NA^d is mentioned; the king carried off the flocks of the conquered. After this, “the foreigners of the great island (?)” came to be presented in their captivity to Amun Ra because of the smiting with which he (the king) had smitten their land, passing before their gates on the face of the waters like a duck.” These are named the PULSA'TA (Philistines) and T'AKKAR'U (Ekronites). Then comes another defective fragment, and SHALĀM'U'NA is again mentioned; closing with a very animated description of the king's personal valour.

“He fought among shoutings, the lord of might who threw the whole land into consternation! The great lord of victories, king of the Upper and Lower regions, in his smiting and in the fulness of his triumph over the barbarians, was as a lion, and his roarings went forth thundering! He passed with his wings over the land of the waters; he purified the abode of iniquity.”

This document concludes with a long and very pompous eulogium, which we lose nothing by passing over.

If the four pictures in the same hall as this inscription represent the leading actions it describes—as is most probable from their subjects—a general account of them will shew that the two great triumphs they commemorate are the surrender of the Philistines, and the victory over the Anakim.

The Egyptian king must have gone by sea along the Philistine coast, landing near Ekron; he opened the campaign by an attack on the northern Amorite dependencies of the Anakim and Philistines. This we gather from the names which have

^d This name is here (line 50) written SHALĀM'U'NA; but in line 56, it is written simply SHALĀM'U.

^e Rosellini's rendering “isola” is doubtful. A *maritime land* is certainly implied; and we know that Pelesheth was not an island. But Rosellini had not identified any of these names. The knowledge of a fact is often necessary to a right interpretation of some among its forms of expression.

survived destruction, of MASHUASH, ASHAK'NA, and ALAIU. Having taken these fortresses, the reduction of SHALĀM'U'NA in the neighbouring region, followed. The union of valour and clemency displayed by the young conqueror, and so energetically extolled by his hierogrammatist, were not without their influence on the chiefs of the land on one side; for the Philistines of the coast, as well as those of Ekron, tendered their submission. The land of the Philistines proper—Pelesheth or PULSA'TA, "*sea-shore land*"—is several times descriptively referred to, where Philistines are represented: "the foreigners of the great island;" (?) "the parts of the great island (?) that are separated from the two Egypts;" "the land of the waters;" "those who dwell in the maritime lands." The Philistines became his auxiliaries; and he now passed round the mountain and attacked the Anakim, on their own frontier.

This is exclusively the subject of the four pictures. It is also the great feat forming the exordium of the inscription. Nevertheless it must have been the last incident of the campaign; for, since the Philistines appear on the side of Egypt in the battle-scene, their submission must have preceded the attack of the Anakim represented in that scene. The order of events is by no means preserved in the long inscription; indeed this is hardly to be expected, since it evidently was not intended as a consecutive narration, but rather as an eulogy interspersed with allusions to those deeds for which the royal conqueror is being glorified; the most glorious, which are pictured on the walls, being the first mentioned.

From the inscriptions accompanying the battle-scene, we learn that the event occurred in the land of "the impure TEMAH.U race (Rephaim)." From those over the picture in which the prisoners are brought before their conqueror, we further learn that the land of TAHI (Iuttah) was the scene of the engagement; nevertheless the captives are all called the people of RBO (Arbā);" that a thousand prisoners were taken alive, and that the trophies of the dead, when numbered, shewed that three thousand had been killed. The nocturnal assault alluded to in the long inscription seems to explain this enormous loss, and the confusion of the people who were attacked; these are represented in the battle-scene all unarmed, and appear evidently to have been taken by surprise. The other two pictures of this series represent the captives bound, strung together by a rope tied round their necks, and dragged in triumph before the Theban gods. In all these, the RBO and TAH'N'NU are not distinguishable from each other by their costume.

The expression put into the mouths of the MASHUASH princes addressing the king, is very remarkable,—“*the great man of Egypt.*” It is one of those undesigned coincidences which fall in with so many more direct evidences gathered from the agreement of names and localities, in proof that they were a people accustomed to call their supreme chief by a similar title. (Compare “the great man of the Anakim” of Arbâ, Josh. xiv. 15.) And while the fragments we have already quoted are proof direct that the race called TEMAH’U to which the MASHUASH belonged, includes also the people of RBO or Arbâ, the conclusion is further borne out by the analogy of their costume.

The sculptures arranged round the walls of the great external hall of the palace are more numerous; but the subjects all relate to the same people. The principal entrance is flanked on both sides by a triumphal scene, representing Rameses III. leading a line of prisoners—or rather a series of local names enclosed in the castellated oval, indicative of a *conquered region*, to which are added heads and hands, by way of personifying the symbol of conquest. Immediately below this list, is a line in which the date, the twelfth year of the king’s reign, is still legible. There are other imperfect traces of dates.

As none of the pictures in this hall are dated, we cannot know which belong to the last expedition of Rameses III. against the enemies of Egypt in this year, or which may be referable to earlier intermediate expeditions. We may be certain, however, that the war was carried on incessantly during those seven years, from the number of the subjects. A general statement of the latter will suffice; for any attempt at arrangement, in the absence of dates and narrative inscriptions, must be too conjectural to be of any value. One subject of great interest represents a pitched battle against the TAKKAR’U (Ekron). After submitting to Rameses III., in his first expedition, and helping him against the RBO, they revolted. He marched against them, and on this occasion commanded the assistance of the Rephaim of Bashan, who are recognized by their costume and “two-horned Ashtaroth” helmets, as the people who aided Rameses II. against the SHET’TA (Emim). The Rephaim are fighting with the Egyptians against the Ekronites.

Another remarkable subject, unique of its kind, is a terrible naval engagement. The same people figure in it as in the former; but the people of Ashtaroth occupy their natural position as enemies of Egypt, and are fighting in the Philistine

ships with their kindred.^g It is probable that this event was posterior to the other; and that the temporary submission of the chief Rephaim, manifested in their acting as auxiliaries to Egypt against the Philistines, was the fruit of victories obtained in intermediate expeditions, when the other tribes of Rephaim were attacked in turn, and either crushed or reduced to final obedience. The list at the entrance of this great hall contains names belonging to several Rapha districts and dependencies, and the chiefs of the *Harem* chamber series of portraits are those of all their principal tribes; though the bands of captives, and all the triumphal presentation scenes remaining to be described in this hall, refer exclusively to the Anakim and Philistines, who took the lead in the war. The "address of Amun-Ra, king of gods," to Rameses, on his departure, names the whole Rapha race as the object of the last expedition:^h

"I go before thee, O my son, lord of the two worlds,
Sun, guardian of truth, beloved of Amun;
I grant thee (to subdue the foreigners) all
Traversing the lands of the barbarians, victorious.
May thy valour cast down their princes!
I go (to prepare) the ways in the land of the TEMAH'U,
And will go through it with thee, preceding thy coursers."

The importance of this expedition is known by the great preparations that were made towards it. The next picture represents the distribution of arms and mustering of forces.

The return of Rameses to Egypt, and arrival at the fortress of MAGADUL (Magdolum), when the conflict was ended, is another interesting picture.ⁱ His ministers come forth to meet him, and he is addressing from a throne, standing, those who have distinguished themselves in the war. The Ashtaroth-crested people are fellow-prisoners with the Philistines in this subject. The main body of captives are next presented to the gods of Thebes. These are the RBO and the T'AKKAR'U.^j Amun-Ra thus addresses the king:

"Be thy return in rejoicing!
Thou hast smitten the barbarians:
Thou hast laid them all prostrate . . . slaying . . .
Thou hast (struck terror into the) hearts of the ANAKIM!"

Other pictures represent the rest of the prisoners; one con-

^g *Ibid.*, pl. 131.

^h *Ibid.*, pl. 124.

ⁱ *Ibid.*, pl. 132, 133. Magdolum is a station of the Antonine itinerary, xii. M. P., nearly south of Pelusium, on the frontier. The site is still extant as a mound with ruins.

^j *Ibid.*, pl. 134.

sists of three rows of Philistines, led by a colossal portrait figure of the king; under one row is written "the chiefs of the land PULSA'TA," under another, the unknown name TUINU'NA. The date of the victory to which this subject refers, is uncertain.

Besides these memorials, two fragments greatly mutilated, figured in Champollion's monuments,^k give a representation of a battle scene and capture of a city belonging to a people wearing the Horite costume.

The list of cities captured by Rameses III., inscribed on the entrance of the great hall, as well as that of the captives of the Harem chamber, may be regarded together as an epitome of this monarch's warlike deeds, to which the names of the tribes figured in the sculptures may be added, as signalizing the most glorious among those deeds. They will be found—so far as they are recognizable—to range over every district in which the Rephaim ruled. The first list is as follows:†

TASA'TA.	Doubtful.	תזח Tizah was a Moabite city (1 Chr. xi. 45).
BURI OR LULI.	Doubtful.	רור Aroër might be written so.
PETR*.	Pethor.	Aramite city, belonging to Rephaim
TIR'NA OR TIL'NA.	Unknown.	
TARBUSA.	Tharabasa.	Edomite city, subject to Rephaim.
ATU*.		
{ KARNA OR	Karnaïm*	Metropolis of Bashan.
{ GALNA	or Golan?	City of Bashan.
HAIR'NA.	Haran.	City of Padan-Aram, subject to Rephaim.
LEBNU'T.	{ Libnah	Southern Judea, } subject to
	{ or Lebonah?	Central Judea, } Rephaim.
CHIBUR.*	Hebron.	Metropolis of Anakim.
ATAB.	Edrei (Adar-âi) עדר	City of Bashan.

^k Champollion's *Monuments*, vol. iii., pl. 227, 228.

[†] Rosellini's copy of some among these names is not accurate. This list is taken from a repetition of the subject in Champollion's *Monuments*, vol. iii., pl. 204.

* The double force of the Egyptian characters for GK and LR, makes it impossible to decide which of these two cities the group figured in the *Onomasticon*, col. i., fig. 2, represents. At first, I thought it might be Golan; but the alternative of its being Ashtaroth-karnaïm has claims not to be passed over. The complete subjection to Rameses III., in which we see the people of Ashtaroth, is rather strongly in favour of the latter supposition; the city is called simply *Karnaïm* by Josephus, and the omission of the final dual or plural form is not unfrequent in modern names of ancient sites. We have two instances in the land of this very people, the SHAS'U or Zuzim: Mahanaïm is now a village called *Mahneh*: and Betonim, *Batneh*. There is no other city named in the Bible that this group GALNA OR KARNA will stand for, but Golan, or Karnaïm.

* Vide *Onomasticon*, col. v., fig. 29, a, b. It was necessary for the convenient grouping of the hieroglyphic characters in this name, that the b and u should be together; this causes, in one transcript, the inversion of a radical,—CHIBU—in another, the transposition of the vowel, CHIBUR.

RSS or LSS.	{ Rissah or Lusa?	Cities of Paran, Amalekites.
AIAHA or IHA.	Unknown.	

The portraits of the captive chiefs are sculptured in relief on the basement of the Harem chamber, apparently supporting the upper wall, like Caryatides.^o Each figure has a legend before him with the name of his city or land. They are so placed, that every Asiatic alternates with a negro. The series of Asiatics is as follows:

The chief of	RBO	Arbâ, otherwise Hebron or CHEBUR.
_____	MASHUASH	... <i>Maaxws</i> ? ^p
_____	SHE'TTA	...Shittim.
_____	AMĀR	...Amorite.
_____	T'AKUR'I	...Ekron.
_____	SHAIRTA'NA	...Zarthan.
_____	SHA*.*
_____	TUIRSHA	...Tarichæa (Josephus). (Not mentioned in the Bible.)

These two lists testify that Rameses III. not only captured many cities not previously conquered by his predecessors, which he added to the already existing lists of tributaries of Egypt, but that he also had the glory of numbering among his prisoners the chieftains of each of the three Rapha nations, besides several provincial rulers.

When we add to this the local names in the historical inscriptions,—Shalem, the great metropolis of the Rapha nations,—Pelesheth, and its Amorite dependencies of Ekron, Azekah and Aialon, besides Iuttah,—we shall have before our view the full extent of territory over which the last conqueror of the Theban race swept triumphantly during the brief space of seven years, and from which its ancient rulers—the TEMAHU or Rephaim, were cut off from among the nations. Bashan became a tributary of Egypt, till its lands were conquered by Israel and its people were absorbed into the Ammonite community. Shittim was laid open to the Amorite spoiler, and its people sank into the Moabite colony. Anak nominally survived the desolation for a brief space—but only to be expelled by Joshua, and dispersed among the surrounding Canaanites.

Egypt finally triumphed over her enemies. Her last con-

^o Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. 141—143.

^p This name is not found in the Hebrew text of Joshua's list of Judæan cities (ch. xv.); but it seems to have been accidentally lost out of the text, or altered by the misreading of copists. The Septuagint have the name *Maaxws*, in ver. 40, which consists of letters represented by the Egyptian group read MASHUASH.

queror, returning home, was able to boast before the tutelar god of his own land, that he had "laid their lands waste, and burnt their fortresses with fire;" but she had paid dearly for her triumph. The memorials of victory which have been preserved are all on one side; Egypt has not recorded her defeats. We must by no means suppose that she always had the upper hand in the warfare. The very long period over which these memorials are spread—three centuries at least, from the expulsion of the shepherds to their final overthrow—is a fact in itself that strongly testifies to the contrary; that the task of uprooting the power of her enemies was a very hard task; and that before it was accomplished, the victory had perhaps cost Egypt more than the political advantages were worth. For it was not a war of ambition against a richer and weaker state, with no ostensible motive than the aggrandizement and wealth of the empire by the exaction of tribute. It was a deadly feud of race against race; a bitter protracted act of national vengeance, in which sometimes the one party, sometimes the other, prevailed,—while both were equally resolved to perish before they yielded.

The only two instances recorded by Egypt of some of the *Rapha* tribes having joined her against their own brethren, are no genuine exceptions to this feeling. Their submission in both cases was but casual. It was a temporary sacrifice of patriotism to the expediency of the moment, extorted by the power of Egypt from the partial exhaustion of the yielding party. But as soon as the Egyptian army had withdrawn from the land, or as soon as time had healed the wound of the bleeding nation, and the act of resistance was again become barely possible, the galling bond was cast off, and the forced and uncertain ally resumed his genuine character of an inveterate foe. The *SHAS'U* surrendered to *Rameses II.* without fighting, and bore arms against their *Shethite* kindred; because they had suffered such severe losses in the war against his predecessor, that they felt their power of resistance unequal to the invading force. But so far were they from being true allies of Egypt, that the notices of subsequent wars recorded in the *Sallier* and *Anastasi* papyri, and dated within ten years after, present the *SHAS'U* cities as sending their contingent of troops to aid the *SHERTA*. In like manner, under *Rameses III.*, we see that the *Philistines*, located so near Egypt as to fall the first under the power of a fresh invading force, are ready to give way and join Egypt as soon as they see two of their inland strongholds, *Azekah* and *Aialon*, in the power of the conqueror. But this cannot be regarded as a national alliance. So evidently was their national inclination constrained, when they took up arms against their brethren of

Anak with Egypt, that almost immediately after, we see them seize on the first opportunity of casting off their compulsory renegade character, and turning against her. The alliance of the SHAS'U with Rameses II. was equally contrary to their national predilections. For the same series of pictures which exhibits them fighting against Pelesheth, also exhibits her warriors contending with Egypt under the Philistine banners, and includes their chieftains among the captive enemies of Egypt.

Each of the three Rapha nations in its turn bore the brunt of warfare; they all succumbed in succession—they all fell together in the last unsuccessful effort. But the children of Sheth and the children of Anak continued to the last true to their cause and to each other. Their patriotism is free from the stain which clings to the name of the Zuzim and the Philistines. No array of power—no constraint of circumstances—was ever sufficient to overbear their faithfulness to each other's cause as brethren, or to turn their hands against each other. Together they struggled—and together they sank—side by side.[†]

F. C.

[†] As there were two noted conquerors named Rameses, who both bore the epithet of Amun-mai, "beloved of Amun," the reader who may desire to refer to the plates and works quoted in this notice might be perplexed as to the identity of the king in question, without the following explanation:—

Some authors—Champollion and Rosellini, for instance—call Rameses II. the Great, Rameses III.; and the Rameses of Medinet-Abou, his grandsou, Rameses IV. There is a doubt as to whether the Great Rameses had a brother of the same name, who reigned five years before him, or whether the name attributed to him be only another cognomen of Rameses II., who changed his titles. As this question is undecided, but the Great Rameses is most generally called Rameses II. by recent authorities, I have conformed to this arrangement.

Again, it is as well to guard against another possible source of confusion in the arrangement of the dynasties, by stating that when Champollion and Rosellini wrote, the nineteenth dynasty of Manetho was supposed to represent the line beginning with Rameses III. of Medinet-Abou (whom they call IV.), but that lately, the most learned and judicious Egyptian scholars have seen the propriety of identifying that dynasty with the immediate successors of Rameses I., and beginning it with Sethos or Seti-Menephthah I. In the Manethonian system, a change of dynasty does not imply a change in the line of hereditary succession, but a change or revolution in the state of things. The three shepherd invasions caused as many changes of dynasty, though Amosis, leader of the eighteenth, was son of the last king of the former Theban dynasty; though Seti-Menephthah, leader of the nineteenth, was son of Rameses I., last king of the eighteenth; and Rameses III., leader of the twentieth, was son of Menephthah, last king of the nineteenth. These three kings restored the Theban dominion, and are therefore considered heads of a *dynasty*, or *condition of power*.

(A supplementary paper on the Costumes of the Rephaim, and their Religious System, will appear in the next number, and conclude the Series.)

THE NATURE OF OUR LORD'S RESURRECTION-BODY.^a

THE inquiry respecting the nature of our Lord's resurrection-body has at the present day an interest, not only in itself considered, but also from its near relation to several other questions just now before the public mind. The raising up of Jesus is everywhere spoken of as the "first fruits" of the resurrection from the dead,—as the earnest and pledge and pattern of the future resurrection of the saints. (1 Cor. xv. 12—23; Col. i. 18; Rom. vi. 5, 8; 1 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 14; Phil. iii. 10, 11; 1 Pet. i. 21.) If then we can ascertain the character and circumstances of this great fact in our Lord's history, it may be expected to afford us some aid in obtaining a more clear and definite apprehension of the great Scripture doctrine of the general resurrection of the dead.

The inquiry before us as to the nature of the body in which our Lord rose, is very closely connected with the history of his resurrection itself. The answer to our enquiry must depend entirely upon the interpretation we give to those passages of Scripture, which narrate the circumstances under which our Lord rose, was seen for forty days, and then ascended to heaven. The witnesses to these great facts in the history of Jesus, witnesses ordained of God, were his apostles and disciples. Their testimony has been made sure unto us; having been recorded by the pen of inspiration in the sacred books of the New Testament; and being confirmed to us also by the institution and continued existence of the Christian church, which is built upon these same "apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." (Eph. ii. 18.) It is, however, only to this recorded testimony, that we can appeal for all our knowledge of the manner of our Lord's resurrection and its attendant circumstances. It is only to this testimony,—to the views and opinions and feelings of the apostles and disciples, as made known to us in this record,—that we can go for an answer to the question before us. Neither fanciful speculation nor philosophical theory can here have any place. The simple inquiry is, and can be only, What do the Scriptures teach us as to the views and belief of the apostles and disciples, those witnesses chosen before of God, respecting our Lord's body, as he shewed himself to them during forty days after his resurrection?

^a By the Rev. Professor Robinson, D.D., New York. Reprinted from the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, for May, 1845.

On this subject three different opinions have prevailed more or less at various times in the church. Some have held that the body of Christ was changed at the resurrection as to its *substance*; so that it was in its *substance* a different and spiritual body. Others have regarded the Lord as having had after the resurrection the *same* body as before, but glorified; or, as the earlier writers express it, changed as to its *qualities* and attributes. The third and larger class have supposed, that the body with which Christ rose from the dead, was the same natural body of flesh and blood, which had been taken down from the cross and laid in the sepulchre.

I. The first of these opinions is near akin to the ancient heresy of the *Docetæ* or Phantasiasts; who held that our Lord's whole life and all his actions, before as well as after his resurrection, were a mere *δόκησις* or phantasm, destitute of all reality. Some of the fathers, who rejected this general view, and held fast to the idea of our Lord's human nature and human body before his crucifixion, were disposed nevertheless to regard him at and after the resurrection as clothed in a body of a subtle and ethereal nature, not having any relation to human flesh and blood or to his former body. In support of this view names are found of no less weight than Origen,^b Clement of Alexandria, and Chrysostom.^c In a similar manner Theodoret, and afterwards Ammonius in the fifth century, and Anastasius of Sinai in the sixth, affirm, that Christ ate before his disciples, not because he needed food, but in order to persuade them of the reality and truth of his resurrection; and they appeal for proof to his passing through closed doors, to the manner of his sudden appearance and disappearance, and the like.^d All this, however, may perhaps imply nothing more than the second view treated of below.—The same view is understood to prevail in the Romish church; apparently in such a form as to be akin to the doctrine of transubstantiation.—This whole representation is and can be nothing more nor less than fanciful speculation, an airy nothing. It has not in itself the weight of a feather; and stands in direct contradiction to our Lord's declaration to his disciples, "A spirit hath not flesh and bones, as ye see me have." (Luke xxiv. 39.)

^b Origen, c. Cels. II., 62, ἦν μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ εἰς μεθορίῳ τινὶ τῆς παχέτητος τοῦ πρὸ τοῦ πάθους σώματος καὶ τοῦ γυμνῆν τοιοῦτον σώματος φαίνεσθαι ψυχῇν.

^c Chrysost. ad Joh. xxi. 10, ἐφαίνετο γὰρ ἄλλη μορφή, ἄλλη φωνή, ἄλλε σχήματι, ἐπέστη πολλάκις τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ οὐκ ἐγνώριζέτο.

^d See Doedes *Dissertat. Theol. de Jesu in Vitam reditu*, p. 137.

II. The second view requires more consideration, as having been held to a certain extent in all ages of the church, and with some modifications, even at the present day. It ascribes to Christ the *same* body after the resurrection as before, but *glorified*, endued with new qualities and attributes, and no longer subject to the laws of human flesh and blood.⁶ This is the *σῶμα τῆς δόξης* of some among the early Fathers, which they held to be the same in its *substance* as before, but describe it in various places as *ἀθάνατον, ἀφθαρτον, ἀδιάφθορον, αἰώνιον, immortale, impassibile, incorruptibile*. So, in the third century, Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian; the former of whom speaks of Christ's body as "made incorruptible after the resurrection."⁷ So too Hilary of Poitiers in the fourth century; Augustine⁸ and Leo the Great in the fifth; and Gregory the Great in the sixth.⁹ In like manner many of the scholastic writers of the middle ages held to the like view; as did also the earlier Lutheran divines, who, in maintaining the ubiquity of Christ describe the body of the risen Lord as *gloriosum, idem numero et substantia, sed novis qualitatibus vestitum, sc. impalpabilitate, invisibilitate, et illocalitate*.¹ Similar to the present day apparently is the view of Hahn,² Olshausen,³ Hengstenberg,⁴ and

⁶ Theophylact. ad Joh. xx., *σῶμα ἀφθαρτον καὶ θεουδέστατον καὶ μηκέτι σαρκικοῖς νόμοις ὑποκείμενον*.

⁷ Haer. 5, 12, 13, *μετὰ τὴν ὀνότασιν ἀφθαρτισθέν*.

⁸ Augustine's language sometimes seems to favour the *third* view: e. g. *de Agone Christ.*, 24 or 26, Opp. T. VI., ed. Venet., p. 256, "Nec eos audiamus, qui negant tale corpus Domini resurrexisse, quale positum est in monumento. Si enim tale non fuisset, non ipse dixisset post resurrectionem discipulis, *Palpate et videte, quoniam spiritus ossa et carnem non habet, sicut me videtis habere*. Sacrilegum est enim credere Dominum nostrum, cum ipse sit Veritas, in aliquo fuisse mentitum. Nec nos moveat quod clausis ostiis subito eum apparuisse discipulis scriptum est, ut propterea negemus illud fuisse corpus humanum, quia contra naturam hujus corporis videmus esse per clausa ostia intrare, omnia enim possibilia sunt Deo." He then adduces Christ's walking upon the water and his transfiguration as similar miracles during his lifetime.—But in many other passages, Augustine speaks of our Lord's risen body as exempt from the natural laws of the proper human body. Thus where he is describing the bodies of the saints after the resurrection; *de Civitat. Dei* XII. 22, Opp. T. VII. ed. Venet., p. 342, "Certe fides Christiana de ipso Salvatore non dubitat, quod etiam post resurrectionem, *jam quidem in spiritali carne, sed tamen vera*, cibum ac potum cum discipulis sumsit. Non enim potestas, sed egestas edendi ac bibendi talibus corporibus auferatur." This last distinction would seem to have been a favourite one with Augustine, as it occurs several times in his writings.

⁹ Gregor. M. Hom. 26 in Ev., "Palpandam carnem Dominus prae-buit, quam clausis januis introduxit. Qua in re duo mira et juxta humanum rationem valde sibi contraria ostendit, dum post resurrectionem suam corpus suum et incorruptibile et tamen palpabile demonstravit."

¹ See Doedes l. c. p. 138 sq.

² *Lehrb. der chr. Glaubens.*, p. 440.

³ *Commentar*, Bd. II. p. 584, 3te Ausg.

⁴ *Evangel. Kirchenzeitung*, 1841, No. 66, col. 514.

others; except that they regard the process of transformation in the Lord's body from human flesh and blood into the glorified state, as having been gradual; commencing at the resurrection and going on by degrees through the forty days, until it was completed in the ascension. The language of some on this subject, as of Hahn is very indefinite; while that of others, as Olshausen and Hengstenberg, is decided and emphatic.

This general view seems not to differ essentially from the preceding one, except in a single point of identity. In both, our Lord's resurrection-body is regarded as possessing like qualities and attributes; but in the former these are connected with a different substance, while in this they are superinduced upon the same substance. That is to say, in the second view our Lord's resurrection-body has a relation to his former human body; while according to the first view it has no such relation. Thus far, unquestionably, the second view is much more in accordance with the testimony of Scripture. But, like the other, it would seem to be founded upon inferences drawn from one class of events and circumstances, without a due consideration of other circumstances and declarations still more clear and express. For example; because Luke relates that, in the Saviour's interview with the disciples going to Emmaus, their eyes were holden so that they should not know him, and he at last vanished out of their sight; and because too Christ is said to have stood in the midst of the disciples the same evening, the doors being shut; it is argued that his body could no longer be identically the same as that in which he was crucified; since it was no longer subject to the same natural laws. But here the fact is overlooked, that our Lord himself directs his disciples to "handle" him and see for themselves that he has still his own human "flesh and bones;" and submits also to the still stronger and more convincing test demanded by Thomas, in order to prove to him and them that what they thus saw and felt was still the very body which had been crucified and laid in the sepulchre. And further, if, in the view of the disciples, the risen body of our Lord could truly of its own nature thus pass through solid doors in spite of bolts and bars, to what end were all the magnificent accessories of the resurrection-hour? Why the earthquake, and the angel descending from heaven *to roll away the stone*? According to this view, the stone could have presented no greater obstacle than a closed door; and it is difficult to perceive, why the one should have been supernaturally removed more than the other. In respect to the doors, we shall see further on, that the language of John does not, in itself considered, necessarily imply any miraculous interposition.

It is also further argued, that we are forced of necessity to regard the body of the risen Lord as already glorified, in order to find in his resurrection that significance and importance everywhere ascribed to it by the apostles. This argument, however, as it seems to me, is drawn from a partial apprehension of this great subject. We must return to it in the sequel, and discuss it, as well as some other arguments, more fully, in the form of objections to the remaining view respecting our Lord's resurrection-body.

In respect to the idea of a gradual process of glorification going on in our Lord's risen body for forty days, it is enough perhaps to say, that there exists not the slightest warrant for it in any part of the Scriptures,—not the slightest hint, which, logically or philologically, can be wrested to sustain such a position. It is an airy hypothesis, without foundations, without necessity, without utility; and as unsound in its philosophy, as it is without analogy in the providence and Word of God. It asserts of the body of our Lord, just what our Lord himself took pains to contradict; and what assuredly it never afterwards entered into the hearts of his disciples and apostles to conceive.*

III. The third view, to which we now turn, regards the body with which Christ rose as being the same natural body of flesh and blood which had been taken down from the cross, and laid in the sepulchre. So taught in the fourth century Ephraem Syrus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Epiphanius;† in the fifth, Cyril of Alexandria,‡ Jerome, and others. Jerome is particularly full upon this point; and returns to it in various places.§ In modern times, the same view has been strenuously maintained by Calvin|| and his followers; and more recently has been adopted

* How Hengstenberg can affirm, as he does in his usual positive manner, that the reply of our Lord to Mary Magdalene, John xx. 17, contains "the certain proof" (den sichern Beweis) of this view, is more than I can explain. *Ev. K. Z.*, 1841, No. 66, col. 522.

† Epiphanius taught that our Lord's resurrection comprehended ὅλδν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ σὺν τῇ ἐνανθρωπήσει κ. τ. λ. *Haer.* 29.

‡ Cyril of Alex. affirmed that Christ as risen was not γύμνον σάρκος, and denied that his body was πνευματικόν, τοῦτ' ἐστὶ λεπτομέρως τε καὶ ἀερῶδες καὶ ἑτερόν τι παρὰ τὴν σάρκα. *ad Joh.* xx.

§ Hieron. *Ep.* XXXVIII. *ad Pammach.* *Opp.* ed. Martianay, Tom. IV. ii. 328, "Quo modo veras manus et verum ostendit latus; ita vere comedit cum discipulis; vere ambulavit cum Cleopha; vere lingua loquutus est cum hominibus; vero accubitu discubuit in coena; veris manibus accepit panem, benedixit ac fregit et porrigebat illis. Quod autem ab oculis repente evanuit, virtus Dei est, non umbræ et phantasmatis." See also *ib.* col. 685; also *Index art. Christus*, last paragraph.

|| Calvin, *Comment. in Harmon. Evang.*, ed. Amst., p. 334, in *Luc.* xxiv. 39, "Acsi diceret, Visus et tactus probabunt me esse verum hominem qui antehac vobiscum versatus sum; quia carne illa sum indutus quæ crucifixa fuit, et adhuc notas gestat." Also *Comm. in Joh.* xx. 19, 20, p. 177.

among the Lutherans by Herder,^r Neander,^s Lücke,^t Tholuck,^v and many others.

Olshausen, who adopts the second view treated of above, remarks with not a little *naïveté*, that the view now under consideration "would never have been able to maintain itself for a moment, did not the testimony respecting the appearances of the risen Saviour seem to speak for its correctness."^v I cannot but think that this remark concedes the whole matter in question; for, as we have already seen, it is the *testimony* of the sacred writers alone, which can afford us any light. It is not our own experience, it is not science, that can make known to us the nature of our Lord's resurrection-body. It is only the testimony of those who were appointed to be witnesses of his resurrection, to which we can appeal and on which we can rely. What then was the experience of these chosen witnesses? what the impression made upon their minds? and what their testimony?

As these are points on which the whole inquiry turns, I shall be pardoned for presenting the several heads of evidence somewhat in detail.

1. Our Lord, towards the close of his ministry, had at various times foretold his sufferings and death to his disciples; and had declared to them that he should rise again on the third day. (Matt. xvi. 21; xvii. 23; xx. 19; Mark viii. 31; x. 34; Luke ix. 22; xviii. 33; xxiv. 6, 7.) The same rumour was bruited among the Jews; and led to the setting of a watch at the sepulchre. (Matt. xxvii. 63.) The disciples, indeed, understood not this at the time; nor fully, until after the resurrection. But so far as they did or could understand their Lord's declaration, at the time or afterwards, it could only be of the resurrection of the same identical human body that was laid in the sepulchre; just as they had seen Jesus, by the word of his power, call forth the young man at Nain from his bier, and Lazarus from his tomb. These examples were their only standard of comparison. And if on one occasion, as they first beheld Jesus after his resurrection they thought it was a "spirit;" this arose, not from doubt as to the nature of his risen body,

^r "Daher es wundersam und fast unbegreiflich ist, wie die spätere Zeit diese körperliche leibhafte Person, die sich handgreiflich als denselben Jesus von Nazaret zeigte, zu einem geistigen Phantasma habe machen wollen und machen dürfen." Von der Auferstehung u. s. w. III. 8., VI. 10.

^s *Leben Jesu*, p. 710, 3te Ausg.

^t *Commentar über Johannes*, II. p. 683, 2te Ausg.

^v *Commentar über Joh.* xx. 19.

^v *Commentar* II. p. 549, 3te Ausg.

but from doubt whether he, or at least his body, was risen at all.

2. The whole history of the descent of the angel and the rolling away of the stone from the door of the sepulchre, presupposes the fact, that the body which thus issued forth was the very same which three days before had been laid in the tomb. So the women understood it, when, after inquiring who should remove the stone, they came and saw that it was taken away, (and entering in found not the body of Jesus). So the angels understood it, when they declared to the women: "He is risen; he is not here; behold the place where they laid him." (Mark xvi. 6.) So Peter and John understood it, when they ran to the sepulchre, and found the body gone and the linen clothes and the napkin lying orderly in their place. Then it was that John "believed." He began to remember the declaration of Jesus, that he should rise again on the third day; and he believed that he was now thus risen in the same body; which body had in this way disappeared from the tomb, and not by theft or violence.

3. After the women were departed from the sepulchre to tell the disciples, Jesus met them; and they came and *held him by the feet*, (*ἐκράτησαν αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας.*) (Matt. xxviii. 9.) They could have no doubt that the limbs, the body, which they thus touched and embraced, were the very same in which three days before they had seen and known the Lord.

4. When Mary Magdalene first recognized her risen Lord, she passed at once from the extreme of doubt and despair to that of joy and triumphant faith; she beheld in him not merely her Saviour risen from the tomb, but her already glorified Redeemer, and as such hastened to do him homage and worship. This worship and this mode of apprehension Jesus rejected and reproved, saying unto her, "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father. (John xx. 17.) By thus rejecting the idea of being already in a glorified state, he impliedly affirms the contrary; that is to say, that his body was still flesh and blood, as before.

5. The two disciples on their way to Emmaus, had no other impression as to the person who walked and talked with them, than that it was a human being of flesh and bones like all mankind. Their eyes indeed were holden, that they should not know him; and were afterwards opened, so that they knew him; but all this implies a change in their own minds and powers, not in the body of Christ. And if we admit, as the language seems most naturally to imply, that a miraculous agency was exerted in the manner of his leaving them; still this

no more evinces a previous change in the nature of his body, than does the analogous miracle of his walking upon the waters of the lake of Galilee.

6. We come now to the first appearance of Jesus to his assembled disciples on the evening after his resurrection; "the doors being shut," as John relates. I have elsewhere assigned the reasons, why, as it seems to me, we are not necessarily compelled by this language to consider the Lord's entrance as involving anything supernatural. That the doors were "shut," does not itself imply that they were fastened; nor is the circumstance mentioned at all by Luke or Mark. The word which expresses our Lord's presence, is not ἐπέστη, the usual one in the case of angels; but in Luke it is ἔστη "he stood," and in John still more definitely, ἦλθε καὶ ἔστη, "he came and stood;" indicating nothing more than an ordinary mode of approach.—If, however, with Calvin and others, we choose to regard his entrance as a miracle; still nothing more is required than in the similar instance of Peter's deliverance out of prison, where "the iron gate opened of his own accord." (Acts xii. 10.) There is not in the language the slightest foundation for the idea, that Jesus entered through the closed doors or solid walls; or that his approach was like that ascribed to angels, and not like that of an ordinary human being.*

On the other hand, the disciples were surprised and astonished by the *unexpectedness* of their Lord's presence among them. They had seen him crucified and laid him in the sepulchre; they had missed his body from the tomb, and had heard the reports of the women that he was risen; but these they had looked upon as "idle tales." And now, when Jesus presented himself before their own eyes, "they were terrified and affrighted, and supposed they had seen a spirit." (Luke xxiv. 37.) They believed not that it was their Lord thus risen from the dead; but thought it was a spirit, a phantasm, to delude them. What course did Jesus take to reassure them? "Behold," he says, "my hands and my feet, that it is I myself; handle me, and see; for a spirit hath not flesh and bones as ye see me have. And when he had thus spoken, he shewed them his hands and his feet." (Luke xxiv. 39, 40.) Here are two things asserted by our Lord, which he obviously intended his disciples should believe; *first*, that what they then saw, was not a spirit or

* The language of Calvin on this point is very strong: "Sic habendum est, Christum non sine miraculo ingressum esse.—Interea tamen verum esse minime concedo quod asserunt Papistæ, Christi corpus penetrasse per januas clausas.—Facessant pueriles, istæ argutiæ, quæ nihil prorsus habent solidi, et secum trahunt multa deliria." *Comm. in Joh.* xx. 19, p. 177, ed Amstel.

phantasm; but, *secondly*, that it was his own very self, the same identical body of flesh and bones which they had before known. On what evidence did he assert this? He appealed to the testimony of their own senses: "Handle me and see;" and shewed them his hands and his feet, which the nail-prints attested to be the same that had hung upon the cross. The position, therefore, which we here take, is impregnable, viz., that by this language and this exhibition it was our Lord's deliberate purpose, to persuade his disciples that he himself was before them in the same identical body which had been crucified and laid in the sepulchre.

Still they were not fully assured. "And while they yet believed not for joy," he called for food; "and he took, and did eat before them." (Luke xxiv. 41—43.) Here was another act belonging to the nature of the human body; but inconsistent with the idea of a spirit and of a glorified body. Our Lord thus ate before the disciples, in order to remove the last remaining shadow of doubt, that it was he himself in the same human body.—The attempt is sometimes made, to evade the force of this latter evidence, in two ways. Olshausen remarks, that "eating and drinking is here spoken of not as a matter of necessity; since the Saviour's only object was to convince those present of the reality of his body."^z I am unable to see, why this is not first to beg the question, and then to admit the validity of the opposing evidence. Again, it is said that the angels who appeared to Abraham (Gen. xviii.) ate and drank; and yet we can conceive of them only as without corporeal substance, as mere appearances presented to the eye.^y But the sacred narrative fully implies, that they came to Abraham as wayfarers; that he ran to meet them and brought water to wash their soiled feet; that he prepared a meal and stood by while they ate according to the forms of oriental hospitality. The men rose up and went on their way on foot towards Sodom; and Abraham went with them. Further, the angels who came to Lot at evening, appear to have been two of the same; they ate and drank and lodged with him; and when Lot was pressed by the crowd without, they put forth their hands and pulled him into the house to them, and shut the door. All these circumstances shew conclusively, that in this case the angels manifested themselves in real human forms of flesh and blood; and therefore eating and drinking were natural functions, just as in the case of our Lord. In both cases the exercise of this function proves the nature of the body; nor can we by any good

^z *Comm.* II., p. 550, 3te. Ausg.

^y *Erscheinungsform*; Olshausen, *ib*

logic first assume the superhuman nature of the body, and then reason as to the fallacy of the function.

7. The other disciples were convinced of the reality of the Lord's resurrection-body at their first interview with him. But Thomas was not present. He disbelieved their testimony, and demanded for himself a test, without which he refused to be convinced: "Except I shall see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe." (John xx. 25 sq.) This was obviously meant to be the strongest possible test as to the reality and identity of the Saviour's human body. It was intended to decide the question, whether he *was* actually risen from the dead, and in the same body of flesh and blood which had been crucified. Our Lord accords to Thomas this his own test, and in the moment of strong conviction and devoted faith, the abashed disciple exclaims: "My Lord and my God!"

8. On the shores of the lake of Galilee, where the Lord again shewed himself to his disciples, he took bread and gave to them, and himself obviously partook with them. (John xxi. 12, 13, 15.) Here was further convincing proof of the reality of his human body.

9. The apostle Peter, while discoursing in the house of Cornelius, affirms that God raised up Jesus of Nazareth the third day, "and shewed him openly, not to all the people, but unto witnesses chosen before of God, even to us, who did eat and drink with him after he rose from the dead." (Acts x. 41.) Here the "eating and drinking" are presented as evidence of the reality of the resurrection of our Lord's human body; and they afford indeed the same evidence as in the parallel case of Lazarus. (John xii. 2.)

10. The disciples, like many other Jews, had expected that the Messiah would appear as a temporal Prince and Deliverer; and especially they had hoped that he would set the nation free from the yoke of Roman bondage. Thus the two on their way to Emmaus declare: "We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel." (Luke xxiv. 21.) And again, just before the ascension, the assembled disciples inquire, "Lord, wilt thou at this time restore again the kingdom to Israel?" (Acts i. 6.) Must we not consider this language as implying, that they regarded their Lord as possessing after his resurrection the same character and the same body, as before?

11. An argument to the same effect may perhaps be derived from the following considerations. Our Lord was transfigured in the mount before Peter and James and John; they were "eye witnesses of his majesty;" and Moses and Elias in glori-

fied forms appeared talking with him. Jesus charged them to tell no man of this vision, until after he should be risen from the dead. (Matt. xvii. 2 sq., etc.; 2 Pet. i. 16.) Now it is natural to suppose, if our Lord's resurrection-body bore any resemblance to that of his transfiguration, that either Peter or John when speaking of the former would have made some allusion to this remarkable event which took place before their own eyes. To a certain extent their silence in itself might be regarded as implying that no such resemblance could have existed. Here, however, taken thus in connection with all the other evidence, this implication is very greatly strengthened, and adds weight to the other considerations.

Such are the main points of evidence presented in the Scriptures respecting the nature of our Lord's resurrection-body. They seem to me to establish convincingly, and beyond gain-saying, two conclusions; *first*, that the disciples believed the body of their Lord after his resurrection to be the same identical body of human flesh and bones, which they had seen crucified and laid in the sepulchre; and *secondly*, that our Lord himself took special pains to impress this very belief upon their minds. Indeed, few facts or doctrines of the Gospel would seem to lie spread out more clearly upon pages of Holy Writ; or to be sustained by a greater amount of direct and positive testimony.

We may even go further and affirm, that we have here just as much and as strong evidence of the reality of our Lord's human body during these forty days after his resurrection, as we have during any other forty days of his whole life. Yea, more and stronger testimony; because our Lord himself here took special pains to bring forward and enforce this evidence; of which there is elsewhere no like example. And if, even supposing a miracle in both his departure at Emmaus and his entrance among his disciples at Jerusalem, it be averred that this goes to disprove the reality of his human body after his resurrection; then, much more do his walking upon the waters and his transfiguration on the mount, go to disprove the reality of his incarnation at any and every previous period of his life on earth.

To this general view it has sometimes been objected, that the same is inconsistent with the idea of our Lord's ascension; inasmuch as it is contrary to the laws of nature to suppose that a human body could thus be taken up into heaven.* Hence it is inferred, that since he can have ascended only in a glorified body, he therefore must have risen from the tomb in the same

* See Seiler's *Programm in Velthusen Commentt. Theol.* VI., p. 513.

glorified body. But we have the strongest evidence, as above presented, that our Lord, so long as he was on earth, was in his human body; and the evidence is equally strong that he now dwells in heaven in a glorified body. (Phil. iii. 21; Col. iii. 4.) When did the change take place? The Scriptures indeed contain no express declaration upon this point; but they afford some analogies by which the inquiry may be satisfactorily answered. Elijah while on earth was in a mere human body; he was translated to heaven, and there exists, as is supposed, in a glorified body. (2 Kings i. 11; Matt. xvii. 2 sq.) Christians here on earth are subject to all the evils of their earthly tabernacle; yet those alive at our Lord's coming shall not die, but their vile body shall be changed, that it may be fashioned like unto Christ's glorious body. (Phil. iii. 21.) When are we to regard these changes as taking place? Paul answers this question in respect to Christians: "We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump; for the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible; and we shall be changed;" and this is to take place when the dead being raised, we "shall be caught up together with them in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord." (1 Cor. xv. 51 sq., compare 1 Thess. iv. 15—17.) Here then the change takes place in the bodies of those Christians at the moment of their ascension: and such was doubtless the case in respect to Elijah. With these facts then, we may return to the case of our Lord; and on the ground of these strong analogies infer, not only the possibility; but also the more than probability, that his body assumed its glorified form in the act of his ascension.

Another more imposing objection to the view now under consideration is, that we are compelled to regard the body of the risen Lord as already glorified, in order to find in his resurrection that significance and importance everywhere ascribed to it in the New Testament. If Jesus rose again in his mere human body, it is asked, how did his resurrection differ from that of Lazarus? and how could it be everywhere represented as his final triumph over death and the grave, and as the foundation of our faith and hope? Rather it is said, should then the *ascension* be regarded as this triumph and the foundation of our faith; and yet the apostles never speak of this except as a consequence of the resurrection, which is to them the one great and momentous fact.^b

^b Olshausen Comm. II., p. 548 sq. 3te Ausg., compare Neander Leben Jesu, p. 727, 3te Ausg.

In replying to this objection, it might be sufficient to remark, that, so far as it presents any difficulty, it bears the character of a speculative conclusion set over against the clear and express testimony of those who were appointed to be eye-witnesses of the facts. The true method in such cases is, first to make ourselves acquainted with the facts; and then, if difficulties arise in our minds, to find such explanations of the facts as may, if possible, obviate these difficulties. Speculation must yield before facts. But in the way the present objection is brought forward, a contrary course is pursued; speculation is exalted above facts; and these are left to be frittered away before the "oppositions of science falsely so called." (1 Tim. vi. 20.)

The objection assumes, that the resurrection, and that only, is everywhere spoken of by the sacred writers as the great and momentous fact, on which alone rest the faith and hopes of believers in respect to their own future reward and glory. But is this truly so? It is no doubt true, that in many instances the sacred writers do thus specify only the resurrection of our Lord. But does it follow that by this term so used they mean to imply nothing more than the naked fact of his rising from the tomb? Or do they also mean to include the glorious concomitants and consequences of that great fact, his ascension to heaven and his exaltation at the right hand of God, thus to be "Head over all things to the church?" The latter I must believe to be the case in most of the instances, if not in all. Thus in Acts iii. 15, 16, and iv. 10, the lame man is said to have been healed by faith in the name of Christ, "whom God raised from the dead;" but it is immediately added in the latter passage, that this is the stone set at nought by the builders "which is become the head of the corner;" obviously implying the exaltation of the Saviour. In Acts x. 40, 42, and xvii. 31, in like manner, the mention of Christ's resurrection is coupled with the fact, that he is "ordained of God to be the Judge of quick and dead." So too in Acts xiii. 30, 33, his resurrection is illustrated by a reference to the declaration of the second Psalm, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." Paul also speaks of him in Rom. i. 4, as "declared to be the Son of God with power, by the resurrection from the dead;" which according to all analogy must include also the idea of his exaltation; since it was only in this state that his power was manifested. In the striking passage by the same apostle in 1 Cor. xv., where he dwells upon Christ's resurrection as the pledge and earnest of that of the saints, he goes on in verses 23—25 to speak of him as reigning "till he hath put all things under his

feet;" thus clearly shewing that he meant more than the naked fact of the Lord's resuscitation to life, and nothing less than his exaltation at the right hand of God. I might go on to multiply citations of a like kind; but it is sufficient to refer to them. Acts iii. 26; iv. 33; Rom. iv. 24, 25; viii. 11; 1 Cor. vi. 14; 2 Cor. iv. 14 coll., 10 seq.; Phil. iii. 10; Col. i. 18 coll.; xvi. 2, 12; 2 Tim. ii. 8 coll., 11 seq.

If in this way it appears from the very passages in which the resurrection alone is mentioned, that the term is thus often used by synecdoche to express also the exaltation and glory which followed our Lord's resurrection; still more clearly is this shewn by another class of passages, in which sometimes both the resurrection and exaltation are specified, and sometimes only the latter. Thus Peter, in his discourse after the outpouring of the spirit on the day of Pentecost, (Acts ii. 32—36,) speaks of Jesus, "whom God hath raised up," as being "by the right hand of God exalted," and so "made both Lord and Christ;" and it was the same Lord thus exalted, who had shed forth those sacred influences and gifts which the disciples had just received. The same connection of the two ideas occurs also, directly or indirectly, in Acts v. 30, 31; Eph. i. 20; 1 Thess. i. 10; 1 Pet. i. 3, 4; xxi. 3, 21, 22. Again, where the exaltation alone is specified, the idea of the resurrection is nevertheless included or implied; as Phil. ii. 8, 9, "He became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross; wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name," compare Phil. iii. 20, 21. This mode of statement is particularly prominent in the Epistle to the Hebrews; as Heb. ii. 9, 10, "We see Jesus—for the suffering of death, crowned with glory and honour." Also Heb. iv. 14; vii. 25, 26; viii. 1. The assumption of the objector, therefore, that our Lord's resurrection only is everywhere spoken of as the foundation of the believer's hope, turns out to be unfounded; the ascension and exaltation of Christ being, if less frequently, yet not less prominently, everywhere brought into view.

Again, the objection assumes, that, if the resurrection of our Lord was merely the resuscitation of his former human body, there was nothing to distinguish it in character or importance from that of Lazarus; and that thus all force is taken away from the language of Paul in Rom. vi. 9: "Knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him." Was there then no difference in the two cases? Lazarus was raised to be a witness of the divine power of Christ on earth; Christ himself was raised that he might thus vanquish death and be exalted at the right hand

of God. In the former case the whole object of the miracle was accomplished in the act itself, and Lazarus afterwards lived and died like any other mortal. In the latter, the resurrection of Jesus was but the beginning of an immortal state of power and majesty; and his abode of forty days on earth was, so to speak, simply a momentary transition-state between the grave and glory. In judging of Paul's language above cited, it must also be borne in mind, that the Apostle wrote at least five and twenty years after the resurrection and ascension of our Lord; and would therefore naturally have before his mind, not Jesus still on earth, but the Lord of glory and immortality in heaven, over whom death of course could have no more dominion. Or, even admitting that the apostle did also include in his own mind the forty days on earth; is it necessary, when he thus declares that death had lost his power over Jesus, to suppose that this was caused by some change of corporeal organization? Might it not have been simply dependent on the will of God? When our Lord said of John, "If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee, the saying went abroad among the brethren that John should not die." (John xxi. 22, 23.) But did any of them suppose, that for this end any change had taken place, or would take place, in his physical organization? Did they not refer it directly and solely to the will of their Lord and Master? What difference is there then in the two cases? And why may we not assume, on the strength of this analogy, that Paul, in thus affirming as to Christ the further impotence of death, intended nothing more than to refer it solely to the divine will and purpose?

In regard to the general tenor of the preceding objection to the view under consideration, that it essentially detracts from the significancy and importance of the great fact of our Lord's resurrection, it seems to me that it belongs not to us to sit in judgment upon the wisdom of the divine counsels; and then, because of the darkness of our own minds, to call in question what we cannot comprehend. It is enough for us to know the facts,—those facts which forced conviction upon the minds of the unwilling disciples; and which they have recorded with all the simplicity of their own belief, under the guidance of the Spirit of truth. Those simple facts we have endeavoured to bring out and place in a clear light. In a calm review of them, we may not, to some extent at least, mark and comprehend the wisdom of God in the adaptation of the means to the end? What was the object of our Lord's sojourn of forty days on earth? He indeed held converse with his disciples; he gave them their commission to preach the gospel; but they were not

endued with power from on high until after his ascension. His abode on earth was not necessary simply for that purpose in respect to them; any more than in the case of Paul. What then was the object? May we not find a satisfactory answer in considerations like the following. May we not regard it as in accordance with the divine plan and wisdom, that full and complete evidence of the great fact of Christ's resurrection and exaltation, his triumph over death and the grave,—evidence adapted to the constitution and feeble capacities of the human mind and to human experience,—should exist and be presented, first to his disciples, and through them to the world? Was not such evidence necessary, in order that men might believe on him as Lord and Christ; and so become assured of his power to save all who come unto him, and to bestow upon them a like reward of bliss and glory? What then was this appropriate evidence? The eleven apostles, who were appointed to be witnesses, were slow to believe. They had disbelieved the testimony of the women, and of the disciples returning from Emmaus. Suppose no further evidence of Christ's resurrection had ever been given; would the apostles have believed that he was risen? Would the world now have any valid ground of belief? But the Lord afforded further proof. He presented himself to the eyes of his amazed disciples; and they thought it was a spirit. Suppose the Lord had left them in this belief; should we now have any good evidence of his resurrection? He did not thus leave them; but appealed to the evidence of their own senses,—to the visible, tangible, palpable evidence before them,—that it was he himself in his own body of flesh and bones. Here was evidence which they could not gainsay nor resist; and yet they doubted until he ate before them. The same evidence in a more striking and convincing form, was repeated to them in the presence of Thomas. They believed that it was their Lord indeed, who was thus risen in his own body from the dead; and they beheld him afterwards ascend to his heavenly glory. Not a doubt remained upon their minds; and they, the appointed witnesses, have so recorded their own convictions, that no one who reads can doubt the truth and conscientiousness of their testimony. Would they, or could they, according to the constitution of the human mind, have received the same unwavering convictions, and borne the same convincing testimony, had our Lord not presented himself to them in his own human body? In other words, would the chain of evidence, in any other way, have been as full and complete?—If these remarks are well founded, we see at once a momentous and sufficient object and motive,

why the Saviour should have remained on earth for forty days in his human body. And this being shown, the objection raised against the significance of this mode of our Lord's resurrection falls to the ground.

It may be said, and it sometimes is said, that Paul brings forward his own vision of the glorified Saviour as evidence of the Lord's resurrection, (1 Cor. xv. 8;) and that therefore we must regard this species of proof as being in itself just as valid and convincing as any other. This statement seems to me to overlook the facts of the case. The other apostles testify to their having seen and, at the behest of their Lord, handled his real and veritable body of flesh and bones, as raised again from the dead, after they had seen him crucified and laid in the tomb. Paul testifies that several years afterwards he saw the glorified Redeemer, who gave him an express commission to be an apostle to the Gentiles. This vision was to him a confirmation of the testimony of the witnesses to the Lord's resurrection; and he presents it to others in the same light. Paul was not, and does not claim to have been, a witness of our Lord's resurrection; Matthias had long before been selected for that office. Indeed, had we only the isolated evidence afforded by Paul's vision, what valid ground should we have for believing that Christ rose at all from the tomb? Paul did not see the body laid in the sepulchre; he did not see nor know the Lord during his forty days on earth; he saw him only in glory. Did his testimony stand alone, an isolated vision unsupported by the array of other and stronger evidence, I see not wherein it would much differ in kind from the alleged evidence of the Koran.

The resurrection of our Lord is often brought forward by the sacred writers as the pledge and pattern of the future resurrection of the saints to glory. (See especially 1 Cor. xv.) On this ground an objection is sometimes taken to that view, which we have been considering. The saints, it is said, are everywhere represented as being raised at once in their glorified bodies; and if this be so, then our Lord, their pattern, must also have been so raised from the dead. If this objection have any force, it applies obviously and directly to the fact of the Lord's forty days' manifestation upon earth; and only indirectly or not at all to the nature of his resurrection-body. The Saviour, when he rose, had a mission to fulfil on earth; he rose in his human body, fulfilled this mission, and assumed a glorified body in his ascension to heaven. The saints have no such future mission upon earth; the moment of their resurrection and ascension is one and the same; and in this moment their bodies

also are to be glorified. The promise and their hope is, not that they shall rise in the same manner in all respects as the Lord rose; but that as he was raised up and entered into his glory, so they too shall rise and enter into the same glory.

With the main subject of this discussion is closely connected another inquiry, which has of late been again brought into notice, viz., Whether our Lord ascended more than once into heaven? Such an opinion was maintained in the beginning of the last century by W. Whiston, the Socinian;^c was repeated doubtfully by Kaiser of Erlangen five and twenty years ago;^d and has recently been advanced, as if wholly new, by Kinkel, a private teacher at the University of Bonn, in an article in the *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*,^e translated and published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review* for Feb., 1844.^f This whole hypothesis of repeated ascensions, as stated by Kinkel, rests on two propositions; *first*, "that the notices which the New Testament furnishes on the ascension of Christ, in respect to the time, place, and circumstances are wholly inconsistent with each other;" and *secondly*, "that Christ's glorification, and consequently the ascension, must have taken place immediately after the resurrection."^g If the discussions of the present article, and of that in the last number of this work,^h upon the resurrection and ascension of Christ, are worth anything, both these propositions are shown to be without foundation; and of course the hypothesis of several ascensions built upon them, falls of itself. And further, the very language of Peter in Acts i. 22, necessarily implies that there was but a single ascension: "Beginning from the baptism of John, unto THAT SAME DAY THAT HE WAS TAKEN UP FROM US,—must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection." That *same day* is but a single day; or, if not, what day is meant?—It is also somewhat remarkable that Kinkel, if he wrote in sober earnest, should have omitted all notice of our Lord's appearance to the women, who embrace his feet; and also of his appearance to the assembled disciples, both in the absence and

^c *Sermons and Essays*, Lond., 1709, p. 156 sq. Replied to by J. Schmid, *Dis. Theol. Whistoni, multiplicam Christi in celos ascensionem propugnanti, opposita*. Lips. 1712. [Whiston was rather an Arian than a Socinian. Ed. J. S. L.]

^d *Monogrammata theol. Christ. dogmat.*, Erlang. 1819, p. 147.

^e *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.*, 1841, Heft 3.

^f The only reply I have seen to the article of Kinkel is by the Pastor Koerner in the *Biblischen Studien von Geistlichen des Königr. Sachsens*, 1str. Jahrg. 1842. p. 161 sq.

^g *Biblioth. Sacra and Theol. Review*, Feb., 1844, p. 155, 162.

^h That is of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. It is our intention to reprint the article here referred to in a future number of this Journal.

presence of Thomas, when Jesus gives them convincing proofs of the reality of his human body. It is easy to maintain any and every opinion or theory, if we may thus leave out of view all opposing evidence.

My task is ended. But there is one inference from this whole discussion, so solemn and momentous, that I cannot forbear to present it, and to press it upon the attention of the reader. I would not charge this inference upon those pure and holy men in every age, who may have held a different view; for they did not carry out in their own minds the consequences of their speculations. I have already stated the two conclusions which follow irresistibly from the facts recorded by the chosen witnesses of our Lord's resurrection; *first*, that the disciples believed the body of their Lord after his resurrection to be the same identical body of flesh and bones, which they had seen crucified and laid in the sepulchre; and *secondly*, that our Lord himself took special pains to impress this very belief upon their minds. No candid inquirer can call in question the completeness of the evidence on these two points. If then our Lord was not thus in his human body, it follows that he took special pains to deceive his disciples, and that they were actually deceived. This then is the tremendous result;—I shudder while I write;—our holy and blessed Redeemer was a deceiver; the holy apostles were false witnesses of God; and our holy religion, the sacred fabric of Christianity, with all its blessed and widespread influences, is the most stupendous delusion the world ever saw. From such a consummation may God deliver us!

SOLOMON'S TEMPLE.

Der Salomonische Tempel mit Berücksichtigung seines Verhältnisses zur heiligen Architectur überhaupt. Von Dr. Carl Chr. W. F. BAHR. Karlsruhe: 1848. 8vo. pp. 352.

[*Solomon's Temple, in its relations to Sacred Architecture.* By Dr. Charles Christopher W. F. Bähr.]

The Temple; an Essay on the Ark, the Tabernacle, and the Temple of Jerusalem, shewing the correspondence of their forms with those of Classic Architecture. By EDWARD C. HAKEWILL. 1851.

THE Temple of Solomon has been for ages a stumbling-block to antiquaries, architects, critics, commentators and divines. Unlike other buildings of greater, or lesser antiquity, no remains

of its existence are to be found that may corroborate any hypothesis as to the style of its architecture, its materials, or its dimensions. The first Temple at Jerusalem, built by Solomon, and, emphatically, called after him SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, which, with the addition "*in all its glory*," became a standard of perfection, for beauty, wealth or splendour, was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar on the ninth day of Ab, nine hundred years after the rebellion of the Israelites, under Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, against Moses on the same day. The second Temple, which was built upon the ruins of the first, by Zerubbabel and his colleagues after their return from the Babylonian captivity; at the sight of which^a "many of the Priests and Levites and chief of the fathers, ancient men that had seen the first house, wept" at the remembrance of its ruined glories. This second Temple was so much enlarged, altered and embellished, by Herod the Great, that it might be with some propriety called a rebuilding; in fact, it is sometimes called emphatically Herod's, or the third Temple. This splendid building was also destroyed on the fatal ninth of Ab, by the Romans under Titus; and its final and complete destruction under Hadrian, who ploughed up its site and the whole city of Jerusalem like a field, as predicted by^b Micah, and more emphatically by Christ himself, that one stone should not be left upon another, also occurred again on the ninth day of Ab. These are a series of singular and melancholy coincidences to the Jewish nation, and gave rise to one of their most rigid fasts and mournful anniversaries; for when Jerusalem was lost to them, and their temple and altars and most holy places razed to the dust, they lost all that was dear to them as a people and as individuals.

This humiliating anniversary, peculiarly Israelitish, for no other people commemorate national defeats and disasters, is called תשעה באב the ninth of Ab, which, with some interesting facts and an elegy written by one of their mediæval poets, Rabbi Jehuda Halleivi, who was slain whilst chanting it over the desolated plain of the holy city and temple of Jehovah, towards the latter part of the twelfth century, are detailed in the tenth number of the first series of this Journal, in a paper on the Hebrew poetry of the middle ages.

When God created man in his own image, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul,^c he designed him to a noble and immortal condition, and

^a Ezra iii. 12.

^b Micah iii. 12.

^c "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." Job xxxii. 8.

that he should live well and happily. He gave man knowledge and free-will; knowledge of his Creator, that is, the religion of nature, and freedom of choice between good and evil. Man's first crime was disobedience, and he and all his descendants have perseveringly chosen too much of the evil and rejected too much of the good; as if the demoniacal apostrophe, "Evil, be thou my good," was his only creed.

The religion of the patriarchs was founded on the same divine creed; whilst the divided offspring of Cain and Abel, carried in one line the natural religion of Eden, and in the other the worship of the creatures instead of the Creator, which became the parent stock of the mighty, wide-spreading tree of idolatry. The children of Shem, by fidelity, obtained the distinguished privilege of primogeniture, and of being God's peculiar people, till by repeated and continuous disobedience they lost their high caste, and became a degraded, despised, and persecuted race. In the patriarchal age the priesthood was among the rights of primogeniture; and the simple worship was celebrated under the open cope of heaven at an altar of earth.

During their sojourn and captivity in Egypt, the Israelites without doubt added to the stock of knowledge which they brought with them from Canaan, and learned many of the arts, customs, and observances of their Egyptian masters. The colossal and perdurable architecture of Egypt must have been most familiar to them; and we know that they were actually employed as building artificers, in the construction of the important treasure cities of Pithom, the Patumos of Herodotus and the Heroöpolis of the Septuagint; and Raamses, the capital of the land of Goshen, a province on the eastern frontier of Egypt, which from its exposed situation was the great focus of the Egyptian military power, and a suitable place for the labours and safe keeping of the Israelitish bondsmen. Hence we may infer that a considerable knowledge of and skill in the arts of masonry, with perhaps a tendency to Egyptian art, science and literature, existed among the Hebrews in the time of Moses. Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, yet it is not to be supposed that he was the only Israelite who had skill therein, although he surpassed them all in religion, learning, genius and divine inspiration.

The patriarchal priesthood was laid aside by Moses, after the Exode, perhaps from its disuetude or decadence during their Egyptian captivity, and the Levitical priesthood instituted in its stead, as related in Exodus xxviii. 1. Two millions and a half, some accounts state three millions, of Israelites, six hundred thousand of which were capable of bearing arms, are recorded

to have left the cultivated lands of the Pharaohs for the deserts of Canaan, enriched with the loans and spoils of their oppressors under the guidance of their great leader and lawgiver, Moses, the man of God.

Conscious of his heavenly mission, Moses conducted his ungrateful countrymen safe from their pursuing enemy, till he brought them to the wilderness of Horeb, and encamped them safely before^d Mount Sinai, there to receive the promised message of Jehovah. Then their Almighty deliverer^e "bowed the heavens and came down: at the brightness before him, his thick clouds passed; Jehovah also thundered in the heavens, and the Highest gave his voice," in those awful and holy words, "Hear, O Israel: Jehovah our God is one Jehovah."^f

Thenceforward the Israelites, as a people, worshipped but one God, the great Jehovah, who, on this memorable occasion, revealed himself to them by this his peculiar name.

In order to keep this divine Unity in as much purity as was possible among a people who were more in danger from the fascinating reminiscences of Egyptian hero and nature worship, than from their arms, Moses was divinely directed to construct the tabernacle as the sole abode of the Shekinah, or visible glory of Jehovah, and one sole altar of sacrifice to the one true God; that tabernacle, the recipient of *His name*, with all its mystic divisions, furniture and utensils, the ark of the covenant, and the altar, that henceforth accompanied their wandering steps, became the type of the future house they were to build to Jehovah, by which name he had announced himself to them, when they should have entered into the goodly land of promise and taken possession thereof. In fact, so much does the pavilion resemble the house, that the tabernacle may be said to be the portable temple, and the temple the fixed tabernacle erected on the holy acropolis of Jerusalem, the only house for the glory of the only God.

The excellent work whose title forms the heading of this article, was slightly noticed in the third number (page 186) of the former series of this Journal, with an intimation of perhaps making its readers acquainted with the contents of that elabo-

^d Exod. xix. 2.

^e Psalm xvi. 19.

^f Virgil, who with Horace, Cicero, Ovid and other illustrious ancient poets and philosophers, has been more than suspected of a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, in his description of the approach of Phœbus, almost translates the words of Moses in this descent of God upon Mount Sinai into Latin hexameters, in his

"Tremere omnia visa repente,
Liminaque, laurusque Dei; totusque moveri
Mons circum et mugire adytis cortina reclusis."

^g Deut. vi. 4.

rate and learned production; which the writer of the present dissertation will endeavour to fulfil.

As the learned author restricts himself to the temple built by Solomon and destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, it may be as well perhaps to attempt a brief sketch of the three temples at Jerusalem, the last of which was obliterated from the face of the earth as foretold by Christ. It may be observed, that in furtherance of the Mosaic policy of continuing the theocracy in its utmost purity, the rulers of the people, even after the appointment of their first three kings, centralized the public worship of the one true God, at first to wherever the tabernacle was erected, and afterwards in the temple at Jerusalem. The several central stations of the tabernacle, their national sanctuary, are soon told. After the covenant of Mount Sinai, the delivery of the Decalogue to Moses, the establishment of a pure and absolute monotheism, with a theocratic form of government, the promulgation of the statutes of their commonwealth, the appointment of a sacerdotal race of the tribe of Levi, and the construction of the tabernacle, in the wilderness of Sinai, the sacred tent accompanied the people in their various migrations in the desert, till the conquest of trans-Jordanic Palestine under Joshua, and the time when the Gibeonites were permitted to reside in Israel, when it was erected at Shiloh, in the tribe of Ephraim, and continued there from the year 1476 B.C. till 1092. At this time Samuel the prophet, of the tribe of Levi, became judge or chief governor of Israel, and removed the tabernacle to Nob, in the territory of the tribe of Dan, where it continued till 1055, when Saul was defeated and slain with three of his sons by the Philistines in the battle of Gilboa. David, who succeeded Saul as king of all Israel, restored and purified the public worship, and removed the national sanctuary to Gibeon, a city in his own tribe of Benjamin, where it remained till 1004, when on the completion of the great national temple by Solomon, its sacred contents were transferred to that magnificent edifice.

Heathen nations, as soon as they possessed skill enough in architecture to build huts for themselves, erected houses for their gods; and when sufficiently advanced in architecture to construct houses for themselves, palaces for their kings, and walls around their cities for defence, they proceeded to build numerous and splendid temples to their hosts of deities. The Egyptians were among the first to render this homage to multifarious gods of human, animal and vegetable origin; and overspread the land with temples, statues, obelisks and other undecayed monuments

of their skill in the arts: monuments that bear everlasting testimony to the truth of sacred history.

The Hebrews, on the contrary, notwithstanding their long sojourn as bondmen in the land of Egypt, worshipped but one God, who being a Spirit, is invisible to mortal eyes, except in the beauty and benignity of his works, and is to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, without any manifest form or substance. The Hebrews, therefore, consecrated but one sanctuary for the reception of the visible glory of Jehovah, the one true God of Israel. This sanctuary or palace of the national faith and law, was apportioned equally between the sacerdotal ministers of the altar and the judicial elders of the people.

The law made it imperative on every Jewish citizen, to repair three times a year to Jerusalem; however distant his residence might be from the holy city. This stringent enactment kept alive a constant communication between the centre and the circumference of the nation, and gave a more sublime character to this occasional religious assemblage of the tribes of Israel, while it knit them closely together and maintained them in the purer love and more spiritual adoration of the God of their fathers. Centralization is injurious when the metropolis of a state is enriched at the expense of the provinces; like as an overcharged heart draws heat and vitality from the members and afflicts itself with plethora. But, on the contrary, centralization for the unity of government in religion and jurisprudence is good in principle, and in the particular instance of the tabernacle and the temple, exemplified to the Jewish people the unity of the Deity, the universality of his religion, the obligation of public worship, and a public discouragement of idolatry.

The temple of Solomon underwent as many calamitous vicissitudes as the people for whose welfare it was erected. In the days of prosperity it was neglected or deserted for idolatrous altars; in calamitous times it was thronged by humbled supplicants before the mercy-seat of Jehovah: sinners in seasons of gladness; saints in the hour of adversity.

After the death of Solomon, his kingdom was rent in twain; idolatry, luxury, civil and foreign warfare, divided and ruined the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah. In the reign of Joram, Jerusalem was captured, and the temple and palaces plundered by the Philistines and Arabs; the worship of Baal, a Phœnician idol, prevailed in both states, and the temple was defiled by idolatrous rites. During the non-age of Jehoash, Jehoiada the high priest and regent of the kingdom of Judah purified the temple, restored the national worship and the law of Moses;

but on the death of Jehoiada, the king relapsed into idolatry and slew Zachariah, the son of his pious guardian. Jerusalem and the temple were again taken and plundered by the Syrians. In the next reign, that of Amaziah, the holy city and temple were again captured, not by strangers, but by their brethren the Israelites. Hezekiah, on ascending the throne of Judah, restored the temple to its former purity and glory; but his successors again perverted the sacred edifice to idolatry; and the atrocious rites of Moloch superseded the worship of Jehovah. Josiah, nearly three quarters of a century after the accession of Hezekiah, recommenced the work of restoration: he hurled down the chariot of the sun from its pedestal in front of the sanctuary, demolished the golden calf, and rooted up the idolatrous groves and hill-altars throughout his kingdom. He repaired the temple and restored the law and institutions of the country, the originals of which, written by Moses, were found by Hilkiah the high priest, and laid before the king, who read the whole law publicly to the people. This monarch was unsuccessful in repelling the aggressions of Egypt, fell in the battle of Megiddo near Mount Carmel, and Jerusalem fell under the power of the conqueror, Pharaoh Necho. Judah then became a tributary kingdom to the Pharaohs, and, under Zedekiah, to Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon, who raised him to the throne of his nephew, Jehoiakim. Yielding however to the advice of Hophrah, or Apries, king of Egypt, this vacillating king renounced his allegiance to Babylon, entered into alliance with Egypt, and brought down the whole vengeance of the warlike tribes of Upper Asia upon his devoted kingdom. After sustaining a year and a half's siege, Jerusalem was taken; the king of Judah, his family and subjects, were made prisoners and sent as captives to Babylon. The palaces, public buildings, and the temple of Solomon were laid in dust and ashes, and the walls of the city totally demolished; the destruction of the sanctuary occurred on the fatal ninth of Ab, in the year 588 B.C., or in the year of the world 3338.

The fate of Zerubbabel's temple, which was raised upon the ruins of the first, with diminished glory, being destitute of the sacred fire and the ark, and that which so eclipsed it, by Herod the Great, have been sufficiently intimated for the purpose of this investigation in the beginning of the article.

Of the temple of Solomon in its important relations to sacred history, we offer the following summary, taken freely from Dr. Bähr's admirable elucidation of the structure, divisions and utensils, assisted by Rabbinical and English authorities. As to the latter authorities, we are surprised at the little use the learned

investigator has made of the English writers on the subject; Lightfoot and Dean Spencer^k being the only two quoted out of the distinguished names of Prideaux, Sandys, Bishop Cumberland, Brown, Patrick, Poole, Stackhouse, Pierce, and others whose names do not immediately occur: nor is the profound Abarbanel and other Rabbinical critics made much use of, although he makes a goodly display of German commentators, from the profound Conradmelⁱ to the learned Chevalier Bunsen. This is the more surprising, as Dr. Bähr belongs to a country eminently distinguished for its persevering workers in the mines of literature.

To give the reader a slight insight of Dr. Bähr's treatise, a glimpse at its contents may suffice. The introduction is devoted to the subject of the inquiry, its end and aim, and an account of former inquiries. In the first chapter he discusses the temple generally, its description and importance; a critical review of the latest interpretations. In the second chapter, the temple is considered particularly, in its divisions, adjacent buildings, etc. In the third chapter, the vessels and utensils, the columns Jachin and Boaz, etc., are discussed; and the fourth chapter, perhaps the most important in the work, is devoted to a comparison between the temple at Jerusalem with the sacred buildings of other nations; as to Egyptian and Phœnician in particular, and in relation to heathen temple architecture generally, concluding with some considerations in its relations to Christian church architecture.

Before proceeding to the examination of the various theories that have been propounded, relative to the plan and arrangement, style of architecture, decorations, utensils, etc., of the temple, it will be necessary to collect, as well for a starting place, as for a safe rallying-point, the earliest authentic accounts extant; that is, those given in various parts of the Old Testament: and we know no better order in which to arrange this narrative *seriatim* than the one proposed by Dr. Kitto, in the concluding note to the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of the first book of Kings, in the standard edition (1847) of his *Pictorial Bible*.

^k Author of a learned work, *De Legibus Hebræorum*, Cantab. 1685, which contains, among others, treatises on the Temple, the Ark and Cherubim, and the Urim and Thummim.

ⁱ Author of *Salems Tempel, oder Beschreibung des herrlichen Tempels Solomons, wie auch des von Serobabel wieder aufgerichteten und von Herode verbesserten Hauses Gottes zu Jerusalem*, u. s. w. Frankfurt u. Leipzig, 1724. 4.

^j In his *Die Basiliken des Christlichen Roms nach ihrem Zusammenhang mit der Idee und Geschichte der Kirchbaukunst*.

“Then Solomon began to build the house of the Lord at Jerusalem in mount Moriah, where Jehovah appeared unto David his father, in the place that David had prepared in the threshing-floor of Ornan the Jebusite. And it came to pass in the four hundred and eightieth year after the children of Israel were come out of the land of Egypt, in the fourth year of Solomon's reign over Israel, in the month Zif, which is the second month, that he began to build the house of the Lord. “Now these are the things wherein Solomon was instructed for the building of the house of God. The length by cubits after the first measure was threescore cubits, and the breadth twenty cubits. And the porch that was in the front of the house, the length of it was according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the height was an hundred and twenty, and he overlaid it within with pure gold. And the greater house he ceiled with fir-tree, which he overlaid with fine gold, and set thereon palm-trees and chains. And he garnished the house with precious stones for beauty: and the gold was gold of Parvaim. He overlaid also the house, the beams, the posts, and the walls thereof, and the doors thereof, with gold; and graved cherubims on the walls. And he made the most holy house, the length whereof was according to the breadth of the house, twenty cubits, and the breadth thereof twenty cubits: and he overlaid it with fine gold, amounting to six hundred talents. And the weight of the nails was fifty shekels of gold. And he overlaid the upper chambers with gold. “And for the house he made windows of narrow lights. And against the wall of the house he built chambers round about, against the walls of the house roundabout both of the temple and of the oracle: and he made chambers round about: the nethermost chamber was five cubits broad, and the middle was six cubits broad, and the third was seven cubits broad: for without in the wall of the house he made narrowed rests round about, that the beams should not be fastened in the walls of the house. And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither: so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house, while it was in building. The door for the middle chamber was in the right side of the house: and they went up with winding stairs into the middle chamber, and out of the middle into the third. And he built the walls of the house within with boards of cedar, both the floor of the house and the walls of the ceiling: he covered them on the inside with wood, and covered the floor of the house with planks of fir. And he built twenty cubits on the sides of the house, both the floor and the walls with boards of cedar: he even built them for it within, even for the oracle, even for the most holy place. And the house, that is, the temple before it, was forty cubits long. And the cedar of the house within was carved with knops and open flowers: all was cedar; there was no stone seen. And the oracle he prepared in the house within, to set there the ark of the covenant of the Lord. And the oracle in the forepart was twenty cubits in length, and twenty cubits in breadth, and twenty cubits in the height thereof: and he overlaid it with

^k 2 Chron. iii. 1.

^l 1 Kings vi. 1.

^m 2 Chron. iii. 3—10.

ⁿ 1 Kings vi. 4—9, 15—28.

pure gold; and so covered the altar which was of cedar. So Solomon overlaid the house within with pure gold: and he made a partition by the chains of gold before the oracle; and he overlaid it with gold. And the whole house he overlaid with gold, until he had finished all the house: also the whole altar that was by the oracle he overlaid with gold. And within the oracle he made two cherubims of olive-tree,^o each ten cubits high. And five cubits was the one wing of the cherub, and five cubits the other wing of the cherub: from the uttermost part of the one wing unto the uttermost part of the other were ten cubits. And the other cherub was ten cubits: both the cherubims were of one measure and one size. And he set the cherubims within the inner house: and they stretched forth the wings of the cherubims, so that the wing of the one touched the one wall, and the wing of the other cherub touched the other wall; and their wings touched one another in the midst of the house. And he overlaid the cherubims with gold. The wings of these cherubims spread themselves forth twenty cubits: and they stood on their feet, and their faces were inward. And he made the vail of blue and purple and crimson, and fine linen, and wrought cherubims thereon. And he carved all the walls of the house round about with carved figures of cherubims and palm-trees and open flowers within and without. And the floor of the house he overlaid with gold, within and without. And for the entering of the oracle he made doors of olive-tree: the lintel and side posts were a fifth part of the wall. The two doors also were of olive-tree; and he carved upon them carvings of cherubims and palm-trees and open flowers, and overlaid them with gold, and spread gold upon the cherubims and upon the palm-trees. So also made he for the door of the temple, posts of olive-tree, a fourth part of the wall. And the two doors were of fir-tree: the two leaves of the one door were folding, and the two leaves of the other door were folding. And he carved thereon cherubims and palm-trees and open flowers: and covered them with gold fitted upon the carved work. And he built the inner court with three rows of hewed stone, and a row of cedar beams."

"And king Solomon sent and fetched Hiram out of Tyre. He was a widow's son of the tribe of Napthali, and his father was a man of Tyre, a worker in brass: and he was filled with wisdom and understanding, and cunning to work all works in brass. And he came to king Solomon and wrought all his work. For he cast two pillars of brass, of eighteen cubits high apiece: and a line of twelve cubits did compass either of them about. And he made two chapiters of molten brass, to set upon the tops of the pillars: the height of the one chapter was five cubits, and the height of the other chapter was five cubits: and nets of chequer work, and wreaths of chain work, for the chapiters which were upon the top of the pillars: seven for the one chapter, and seven for the other chapter. And he made the pillars, and two rows round about upon the one network, to

^o Sprengell, in his *Halle schon Encyklopedie*, says of the wild olive-tree that its wood is hard, and takes a fine polish. That the handles of battle-axes, the club, of Polyphemus, and the marriage-bed, in the *Odyssey*, are mentioned by Homer as made of this wood.

p 2 Chron. iii. 13, 14.

q 1 Kings vi. 29—37.

r 1 Kings vii. 13—23.

cover the chapters that were upon the top, with pomegranates : and so did he for the other chapter. And the chapters that were upon the top of the pillars were of lily work in the porch, four cubits. And the chapters upon the two pillars had pomegranates also above, over against the belly which was by the network : and the pomegranates were two hundred, in rows round about upon the other chapter. And he set up the pillars in the porch of the temple : and he set up the right pillar, and called the name thereof Jachin : and he set up the left pillar, and called the name thereof Boaz. And upon the top of the pillars was lily work : so was the work of the pillars finished. 'Moreover he made an altar of brass, twenty cubits the length thereof, and twenty cubits the breadth thereof, and ten cubits the height thereof."

"And he made a molten sea, ten cubits from the one brim to the other : it was round all about, and his height was five cubits : and a line of thirty cubits did compass it about. And under the brim of it round about there were knops compassing it, ten in a cubit, compassing the sea round about : the knops were cast in two rows when it was cast. It stood upon twelve oxen, three looking toward the north, and three looking toward the west, and three looking toward the south, and three looking toward the east : and the sea was set above upon them, and all their hinder parts were inward. And it was an hand-breadth thick, and the brim thereof was wrought like the brim of a cup, with flowers of lilies : it contained two thousand baths. And he made ten bases of brass ; four cubits was the length of one base, and four cubits the breadth, and three cubits the height of it. And the work of the bases was on this manner : they had borders, and the borders were between the ledges : and on the borders that were between the ledges were lions, oxen, and cherubims : and upon the ledges there was a base above : and beneath the lions and oxen were certain additions made of thin work. And every base had four brazen wheels, and plates of brass : and the four corners thereof had undersetters : under the laver were undersetters molten, at the side of every addition. And the mouth of it within the chapter and above was a cubit : but the mouth thereof was round after the work of the base, a cubit and a half : and also upon the mouth of it were gravings with their borders, foursquare, not round. And under the borders were four wheels ; and the axletrees of the wheels were joined to the base : and the height of a wheel was a cubit and half a cubit. And the work of the wheels was like the work of a chariot wheel : their axletrees, and their naves, and their felloes, and their spokes, were all molten. And there were four undersetters to the four corners of one base : and the undersetters were of the very base itself. And in the top of the base there was a round compass of half a cubit high ; and on the top of the base the ledges thereof and the borders thereof were of the same. For on the plates of the ledges thereof, and on the borders thereof, he graved cherubims, lions, and palm trees, according to the proportion of every one, and additions round about. After this manner he made the ten bases : all of them had one casting, one measure, and one size. Then made he ten lavers of brass : one laver

contained forty baths : and every laver was four cubits : and upon every one of the ten bases one laver. And he put five bases on the right side of the house, and five on the left side of the house : and he set the sea on the right side of the house eastward over against the south. And Hiram made the lavers, and the shovels, and the basons. So Hiram made an end of doing all the work that he made king Solomon for the house of the LORD. The two pillars, and the two bowls of the chapiters that were on the top of the two pillars ; and the two networks to cover the two bowls of the chapiters which were upon the top of the pillars ; and four hundred pomegranates for the two networks, even two rows of pomegranates for one network, to cover the two bowls of the chapiters that were upon the pillars ; and the ten bases, and ten lavers on the bases ; and one sea, and twelve oxen under the sea ; and the pots, and the shovels, and the basons : and all these vessels, which Hiram made to king Solomon for the house of the LORD, were of bright brass. In the plain of Jordan did the king cast them, in the clay ground between Succoth and Zarathan. And Solomon left all the vessels unweighed, because they were exceeding many ; neither was the weight of the brass found out. And Solomon made all the vessels that pertained unto the house of the Lord : the altar of gold, and the table of gold, whereupon the shewbread was. And the candlesticks of pure gold, five on the right side, and five on the left, before the oracle, with the flowers, and the lamps, and tongs of gold. And the bowls, and the snuffers, and the basons, and the spoons, and the censers of pure gold ; and the hinges of gold, both for the doors of the inner house, the most holy place, and for the doors of the house, to wit, of the temple."

"He made also ten tables, and placed them in the temple, five on the right side, and five on the left. And he made an hundred basons of gold. Furthermore, he made the court of the priests, and the great court, and doors for the court, and overlaid the doors of them with brass. And he set the sea on the right side of the east end, over against the south."

"So he built the house and finished it ; and covered the house with beams and boards of cedar. And then he built chambers against all the house, five cubits high : and they rested on the house with timber of cedar. And the word of the Lord came to Solomon, saying, Concerning this house which thou art in building, if thou wilt walk in my statutes, and execute my judgments, and keep all my commandments to walk in them ; then will I perform my word with thee, which I spake unto David thy father : and I will dwell among the children of Israel, and will not forsake my people Israel. So Solomon built the house, and finished it. In the fourth year was the foundation of the house of the Lord laid, in the month Zif : and in the eleventh year, in the month Bul, which is the eighth month, was the house finished throughout all the parts thereof, and according to all the fashion of it. So was he seven years in building it."

This is a long quotation ; but it is necessary for the right understanding of the subject ; for upon this text depends the character of all that has been written, or will be written on this

important and intricate disquisition; and has, perhaps, never been before connected in such a consecutive order, which supplies an entire description of the temple in the words of the sacred original. Therefore, with this authority in view, as a land mark, we shall pursue our investigation.

The Israelites expected three events after their taking possession of the promised land, as foreshadowed in the writings of Moses; namely, a king, a temple, and the destruction of Amalek. The first and the last of these promises had been fulfilled; and they naturally looked to the accomplishment of the other from their royal and heroic bard, prophet, and victorious leader—king David; who, encouraged by those eminent servants of Jehovah—Gad, Nathan, and the illustrious priest, prophet, and judge, the fearless Samuel—prepared himself to fulfil the third great expectation, the erection of a temple to Jehovah. By prophetic intimation David conceived that the place where the plague was stayed, and his sacrifice accepted, which he offered upon an altar erected by the order of the prophet Gad—the threshing floor of Ornan the Jebusite, was the accepted spot for his proposed homage, purchased it at a high price, and commenced preparations for the great work. He collected materials and appropriated an immense amount of gold and silver, informed his son Solomon of the purport of this accumulation, and exhorted all his officers, princes, priests, and Levites, to aid him and his son in the undertaking; and issued a royal edict to that effect. Towards this end he apportioned the priests and Levites into better order for the future service of the proposed temple; the priests into their several orders, and the Levites into various classes and offices; musicians, singers, with their chieftains and directors; and increased the service and glories of the tabernacle by his own divine odes and musical skill. At an assembly of the senate and great congregation of the people, David, attended by Solomon, related the sum of his donations and preparations for the building of the house of the Lord, to which the fathers and princes of the tribes contributed munificently, as related in the sacred chronicles of the kingdom, and caused the delighted monarch to burst into that rapturous song of praise, which accompanied the last great public act of this long and glorious reign. All matters being thus regularly organized, and all the workmen, artificers, officers and overseers, etc., ordained, his successor had little more to do than to execute the plan which his father David had received “by the spirit, of the courts of the house of the Lord, and of all the

* 1 Chron. xxix. 10—20.

* 1 Chron. xxviii. 12.

✓ chambers round about, of the treasures of the house of God, and of the treasures of the dedicated things." Having thus accomplished the object nearest to his heart, the son of Jesse resigned the sceptre of Judah to his son, after reigning over Israel forty years—seven years in Hebron and thirty-three in Jerusalem, and "died in a good old age, full of days, riches and honours."

✓ Following the order of the sacred narrative, we proceed to an examination of the nature of the building, designed by David and executed by Solomon; and first as to the resemblance between the tabernacle of Moses and the temple of Solomon. Whilst the Israelites were sojourning in the wilderness, Moses laid before his brethren, the heads of the people, the most minute details of the tabernacle and its appurtenances for the information of those who were to enter the promised land, wherein they were to substitute a substantial temple for its migratory and temporary prototype. For these details the enquirer is referred to the ample description given by Moses in the Law. But as "Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," which included their arts, mysteries, and religious ceremonies, and as the people he brought with him from bondage were more than half Egyptianized, the resemblance between the arrangement of the tabernacle and its sacred appurtenances to those of Egypt, purified from its idolatry, is not surprising.

✓ The three degrees of sanctity which distinguished the court of the tabernacle from the holy, and that from the holy of holies, has been compared with the three degrees of mysteries into which the Egyptian priests initiated their disciples. The temple of Sais, as well as others, was thus divided, and from these three degrees of mysteries the laity were excluded, and the names kept secret in the three degrees of the priesthood; but in the tabernacle of Moses, all the people of Israel, although excluded from the sanctuary, knew what it contained, what functions the priests of Jehovah had to fulfil behind the veil, and the cloud which covered the holy of holies, and were exhorted and commanded to worship and adore the one true God, whose form and presence were concealed from them. Josephus^y thinks these three divisions to be emblematical of the world, whereof two parts, earth and water were open to the investigation of man, but the third, the heavens, is impenetrable to the human eye. After sustaining as many migrations and changes as the people to which it was a sanctuary and a safeguard, the tabernacle was finally erected in all its pristine glory on Mount Zion by David, with great festivities and rejoicings.

^y *Antiq. Jud.*, lib. iii., c. 8.

Dr. Bähr founds his description of the temple, its surrounding buildings, its utensils, furniture and appointments, from the passages before quoted from the books of the Kings and Chronicles of Israel; and in discussing the length of the cubit by which its dimensions are stated, after quoting the authority of O. Thenius and other^a critical commentators on the sacred and common cubit, and of the increased length of that measure during and after the Babylonian captivity, as noticed by the prophet Ezekiel, reckons with Thenius its length to be 1 foot 6 inches of the Rhenish^a measure, or 1 foot 5 inches Parisian; which is equal to one foot and a half English: Calmet makes it 20½ inches Paris measure; Stackhouse, 21 inches English measure; and Dr. James Andrews, in his *Scripture Chronology* at the end of his *Hebrew Dictionary*, calculates the length of Ezekiel's reed to be 11 English feet, and the biblical cubit of Moses and Solomon 1½ English feet, or 1 foot 10 inches. The difference, however, is not of sufficient importance to the inquiry to require special investigation.

The *Mishna*^b gives a detailed account compiled from the rabbinical traditions, of the number of men employed, their respective occupation, the quality and dimensions of the materials, whence procured, their cost, the arrangement of the buildings, and other minute details, with all the diffuseness of a people who love and venerate the country, institutions, and associations of their ancestors, as much from having lost them, as they would have done were they still in possession of their holy patrimony. After a full description of every part of the sanctuary, which does not differ essentially from the biblical account, the writers add, that at a later period, meaning perhaps when the vast additions were made by Herod, an addition was made, which formed the court of the Gentiles. The most conspicuous hall was that called the stone pavement^c at the south entrance of the temple, where the Sanhedrim, or the grand council of the nation, held their meetings after the manner of Moses and the elders, who also so assembled in the court at the entrance of the tabernacle. There were three halls to the south, says the tradition; *the hall of wood*, perhaps from being floored with that material; *the hall*

^a Among which are those of Christopher Semmler, *Der Tempel Salomonis, nach allen seinen Vorhölen, Mauren, Thoren, Hallen, heiligen Gelässen*, u. s. w. Halle, 1718. 4.

^b The Rhineland foot, according to the tables by Mr. Woolhouse of the Nautical Almanac Department, is 1·0298 English, and the French foot 1·0568 English, both being nearly 1·5 or 1 foot 6 inches English.

^c Part v., chap. 5.

^d Resembling probably the Gabbatha, *λιδόστρωτον*, or pretorium of the governor's palace, where Christ was condemned by Pilate.

of the fountain; and the beforementioned hall of stone. In the latter, the בית דין, house of judgment of the people of Israel was congregated to dispense justice. In that revered and awful assembly, the qualifications of candidates for the priesthood were investigated: if one of the descendants of Aaron was found deficient in any way or unworthy of the high vocation that he sought, he was clothed in sable garments and thrust out from the holy place; but if he were found worthy, his inauguration took place, and, attired in robes of the purest white, he was led to his brethren in the interior of the temple, to officiate in his course, according to the law of Moses. Contiguous to that hall, were the two minor councils of twenty-three members, of which one held its sessions near the entrance to the temple; the other under the portico of the court.

The architecture of the temple being more the end of this enquiry, than either its history or its application, we purpose to give a brief opinion thereof, considered with the feeling of an architect; keeping the sacred text before given for the compass, some Rabbinical and English commentators for companions, and Dr. Bähr's learned and instructive work before us, as we journey through the sacred edifice.

The only architects that we are aware of, who have written on the much disputed subject of Solomon's temple, are Sir Christopher Wren, in sundry fragments on architecture printed in *Parentalia*; Mr. James Elmes, in some slight and scattered notices in his *Lectures on Architecture* and his *Dictionary of the Fine Arts*; the late Mr. Wilkins, formerly Regius Professor of Architecture in our Royal Academy, who saw nothing in the art he professed and practised but with Athenian eyes, has written much to prove the temple of Solomon to have been a regular peripteral temple of the Parthenonian Doric, with its porticoes, peristyles, cells, adytum, opisthodomos, naos, pronaos, and the other sonorous appurtenances of Attic skill; and Mr. William Bardwell, in his *Temples Ancient and Modern*.

Sir Christopher Wren says,^d—

“The first temples were, in all probability, in the ruder times, only little cellæ to enclose the idol within, with no other light than a large door to discover it to the people when the priest saw proper, and when he went in alone to offer incense, the people paying adoration without doors; for all sacrifices were performed in the open air before the front of the temple; but in the southern climates a grove was necessary, not only to shade the devout, but, from the darkness of the place, to strike some

^d Elmes's *Memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren*. London. 4to. 1823. Appendix. p. 126.

terror and recollection in their approaches. Therefore, trees being always an adjunct to the cellæ, the Israelites were commanded to destroy not only the idols, but to cut down the groves which surrounded them. But trees decaying with time, or not growing equally though planted at first in good order, or possibly not having room, when the temples were brought into cities, the like walks were represented by stone pillars supporting the more durable shade of a roof instead of the arbour of spreading boughs: and still in the ornaments of stone work was imitated, as well as the materials would bear, both in the capitals, friezes, and mouldings, a foliage or sort of work composed of leaves, which remains to this age. This, I am apt to think, was the true original of colonnades environing the temples in single or double aisles."

"People," he continues, "could not assemble and converse but under shade in hot countries; therefore the forum of every city was also at first planted round with walks of trees,—

'Lucus in urbe fuit media, lætissimus umbra.'

These avenues were afterwards, as cities grew more wealthy, reformed into porticoes of marble."

And much more, equally to the purpose as to the origin of the art, but not to our present object.

"Architecture," adds Wren, "has its political use; public buildings being the ornament of a country. It establishes a nation, draws people and commerce, makes the people love their native country, which passion is the original of all great actions in a commonwealth. The emulation of the cities of Greece was the true cause of their greatness. The obstinate valour of the Jews, occasioned by the love of their temple, was a cement that held together that people in former ages through infinite changes. The care of public decency and convenience was a great cause of the establishment of the low countries, and of many cities in the world. Modern Rome subsists still by the ruins and imitation of the old; as does Jerusalem by the temple of the sepulchre and other remains of Helena's zeal. Architecture aims at eternity, and is, therefore, the only thing incapable of modes and fashions in its principles—the orders. The orders are not only Roman and Greek, but Phœnician, Hebrew and Assyrian; therefore, being founded upon the experience of all ages, promoted by the vast treasures of all the great monarchs, and by the skill of the greatest artists and geometricians, every one emulating each other, and experiments of this kind being greatly expensive and errors incorrigible, is the reason that the principles of architecture are rather the study of antiquity than fancy."

Passing by Mr. Elmes's scattered and desultory remarks in his Dictionary and Lectures, as they lead to no hypothesis or theory on the order or style of Israelitish architecture in Solomon's age, we proceed to those of Mr. Bardwell. We agree with that intelligent architect, that "the temple of Solomon was in the Egyptian style of architecture:" but not in the conclusion drawn from that proposition, "that the Jews had no

peculiar style of their own." That the Jews imitated their Egyptian masters in more things than architecture is acknowledged; but that they did not copy them in all things is equally true. Architecture takes its styles, its varieties, its colouring, if it may be so called, from the people who successively invented or introduced it, and the character of a nation may be deduced from its architecture; for, considered philosophically and as connected with the other arts, sciences, and learning that accompany it, and with legislation, it forms an immutable history of the human mind. "Art," says Wieland, "is the half of our nature, and without art man is the most miserable of animals."

Imitation differs from copying, in so far that it is not destructive of legitimate invention, but is only a rein to wild caprice. One is a bold pursuit of a sublime original; the other, a servile counterfeit, a substitution of falsehood for truth. The Greeks imitated, improved, and refined upon the wisdom of the Egyptians, the Romans imitated the Greeks; Virgil imitated Homer, and Milton imitated with glorious originality his masterly antitypes. Yet were neither the Greeks, the Romans, Virgil, nor Milton, copyists or plagiarists.

In this manner did the Hebrews imitate, but not copy, their Egyptian masters, and, as far as we can judge from the biblical descriptions, and in default of existing remains, are entitled to the credit of a national style of architecture. It is true that Moses, in his moveable sanctuary, imitated the temples of the Egyptians, but he copied them neither in the number of worship-places nor in their plurality of gods. One God, one sole place for his worship, was the divine command that Moses promulgated and obeyed. He also adapted many of their dresses for the priests, imitated many of their sacred utensils, ornaments, furniture, and divisions of his sanctuary, even to the smallness of the cell or holy of holies, and the ark which occupied it; but he copied not their idols, erected but one altar, and to prevent the summit of the ark from being profaned by any form of him who forbade any form or representation of his divinity to be made, it was rendered inviolable by the *Shekinah* or glory of Jehovah, that shone from between the cherubim. He imitated the outspread, overshadowing wings, so often found on ancient Egyptian monuments, and many other similar things, but he copied them not in their application. They were creatures of art, pleasant to the eye; but neither they, nor anything "in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth,"—prohibitions levelled at the sun and planet worship, at hero worship, their sacred animals and their god-fish,

—were to be bowed down to nor worshipped by the children of Israel.

True is it also, that Solomon imitated the tabernacle in his temple, and applied it to his larger and more permanent sanctuary, imitated the massive walls the numerous columns, ponderous architraves, and the reed and lotus-leaved capitals of the Pharaonic architecture; but the same plants were indigenous to Palestine; and he superadded pomegranates, olives, etc., unknown in Egyptian architecture. This gives the Hebrews a right to claim a national style of art, particularly when it is remembered that zoography was forbidden to their artists. No Hebrew Phidias dared to indulge the hope of seeing prostrate thousands before his gods of ivory, and gold, and marble. Their arts were therefore eminently useful; and the skill they exhibited, as recorded by Moses, who was reared in the splendid palaces and among the magnificent scenes of the mighty kingdom of the Pharaohs, is highly commended by him, whose taste in art must have been elevated by his princely education. The Egyptians used the plants and flowers of Egypt in their architectural sculpture, and were not restrained from an imitation of animal nature: the Hebrews did the same with theirs, but were forbidden the use of the animal creation as objects of worship from all their arts; their figures, therefore, are few and subordinate, if not menial, in their application.

Tyre was built in all its splendour before^e the birth of David, and as the Phœnician merchants traded with the whole world, especially with Egypt, it is probable that the Tyrians, amongst others, received the elements of their arts from Egypt. Therefore as the architect of Solomon's temple was a Tyrian by birth, nothing is more likely than that his structure should have been of Phœnician architecture, a free adaptation of the Egyptian to Tyrian purposes. The brief description of the temple or house in which Samson was placed to make sport for his enemies, may afford some insight as to their mode of building. The author of the book of Judges^f relates that the lords of the Philistines gathered together to offer a sacrifice to Dagon their god, for having delivered Samson into their hands; that when their hearts were merry from the effects of their rejoicing, Samson was sent for to make sport for them, and they placed him between the two pillars which supported the building. That Samson, after praying to the Lord for aid, took hold of the pillars, bowed himself

^e Josephus says Tyre was built 240 years before Solomon's temple; but he, probably, refers to the fortress or the haven, not to the city which was inland, on the continent.

^f Chap. xvi. 23, 30.

with all his might, and the house fell upon the lords and upon all the people that were therein.

The construction of this building has given rise to much contention among biblical critics and commentators. Some have attempted to solve the question by stating that the meeting was not in the temple of Dagon but in some temporary wooden building hastily and slightly erected for the occasion. Our great architect, Wren, offers a solution as good, at least, as any of the many we have examined. Wren's extensive reading, great learning, and profound mathematical skill and architectural knowledge, make him an authority in the matter. In considering what manner of building it could have been, that one thrust or pull could have overthrown, Wren conceives it to have been an elliptical amphitheatre with the scene and the statue of the god in the centre, whereon a vast flat roof of cedar rested around upon the walls, the beams centering upon one architrave supported by two cedar pillars in the middle of the shorter diameter. One pillar would not be sufficient to unite the ends of at least two hundred beams that tended to the centre; therefore, he says there must have been a short architrave resting upon two pillars, upon which all the beams that tended towards the middle of the amphitheatre were supported. Therefore if Samson were placed between these two supporting pillars, and applied his miraculous strength so as to remove them from their bases, the whole superstructure loaded with people must have been cast down upon all below, and accomplish the terrible destruction recorded by the sacred historian.

The object of Solomon's temple was to construct a more durable and costly edifice than the tabernacle, and for the same purpose—one temple to the one God, in which his holy name was to be preserved and adored, in spirit and in truth. The temple was instead of the tabernacle, and was sometimes called by that name,^g as the tabernacle is also sometimes called^h the temple. From the authorities herein produced, and on which Dr. Bähr has founded his able and valuable work, we may gather an approximate idea of the building.

David delivered to Solomon a general plan of the extent, arrangement and decorations of the fabric, and left enormous wealth contributed by himself and the princes of his people for its accomplishment. Solomon wrote to his royal ally, Hiram, for assistance, who sent him wise and cunning workmen under the direction of his own architect, Hiram-Abif, of Israelitish descent. The Tyrian masons, fresh from the magnificent works

^g Jerem. x. 21.

^h 1 Sam. iii. 3.

of the new city of Tyrus, worked with their Hebrew brothers under the chief architect. The plan of the whole work, the house of God, the adjacent buildings and courts, was an extensive parallelogram three breadths long, with colonnades, chambers, courts, etc., like those now existing in Egypt and in the vicinity of Tyrus; resembling generally the arrangement of the Egyptian temples, or rather the great Forum of Trajan in ancient Rome, the temple building and its cells being surrounded by colonnades.

The house of God בית ה' , or the body of the temple, was, as the sacred historian informs us, of no great size, but its greatness and glory, consisted in the sacred majesty of the invisible Deity to whose service it was dedicated, the size, rarity and costliness of its materials, and the surpassing excellence of the design and workmanship of its construction. The Hebrews were a wealthy, an industrious, and a skilful people; poverty was not held by them in peculiar sanctity, nor was it a religious necessity. The maxims of their sages were incentives to industry, and condemnatory of idleness. "Go to the ant, thou slug-gard; consider her ways and be wise,"ⁱ is a sample among many to the same effect. "Do thy work, cultivate thy fields, and then embellish thy house," is another instruction of the same kind to this people. The materials of the building consisted of huge blocks of squared stone, hewn, wrought and faced in distant quarries; cedar, olive, cypress, palm, and other choice and durable timbers, felled and properly wrought and fitted in the forests for the joiner's use; gold, silver, brass, and other metals of boundless computation. The labourers were taken from the thousands of the tributary and captive Canaanites, superintended by Hebrew workmen and overseers; whilst the masons and skilful workers in wood, metal and precious stones, Hebrews and Tyrians, wrought together as brothers under the superintendence of Hiram the chief architect and superintendent of the works.

On this great work and its great executive agents, Dr. Bähr has a fanciful idea, that the temple of Solomon is archetypal, as to the universe and the structure of man, or the macrocosm and microcosm; and gives the following prayer as used by the builder-masons from the oldest of their records: "O Lord God! thou great and universal Mason [that is, architect—*Baumeister*] of the universe, the first Creator of mankind, be with us, that we may be a temple unto thee." The three grand masters of

ⁱ Proverbs vi. 6.^j Page 73, note 3.

the works—Solomon king of Israel, Hiram king of Tyre, and Hiram-Abif—stand as representatives of power, wisdom and beauty.[‡]

Another portion of the grandeur of the temple was its spacious courts and circumjacent buildings, of which the plan, according to the Old Testament description, was similar to that of the tabernacle and of the Egyptian temples, as described by Herodotus, Strabo and other authorities, and as seen in their existing splendid ruins. The great area or ground-plot on which the temple stood, was occupied by the sacred cell or house, as it is emphatically called; which was surrounded by stately buildings, covered colonnades for shelter from the sun, chambers, offices, treasuries for the temple and the king, and other useful and necessary apartments. The roofs were open for ventilation like the kiosks of the present day; lofty windows, wider inside of the building than without, admitted the light in oblique directions without too much of the overpowering rays of the sun. The gates and principal doors were beautiful in design, sumptuous in material, and elegant in workmanship. The great court, which was an enclosure of vast dimensions, was encompassed by a triple row of columns on three sides, and a quadruple row on the fourth. The foundations, owing to the inequality of the hills which formed the summit of the mountain upon which it was built, were of great and various depths, constructed with massive blocks of hewn stone to bring the whole up to the level of the summit which formed the floor of the courts, and was consequently of great cost in labour and materials.

The walls and floors were of stone, and the roofs of timber, all lined and covered with cedar. The linings of the walls were elaborately carved with representations of cherubim, palm-trees, and open flowers, all overlaid with solid gold wrought or chased to the patterns. The walls were also additionally embellished with precious stones. The doors of the temple, the oracle and the holy place, were double, or, as they are technically called, folding, and were carved and decorated in correspondence with the inside of the walls, and the pivots and sockets by which they were hung were of solid gold.

The holy place was separated from the most holy by a partition ornamented with chains of gold; and the veil which from above descended low enough to keep out of view the things that were contained in the holy of holies; the *והקדש* and the *קדש הקדש*. Josephus states (*Antiq.* viii. 3, 3) that the whole outside of the temple was covered with gold; but this statement we do not

[‡] "Die drei Bau-Grossmeister Salamo, König Hiram, und Hiram Abif, stellen dar den Vater (Altmacht), Sohn (Weisheit), und Geist (Harmonie Schönheit)!"

find in the sacred books. The entrance of the temple was at the east end, and the holy of holies was at the western end, in which were two cherubim of olive-wood, overlaid with fine gold.

Between these colossal cherubim, erected by Solomon in the holy of holies, and under their expanded wings, was placed the original ark of the covenant, with the mercy-seat, over which rested the $\kappa\tau\tau\eta$ *Shekinah*, the $\Delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ τοῦ Θεοῦ, the brightness of His glory who cannot be looked upon by mortal eyes. He is ever with us, ever present, but never to be seen, *but* in his marvellous works, in this stage of our existence. In the ark were deposited the two tables of the law, and near to it the golden vase of manna, and Aaron's rod which budded; all removed with religious care and solemn ceremony from the corresponding holy place of the tabernacle. "The ark of the covenant," says the author of the Rabbinical book, *Cozri*, "with the mercy-seat and cherubim, was the foundation, root and marrow of the whole temple, and of all the Levitical and sacerdotal service performed therein."

In the body of the temple, and in front of the partition and veil which were between the holy and the most holy places, stood the golden altar on which the daily incense was offered to the Most High. On the north side of the temple were placed the golden tables on which the shew-bread was placed. The original table made by Moses for the tabernacle stood in the middle, and the ten new tables made by Solomon, five on the one side of the sacred original and five on the other, or, as some biblical critics think, five on one side of the temple and five on the other, still reserving the central place of honour for that of Moses.

On the south side of the temple were placed the ten golden candelabra, each of which had been curiously fashioned and richly adorned, having seven branches. Five of these splendid ornaments stood on the right-hand side of the ancient original from the tabernacle, and five on the other side. In front of the temple were two courts: the inner, which was nearest the sanctuary, raised by a flight of twelve steps above the outer, and separated therefrom by a dwarf wall, was the court of the priests, where they and their assistants, the Levites, daily ministered. The outer or lower court was appropriated to the devout Israelites, who, after the purification commanded by the law, attended to worship and perform the duties of religion. The porch, *prodomus*, *propyleium*, or *pronaos*¹ of the temple, was the same width

¹ These several parts of the temple, were very carefully distinguished by Greek authors, under different names. The portion properly called *the Temple*, ὁ ναός,

as the body of the building, as was customary in all ancient temples, and projected half its width. Like those of Egypt, it was of considerable height. The outer doors of the cell or body of the building, containing the holy and the holiest, were folding, made of cypress wood, carved, decorated, and hung on gold pivots like the others. On each side of these superb enclosures of the sanctuary, were erected two brazen pillars or columns, eighteen cubits high, surmounted by vase-like capitals, containing flowers and pomegranates. The columns were named Jachin and Boaz, which according to some authorities were mystical and allegorical, and to others, personal proper names. Dr. Bähr has devoted several pages to this much-debated question, and treated it in a learned and masterly manner; but we must express surprise at his quoting for an English authority, a low obsolete catchpenny work, called *Jachin and Boaz, or an authentic key to the door of Freemasonry*; an anonymous compound of ridiculous legends, unknown to and unacknowledged in English literature. Rabbi Levi Ben Gerson attributes a mystical sense to them, the one representing the solsticial and the other the equinoctial points of the sun's career; whilst Rabbi Isaac Abarbanel pronounces Jachin to represent David, and Boaz Solomon. Rabbi Jarchi, called by his countrymen "the prince of commentators," says one represents the sun and the other the moon, to which the kingdom of David was compared. Psalm lxxxix. 36, 37, "His seed shall endure for ever, and his throne as the sun before me. It shall be established for ever as the moon, and as a faithful witness in heaven." Others think them to be allegorical symbols of the pillar of a cloud and the pillar of fire that preceded the Israelites in the Exode. Some of the authorities quoted by Dr. Bähr consider them as representatives of the rising and setting sun; others as of the Phœnician Heracles or Saturn, and even as pertaining to the phallic worship; but the purity of the Mosaic religion in the beginning of Solomon's reign, whilst his youthful wisdom was under the care of Zadoc the priest and Nathan the prophet, forbids any such interpretation of the mystery that envelopes these sacred pillars which flanked the grand entrance to the sanctuary. They require a treatise to themselves.

and the courts, etc., τὸ ἱερόν. Thus when Zacharias went into the temple to burn incense (Luke i. 9), it was into the *sanctum*, the apostle writes ναὸς: εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ κυρίου; but when he relates that Anna the prophetess departed not from the temple (Luke ii. 37), wherein she lived in the court of the Israelites, which was appropriated to the religious women, the word is ἱερόν; ἢ οὐκ ἀφίστατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ; and this difference is observed throughout the New Testament: ναὸς, *templum, ædis, fanum*; ἱερόν, *sacrum, sacrificium, sacellum*.

The situation of these mystical columns was^m in the portico or propyleium of the temple; and, like many of the attached and unattached propyleia of the Egyptian temples, was of greater height than the cell or body of the temple, but of the same width. The size of the latter, as given by the sacred historian, being 60 cubits long, 20 wide, and 30 high; whilst that of the propyleium, portico or porch, is 20 cubits wide,ⁿ "the width of the house," and 120 cubits high, or four times the height of the building to which it was attached as the grand entrance. This lofty building might have been divided above the main building into two parts or towers, like that of the great temple at Edfû; but this opinion is purely conjectural, and derived from the probability of Moses, as well as Solomon and his architects, deriving the type of the tabernacle and the temple from Egyptian and Phœnician originals.

The two mystical columns, Jachin and Boaz, were monumental, and like everything in the temple, significant. If we may venture a conjecture deduced from the preceding descriptions and arguments, we would say, that they were commemorative of the Exode; of the extent of the dominions of the kingdom of Israel under David and Solomon; that they bore proper names, highly significant of their original, and as was usual with the Israelites and other eastern nations, explicable as an axiom or motto, that Jehovah would establish them, if obedient to his commands, in strength.

Between them may have been the place of honour assigned to Solomon at the dedication of the temple, and when he blessed the assembled people; for from between these sacred columns he could see the altar of burnt-offerings, the court of the priests, and the entrance to the holy of holies, through the holy place of the sanctuary, wherein the priests and Levites, had previously deposited the ark of the covenant and its sacred contents, drawing out the staves by which they had previously carried it, as being no longer necessary, the sacred receptacle having now obtained a permanent resting-place. They may also have afforded on high and solemn occasions a similar holy standing-place for the chief high priest. The Egyptian temples furnish instances of similar pillars or obelisks in similar situations and with hieroglyphical inscriptions.

The innumerable other ornaments which filled every part of this gorgeous edifice, golden candlesticks, lamps, cups, basins, vases, censers, chains, and other furniture and utensils of the costliest materials, and the most tasteful and elaborate work-

^m 1 Kings vii. 21, and 2 Chron. iii. 17.

ⁿ 2 Chron. iii. 4.

manship, as described in the Old Testament, are surprising; but calculations of their cost and value, as estimated by Michaelis, Whiston, Kennicott, Dupin, Bishop Cumberland and others, are beyond the intention of this essay.

In the inner court was placed the altar of burnt-offerings, which was called by the prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel, Ariel^o the lion of Jehovah, and Harel^o the mountain of the Lord; because, say the Rabbinical commentators, the holy fire which descended upon its summit couched upon the sacrifice, like a lion upon its prey. In this court also stood the brazen sea, a basin of vast size, supported by twelve brazen oxen, supposed by some to have been emblematical of the twelve months of the year; ten lesser basins, sculptured with cherubim and festoons of lilies, placed on wheeled carriages; marble tables whereon the sacrifices were laid for dismemberment, bowls and other vessels for purification, etc., of earthenware, made from clay found near the river Jordan, modelled under the superintendence of Hiram and his assistants: also desks, seats, etc., for the musicians and singers who assisted in the holy service of the temple.

From the foregoing accounts and opinions concerning the temple which the wise and mighty monarch of all Israel built to the honour of Jehovah, whom the heavens cannot contain, how much less then any temple built by mortal hands, we take leave to conclude that it was neither in the style of the Greeks, as contended by Professor Wilkins; nor of the Corinthians, despoiled of its acanthi and caulicoli, and replaced by imaginary palm-branches and flosculetts, as conjectured by Villalpandus and approved by Dom Calmet, like the substitutions of the French architects in the reign of Louis XIV. to invent a Gallic order; nor a mere copying of the Egyptian style, as ably argued by Mr. Bardwell: but rather a free adaptation of so much of the Egyptian arrangements, governed by the precedent of the Mosaic tabernacle, as suited their purpose, blended with the more ornate style of Tyrian art and Phœnician architecture, formed into a national style, of which, through God's wrath at his favoured people's rebellion and idolatry, we have now no traces left.

We therefore conjecture that a tolerably correct plan of the temple, with its courts, colonnades, attached and detached buildings, may be laid down to a scale, taking some datum for the length of the cubit, say twenty-one English inches, from the biblical description, keeping the Egyptian plan of similar edifices and Moses's description of the tabernacle in mind. For the

^o Isaiah xxix. 1.—חִי אֱרֵיִל אֱרֵיִל קִרְיַת דָּוִד הָהִיא

^o Ezek. xliii. 15.—וְהָיָה אֵלֶיךָ אֶתְּמֹנֶת הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּה וְהָיָה אֵלֶיךָ

style it may have been, and most likely was, a composite or mixed manner improved by taste and practice, between the Egyptian and the Phœnician. Both, and indeed all columnar architecture, is an imitation of nature in her beautiful trees and groves. In the earliest periods, the architects most likely formed their columns after the model of the trunks, making the shaft to spring up into a capital at the height where the outspreading branches generally begin. These at first were short and sturdy like those found in Egypt and in the most ancient Grecian colonies. When the type was forgotten, and the wooden trunk became imitated in stone, marble, porphyry and granite, the height of the columns became increased from four and a half or five diameters, as in Egyptian and ancient Dorian temples, to seven, eight, and even nine as in the Ionian and Corinthian orders of Greece and Rome, up to ten as in some of the later Roman or composite orders.

Dr. Bähr, as a learned scholar and pious divine, has examined with the greatest care and discrimination the information afforded us by the Old Testament; and pours out a flood of learning upon the subject, selected from the writings of numerous ancient and modern authorities, which are carefully cited. Yet all this flood of learning, this treasury of deep reading and matured reflection, is copiously poured forth in a clear and intelligible manner; in a condensed and readable octavo volume, with a well-selected index of the principal matters, of only 350 pages; which, compared with many other works on similar subjects, is brief, but at the same time abundant without repletion, and is a complete library in itself, with its explanatory notes and references to its authorities on the interesting subject of the Solomonian and other temples at Jerusalem, Egyptian and other heathen temples, and of the Christian churches of the early and middle ages, and of modern protestant and Romish churches. It is as useful to the architect, the antiquary, and the biblical critic, as it will be found instructive and pleasant to the general reader.

From these and the before-quoted authorities, and collecting the several facts remaining to us, and the arguments deducible therefrom, we collect, viewing the subject with the eye of a practical architect, whose inclination and leisure have led him to the study of biblical literature, that the Solomonian temple at Jerusalem occupied a quadrangular plot, formed by art and vast labour, on the summit of mount Moriah. This levelled summit formed an area of eight hundred cubits,[†] or nearly fifteen hun-

[†] The cubit, in this view of the Solomonian buildings which formed the temple and its subservient courts and structures, is calculated, with Stackhouse and other good authorities, at a small fraction more than 21 inches English.

dred English feet long, on each side, which faced the cardinal points of the compass, the city of Jerusalem lying to the westward of the site.

The architectural ground plan was formed by an external wall of 600 cubits or 1050 feet on each flank, between 10 and 11 feet high, and the same in width or thickness, which contained a series of chambers or cells, appropriated to several uses, and faced inwardly by a peristyle of marble columns. Within this primary enclosure was the court of the Gentiles, 50 cubits or 87' 6" broad, provided in a similar manner with cells and colonnades. To separate this court from that of the Israelites, was another enclosed by walls 500 cubits or 875 feet square. The court of the Israelites was 100 cubits or 175 feet square, paved with variegated marble, and entered by a gate on each side, and raised above the other by an ascent of seven steps, seven being a favourite number in the religious philosophy of the Israelites. To separate this court from that of the priests was another enclosure within walls, 200 cubits or 350 feet square, within which was the court of the priests, 100 cubits or 175 feet square, surrounded by colonnades, cells, chambers, etc., wherein the priests that attended the service of the temple resided during their terms of office. This court had three entrances, to the east, north and south, and was raised above the other, and ascended to by flights of eight steps. All these courts were open, except the colonnades and cells.

In the court of the Israelites was erected a throne for the king, placed in a magnificent alcove, under a splendid canopy, from which the monarch dispensed justice and heard the complaints of his people. It was also the place on which he was seated when he visited the temple on solemn occasions.

In the court of the priests was the altar of burnt-offerings, on the western side of which stood the temple, properly so called, with its three divisions, the porch (pronaos), the holy (naos), and the holy of holies (adytum), or cell of the temple. These divisions correspond with those of the tabernacle, which agree with the divisions of the Egyptian temples, as doubtless did its style of architecture. The connection between the court of Solomon being so close, and every architectural archaologist knows how much the Tyrians, Greeks, and other later people borrowed the elements of their style from the Egyptians, who were not only the earliest architects who built with stone, whose works have survived to our times, which prove them to be the fathers of the art, but laid the foundation of the three classical orders of Greece, and the five less dignified orders of Rome, and excelled all others in scientific construction, laborious ex-

cution and mighty mechanical powers. To these facts, their pyramids, obelisks, temples, colossal statues, monolythal roofs and temples that astound the ablest of modern architects and engineers. The porch of the temple was 12 cubits or 21 feet in depth, and 20 cubits or 35 feet in width, at the entrance of which stood the far-famed columns, pillars or obeliaks, called Jachin and Boaz, whose names imported that God (*Ja*) was the support of his people. According to some writers, Jachin and Boaz were the names of two most holy personages, thus commemorated by Solomon, at the very entrance of God's house (יָחִין בּוֹאֵז). R. Jarchi thinks them to be representatives of the sun and moon; R. Levi Ben Gerson, one as the solstice and the other the equinox; and Abarbanel, that Jachin was emblematical of David and Boaz of Solomon. They probably represented the rising and the setting of the sun, as emblematical of the extent of Solomon's dominions. Krause, as quoted by Dr. Bähr,* says they represented two hills, from behind one of which the sun rose, and below the other that luminary sank in the sea, and the names were originally mere exclamations, when the sun sank from their sight, a joyous farewell, Io! Ehem! Jachei! Jachin!—and at its rising, Bauz, there liest thou! as if it had just risen from bed. The exoteric meaning might convey to the readers the names of two holy personages, or their verbal meaning יָחִין the future, in Hiphil of יָבַן he established or founded, בָּזָא in strength or firmness, and have at the same time an esoteric or cabalistic meaning known only to the priests, which have given rise to so many conjectures among the seekers into hidden mysteries, from the philosophical Talmudic doctors and rabbis of the middle ages to the close-mouthed Freemasons of the nineteenth century.

The holy place (*sanctum, vados*) was 40 cubits or 70 feet in length, and 20 cubits or 35 feet in width, a double square on the plan, and probably a double cube in the interior dimensions. In this sacred chamber was the altar of incense, the table of shew-bread, and the ten golden candlesticks with the mystical number of seven lights, representing, as some think, the seven heavens, the seven planets, the seven lights before Jehovah's throne. These were the only light in the sanctum, and it was called יְהוָה נֹרָא Jehovah's light or spirit.

The holy of holies was a cube of 20 cubits or 35 feet, in which was deposited the ark of the covenant, the two tables of stone, on which were engraved the ten commandments given by Jehovah to Moses on Mount Sinai.

* Bähr's *Salomonische Tempel*, p. 194.

† p. 205, n.

‡ Dr. Bähr, p. 182.

The distribution of courts, colonnades, avenues and gateways approaching by degrees from the court of the strangers or Gentiles (the uninitiated) to that of the people or Israelites, the first degree of the initiated, to that of the priests or masters in Israel, is of Egyptian origin and similitude, both in the arrangement of the courts, colonnades and cells; and forces one to the conclusion, that as such was the plan, so also must have been the elevation, not a servile copy of what they had left in Egypt, but a free imitation by the tasteful Tyrian architect and his able artizans. To carry on the description a little further: After coming to the station of the priesthood, who alone had access to the holy place, we arrive at the holy of the holiest, to which most sacred recess the high priest only could enter, and that only at certain periods and with certain purifying ceremonies, prescribed by the law. This is our view of what the Solomonian temple and its appurtenant courts and buildings consisted when the wise son of David left it in all its riches and glories, as a solemn and pious dedication to Him, whom "the heaven of heavens cannot contain," yet who condescended to permit the brightness of his glory to beam from cloud between the cherubim in the holy of holies.

Jerusalem however, standing between Egypt and Tyre, in a situation where durable stone of large dimensions was to be procured, where abundance of timber of every description was at hand, money and labouring hands, skilful mechanics and tasteful artists in abundance, it is not too much to presume that the style of architecture was more light and ornate, and of the sculpture more natural than those of their Egyptian neighbours; that the columns were, as the Bible relates, narrow in their intercolumniations, thick-set* as architects term it, in triple and quadruple rows; and that, as the legendary nurse's basket of her child's toys, is said to have given rise to that elegance of elegancies, the glory of Callimachus, the Corinthian capital in all its splendour of Acanthine beauty; why may not the elegant forms and graceful foliage of the Syrian palm-tree have furnished Hiram the architect with an idea for columns and entablatures no less graceful than its graceful junior of Corinthia, and of bestowing the first honour upon the honour-giving palm? "*Palma qui meruit ferat.*"

Since the preceding article was in type, the writer of it has

* 1 Kings viii. 27.

† Πικνῶστυλος, the first order of intercolumniation, having one and a half diameter between each column.

been favoured with a work, entitled, *The Temple ; an Essay on the Ark, the Tabernacle, and the Temple of Jerusalem ; shewing the correspondence of their forms with those of Classic Architecture.* By Edward Charles Hakewill.

The name of Mr. Hakewill, as well as that of his learned predecessor, Professor Wilkins, the ingenious pioneer of the Greek invaders of Palestine and Syria, are both too well known and valued in the scientific portion of the architectural community to be considered otherwise than with respect. But as Mr. Hakewill, quoting from Bishop Horsley, says in his first motto, "Every sentence of the Bible is from God, and every man is interested in the meaning of it," so is every man who believes thus in the Bible, bound to protect the city of David and the sacred precincts of the temple of Solomon from the iron-heeled myrmidons of the Cecropian Acropolis, and from their depositing their long spears and disk shields around the pillars of the sanctuary of the God of Abraham, and of Isaac, and of Jacob.

In speaking so familiarly of "the ark" in his title-page, we at first thought that Mr. Hakewill meant "the ark of the covenant," which no man dared to touch with impunity, as that sacred emblematical vessel is everywhere *emphatically* called in the sacred volume, but find he means the ark of Noah, which is always *distinctively* so named in the same Scripture.

Professor Wilkins was simply a Greek enthusiast, who read all things according to Pausanias, and in his theory of Solomon's temple, being a pure Doric edifice like the Parthenon or the Theseium, was probably dallying with a favourite hypothesis, and writing a riddle to puzzle posterity, or probably only his academical disciples. Mr. Hakewill comes boldly forward, clinches the nail his predecessor had driven home, takes up the subject like his Oedipus, works it out into all the details of the Hebraic architecture, and canonizing the beatifications of Wilkins, turns the moveable tabernacle of the wilderness into an hypæthral temple of the Vitruvian Tuscan as designed in the times of the Roman emperors after the destruction of the third temple, according to the prophecy of our blessed Saviour.

Mr. Wilkins was of a temperament so essentially classical, that it is believed if he had been employed by the immortal gods to build a temple in Olympus to the Jupiter impluvius, he would have covered it with a roof, terminated by two triangular pediments. So do architects of his school erect porticoes where the sun never shines, build open bourses for merchants to congregate amidst dissolving snows and penetrating rains, build dramatic theatres to look like halls of commerce, and linen-drappers' warehouses in imitation of pagan temples.

In the preface, Mr. Hakewill candidly acknowledges the aid which he has derived from the late Regius Professor's elaborate and learned treatise, *The Temple of Jerusalem, the type of Grecian Architecture*, published in his *Prolusiones*: "and though arriving at a very different result," says Mr. Hakewell, "in the production of the plan of the temple of Solomon, he has so cleared the way for that here submitted, as to leave great wonder on my mind that he should so clearly have seen and proved the fact of resemblance with the Greek temple, and yet, following Villalpandus and Le Roy, have suffered the question of 'chambers' in reality so to mar his theory as to leave no resemblance in his illustration."

The fact more likely is, that Wilkins had no theory to propound, nor other intention than to illustrate a beautiful drawing; and that, seated on his academic tripod, he issued his sybilline oracles to his disciples, wondering to see a Doric temple called the temple of Jerusalem. He probably meant it as a nut for his brother Cantabrigians to crack; but if so, he has been disappointed, for no one has seriously attacked the sphynx which contains the enigma but Mr. Hakewill.

The chapter on "the ark" (Noah's ark) has but little to do with the subject of Solomon's temple; nor, after an attentive reading of it, can we find any proposition from which to draw the induction stated by the author, that "whatever credit we may give to their assertions," those of Berosus, Nicolas of Damascus, and other authors quoted by Josephus, whose works were then well known to the heathen world, but have not reached our times, "we cannot but admit, that the ark, *as a building*, must have exercised a large influence over the architecture of the new world." Reading in the fifteenth verse of the sixth chapter of Genesis, that the shape of this vessel was a parallelogram, 300 cubits in length, 50 cubits in breadth, and 30 cubits in height; and in the preceding verse, that it was "built of gopher wood, pitched within and without with pitch;" and in fact a floating house and receptacle for Noah and his family, with the animals which were to be preserved from the effects of the predicted deluge, we confess, even with the aid of Mr. Hakewill's ingenious and elaborate graphic diagrams, that we do not perceive the analogy nor admit the sequence.

Mr. Hakewill thinks the architectural terms of the Bible need to be corrected; so also do the botanical and other technical subjects of the Holy Scriptures, which would much tend to the better understanding of God's Holy Word. Let there-

fore Mr. Hakewell study Hebrew for himself,* and with his knowledge and love of his art, he will find a most agreeable task, prepare him to correct the English architectural glossary of Holy Writ, and enable him to prepare a new edition of *The Temple* more in accordance with the text of the Bible than that according to Professor Wilkins.

After bending all the rules of the architecture of Vitruvius to suit the tabernacle and the three temples of Jerusalem, our Author asks triumphantly, "Could Vitruvius have written these rules without having *seen* the tabernacle and the temple of Solomon?" He then puts forth a new and most startling hypothesis, which must be given in his own words. "In looking at the life of Vitruvius, we see enough to render it very probable that it was in the army of Titus that he held the post of engineer, and might therefore have been present at the siege of Jerusalem. He might have had access to the sacred books then taken from the temple. He might have been the intimate friend of Josephus, when, under the favour of the same emperors who patronized him, Josephus became a denizen of Rome, entirely throwing off all the shackles of his Jewish citizenship, which had so long set uneasily upon him. Is it not possible," continues Mr. Hakewill, in his problem of possibilities, "*that they were one and the same person?* that Vitruvius was no other than the Latin name adopted by Josephus in his newly-adopted country?" Josephus and Vitruvius the same person! Why Mr. Hakewill, not many pages before this astounding hypothesis, denies Josephus to have had any knowledge of architecture.

Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, the great architectural writer, flourished in the times of Julius Cæsar and the emperor Augustus, and wrote, at an advanced age, his well-known work, *De Architectura*, Lib. X., which he dedicated to Augustus, under whom he held the office of inspector of military machines and engines. Augustus died A.D. 10, and Titus reigned A.D. 79—81; therefore Vitruvius could no more have been at the siege of Jerusalem under Titus, than he could have seen the tabernacle of Moses or the temple of Solomon, which had been displaced by those of Zerubbabel and Herod before his time.

After the significant motto quoted at the beginning of the work from Bishop Horsley, we were certainly much surprised to

* In one place Mr. Hakewill thankfully acknowledges the assistance he has received from many valued friends, "especially from one, who, with equal patience and kindness, has placed his knowledge of Hebrew at my disposal:"—a passage which, notwithstanding the solemnity of the subject, brought irresistibly to our mind's eye Hogarth's ludicrous representation of the elder Richardson, the graphic critic, reading Greek *through* his son.

find the author assert that "an arithmetical necessity obliged him to consider, that the four rows of pillars described in the sixth and seventh chapters of the first book of Kings,' should be read 'three rows,' and with this correction we have no difficulty in laying down the plan of the house of the forest of Lebanon, which was probably the east gate."

Does Mr. Hakewill see where this begging the question tends? We think not. Give him his arithmetical necessity to make the sacred penman bend to his classic plan, and then comes a geological necessity, a chronological, a geographical, a rational, or any other necessity, and the sacred text is jumbled into a gallimaufry, such as would make a German critic stare if any one dared to take such liberties with either the metamorphoses of Ovid or the mad metaphysics of Lucretius.

Mr. Hakewill, in the beginning of his fourth chapter, says he cannot see anything like the germ of Grecian architecture in the temples or any other architectural remains of Egypt, which is a question we leave to his brother architects and archaologists.

But our author poetically rises with his subject, into a climax of Grecian glorification, and leaps exultingly from mount Moriah to the Areopagus shouting, "Eureka! Eureka! I have found it." He gives the temple of Solomon as a datum, makes that of Zerubbabel surpass it twofold, and that of Herod multifold.

Thus, in the section which he designates "The perfect Temple," he represents the tabernacle of Moses as similar to the temple of Cecrops, whatever that may have been, and other temples of the same time; the temple of Solomon as similar, not only in proportion, *but in actual dimension* (?) with one of the temples of Pæstum, and varied little from the Greek Doric temples of Athens and Corinth. If it resembled the latter it must have been of the very stumpiest and inelegant specimens of that order which has descended to our times. He then proceeds, that the temple of Zerubbabel was of the same proportions and order as the apocryphal little temple on the Ilissus. Proceeding with his climax, he makes the temple of Herod of the Corinthian order of the temple of Jupiter Stater; quite forgetting that in no temple either of Greece or Rome, although of the same order of columns, is any one copied from another, nor are any two of them alike in dimensions or component parts. He then gives the temple of Solomon as a low dwarfish Doric temple, twice the height only of the tabernacle; the temple of Zerubbabel as twice the height of that of Solomon's; and in his elevation of the three temples, of a more enriched and splendid order, the pseudo-Ilissyan Ionic, and of a more templar aspect. If this were the case, why did the "*priests and Levites and*

chief of the fathers, ancient men that had seen the first house,"^w weep at seeing the diminished glories of the second? With the temple of Herod this article has nothing to do.

These cursory remarks are not intended as a review of Mr. Hakewill's ingenious and, architecturally considered, clever book, replete with good taste and classical beauty; but as a reply to a work which not only militates against the judgment of the best biblical critics, but against the Holy Scriptures themselves.

Dr. Bähr^x thinks, and gives sound demonstration, that the plan and arrangement of Solomon's temple must absolutely have been taken from the Egyptian type, and no other. Strabo's^y description of an Egyptian temple, with all its parts and arrangements, plan and specific details, agree most forcibly with the sacred penman's description of that of Solomon to admit of any doubt. At the same time that Solomon was engaged in his great works, his royal friend Hiram, king of Tyre, rebuilt in a splendid manner the temples of Hercules and Astarte at Tyre, and another temple of Hercules at Gades (now Cadiz) in Spain; and who doubts the connection between Egypt, Palestine and Phœnicia?

Finally, we find the intimacy which then subsisted between the Egyptian and the Israelitish people recorded in many places of the Holy Scriptures, particularly 1 Kings iii. 1: "And Solomon made affinity with Pharaoh king of Egypt, and took Pharaoh's daughter and brought her into the city of David, until he had made an end of building his own house, and the house of Jehovah, and the wall of Jerusalem round about." *Ib.* ix. 16 and following verses the sacred historian gives reasons why Solomon raised certain levies for those buildings, and says, "Pharaoh king of Egypt had gone up and taken Gezer, and burnt it with fire, and slain the Canaanites that dwelt in the city, and given it for a present unto his daughter, Solomon's wife. And Solomon built Gezer and Beth-horon the nether, and Baalath and Tadmor in the wilderness, in the land, and all the cities of store,"—these were essentially of Egyptian origin,—"that Solomon had, and cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen, and that which Solomon desired to build in Jerusalem, and in Lebanon, and in all the land of his dominion."

J. E.

^w Ezra iii. 12.

^x *Der Salomonische Tempel*, p. 240.

^y *Geog.* xvii., p. 205.

^a Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.*, viii. 5, 3. *Contra Apion.* i. 17, 18.

THE PULPIT OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

ON the afternoon of a fine Sunday in the autumn, the writer paid a visit to a church in a large city, celebrated both for the antiquity of its structure, and the masterly manner in which the cathedral service is there performed. The building is a noble monument of the zeal of by-gone days, and of the refined taste and skill which then pervaded our architects. The marble columns throw their branching traceries to the roof, light as the forest foliage from which it has been supposed this feature of gothic architecture was derived. Majesty and solemn beauty characterize the place ; and to all intrinsic excellencies was added, at the time of our visit, the most scrupulous cleanliness, not always observable in our cathedrals. Wealth, intellect, and piety have combined, with no sparing hand, to adorn this sanctuary, and, if it is allowable for man to prepare a dwelling-place for the Most High, this appears to be a fit receptacle for his altar, and a scene appropriate to his hallowed worship.

Beneath the fretted roof of this church, at the time mentioned, there was a congregation of no ordinary character, for both in numbers and apparent respectability it was a remarkable one. We observed especially a large proportion of young men, and we felt we were surrounded by a part of the intellect which is to throw its light on the advancing age, and affect the future destiny of the world. It was pleasing, at all events, to indulge this idea, and to hope that under Christian influences that intellect would be exerted only for good, and those energies be put forth to bless mankind. Mailed warriors had, in this very place, been fired with fresh enthusiasm as they listened to priestly exhortations, before they departed for conflict with England's enemies, or with the distant Paynim, the foes of the cross ; it was not therefore an unreasonable expectation that, in the nineteenth century, religious instruction should offer a powerful stimulus to the pursuits of a peaceful civilization. Happy people ! we mentally exclaimed ; you live at a period of the world's history highly favourable to improvement in everything which can promote your own and the general good ; and you are brought under the care of a religious system, by whose wisdom and purity your energies will receive the most healthy development, and be guided in the best possible direction.

The devotional part of the service commenced, and its performance was fully equal to the place, which it worthily filled, at one time with the language of penitence and sorrow, at

another with the loud burst of thanksgiving and praise. An organ of great compass now led the service, and now joined in full chorus with a choir of rich voices, from a clear and feminine, and almost infantine, treble, to a deep sonorous bass. Not a note was discordant. Art, science, long practice, and the most rivetted attention combined to make the evening service of the Church of England, on this occasion, all that the most fastidious could wish it to be. Every pew and seat was furnished with books, so that all might join in the devotional exercises as something not to be listened to, but performed by themselves. The great objection to the cathedral service is, that it is popularly considered as a spectacle, to be contemplated objectively, and having no claim on the devotional emotions of the congregation. But let the people be trained to join in all its parts, and its character will be completely altered. The congregation should be the choir, and it would then be found that the aid of music would assist and not discourage the exercise of true devotion.

As the painted windows threw the last light of evening upon the interior of the church, candles were lighted in the pulpit, and we prepared to listen to the didactic part of a service hitherto so admirably conducted. Was it unnatural that expectation was heightened by what had preceded, and that we should hope for a discourse harmonizing with the genius and skill everywhere manifested in the prayers? There could be no *a priori* reason why art should diffuse its influences over all that was connected with the desk, and desert the pulpit; but, on the contrary, a climax of elaborate thought and energetic eloquence might reasonably be looked for. Suppose a stranger to the Christian religion had been present with us on this occasion; after the lavish skill displayed in the devotions of the temple, if informed that the people were to be addressed from that elevated position on some divine subject affecting their eternal interests, how inevitably would he have expected an earnest and zealous eloquence. But he would have been disappointed, as we were; for no popular effect was intended or attempted. For about fifteen minutes the minister read an unattractive homily on a Scripture text, in a tone so low that but few could hear him, and a manner so cold that that imperfection excited no regret. The contrast between the prayers and the sermon, the priest and the preacher, was as complete as if it had been studiously brought about by artistic arrangements. Attention and life characterized the former, listlessness distinguished the latter. Genius waited upon the one, and with its almost magic wand entranced the spirits of the hearers; upon the other dullness exercised her

leaden rule; and after the exhibition of various signs of weariness the congregation dispersed.

As the writer wended his way with the multitude now moving in all directions to their homes, he made some reflections on what he had witnessed; and he proposes to present them in this paper as they then occurred, or have since been enlarged. Here were two parts of the public service prescribed by the Church of England treated and executed in ways so different, as to force upon the worshipper an unpleasant contrast. All that was associated with the devotional part of the engagements of the afternoon was distinguished by consummate art; all that appertained to the pulpit was dull and *jejune*, requiring no intellectual exertion, and exhibiting and eliciting no emotion. After the mind had been abstracted from all that is sordid and low, from the dangerous joys or corroding sorrows of life, by prayers and confessions and the reading of the Holy Scriptures, the duty of the preacher began, and that duty was, plainly, as a sacred orator, to excite to holy action. An opportunity so favourable should have been embraced; the glow of eloquence should have come in where devotion ceased, and a serious attempt been made to turn that interesting crowd of human beings into the paths of holiness and peace. Is the question out of place—is it not one which imperatively demands to be considered—Why was that favourable occasion lost sight of, that obligation forgotten?

If this were an isolated case, an exception to the general practice of the Church, it would form a subject for personal expostulation with an individual, and not for an address to a class. But it will be at once admitted that, in the description of this particular instance of inefficient preaching, we have drawn with tolerable correctness a representation of what occurs every week in numerous parishes throughout the land. On that Sabbath afternoon we went, in fancy, to a very different sphere, and placed side by side with the attractive service then carrying on, a similar one as attended to in a large church in a rural district. We invite our readers to accompany us in a sketch formed from nature and reality, fac-similes of which they will be able without difficulty to identify.

In one of those old market-towns designated in the Domesday Book as having that character so early as the Conquest, stands a church of large dimensions, very antique, robbed of its once finely-chiselled stone-work by the hand of time, and much disfigured by want of timely repairs and general neglect. But there is a feature in the character of this church which, to the benevolent mind, and especially to a lover of Christianity,

will more than compensate for some architectural deformities which have been allowed to mar its beauty:—it holds every Sunday within its ample walls a large and attentive congregation. The substantial farmer with his men, the tradesman and shop-keeper, with a very small mixture of the higher or aristocratic classes, form together a very influential community, who prefer to receive their religious training in the parish church, to frequenting the dissenting chapels with which the neighbourhood abounds. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find a more hopeful sphere for the labours of a clergyman than this is. The incumbent is universally respected; able and willing to do good in the numerous ways presented to his profession; of unblemished moral character, and, we believe, the subject of warm religious feelings. Let us view this people and this minister engaged in the sacred duties of the Sabbath, for the purpose of carrying out our present object.

If there is not, in our country church, the finished art displayed in the conduct of the cathedral service, there is what is equally valuable and attractive to a thoughtful mind,—a ritual of devotion so plain that the least educated labourer can understand it, and an amount of scriptural knowledge conveyed which can leave in a state of ignorance only the wantonly inattentive. The prayers are read impressively; a good organ assists the singing, which is here more congregational than in many large towns; and the impression conveyed by the whole service, as prescribed by the rubric, is that of serious devotion. As we look upon a thousand persons of all grades in society, from the peer to the agricultural labourer, in the attitude of prayer, and listen to their confessions and thanksgivings, how obvious is the thought, that here are materials which the sacred skill of preaching may well hope to work upon. Among that mass of human beings there must be many whose wounded hearts require healing; still more who need to be guarded against the various temptations which beset their pathway; while all should be stimulated to give a proper degree of attention to the momentous subjects of religion. How great is the office to which the production of such results is committed, how honoured the man entrusted with its duties!

The preacher ascends the pulpit, reads his text twice in an audible voice, and for half an hour discourses in plain pertinent language on some scriptural subject. Considered in itself, apart from all reflections on its relation to the place and the audience, the sermon may be listened to by any one with pleasure and profit, nor have we any fault to find with what is actually done in the pulpit ministrations to which we refer. It is a fault of

omission which strikes us as being committed; matter of the right kind is not furnished, nor is it presented in a form at all likely to arrest the attention and affect the heart. We feel quite sure the hearers are unmoved; that no tear of penitence is made to flow in that multitude, and that no resolutions of amendment are being formed by the vicious, as the result of the labours of the preacher. The sordid and selfish are undisturbed in their slumber, so akin to death, and the self-righteous are allowed to go away as much in love with their flimsy finery as ever. The service is concluded; the congregation disperses. All seem pleased with the performance of their minister, but none are aroused and changed. It is a mere negation, and not an actual living instrument, producing vital results, which the preacher has employed.

And do not lively, and oratorical, and *evangelical* preachers have to complain of *their* want of success? of the same sterility which you predicate of the efforts of the minister you are describing? We acknowledge the fact and lament it; but there is this difference in the two cases;—in the one there is an *adaptation* to produce good results, in the other there is not. While, therefore, in the one there will be an entire absence of that fruit which should be looked for under gospel ministrations, in the other some portion may be reasonably expected, although it is but a gleanings. Under the most faithful and earnest preaching, as in the case of apostles, evil will be found largely mixed with the good, and to some the preacher will be a saviour of death unto death. These diverse operations are found in every case where moral agencies are brought to bear on large bodies of men. We expect no preaching, however perfect, to bless more than a part of the auditors, but surely there is a vast difference between this and doing good to none.

Perhaps we have written enough to establish what probably no one will contradict, that the services performed in the pulpits of the Church of England are far inferior to what they might be, in earnestness, in a full exhibition of scriptural truth, and in their adaptation to the mental and spiritual state of the hearers. We have endeavoured to present the subject in a manner which will give no reasonable ground of offence, avoiding extreme statements, and leaving out of sight those instances of unprincipled neglect of the cure of souls, which are common enough to excite pain and disgust, though fortunately the exceptions to the rule. We have presumed, and shall proceed on the presumption, that clergymen are conscientious, that they believe they do their duty, and that, consequently, it is by an error of judgment rather than any bad state of heart that their

preaching is so often cold, uninteresting, and without effect. We expect to do good in our present attempt, not by a one-sided and prejudiced view of the case, but rather by an affectionate and candid appeal to the judgment of our readers. The great contrast we have indicated between the services of the desk and the pulpit, does exist in very numerous instances, so much so that the latter has no influence. Ought this state of things to exist? and if not, how can the evil be remedied?

When we endeavour to account for the low and ineffective state of pulpit exercises in the Church of England, the fact occurs at the very outset, that it is not encouraged by anything in the church itself, but that, on the contrary, in its history, both external and internal, the great importance of preaching is distinctly recognized. It might have happened that, in its very institution, the church, from some cause, recommended the neglect of energetic public addresses, and aimed at concentrating all its influence in the devotional part of its services. In that case, as no infallibility attaches to the decisions of any portion of the visible church, it might still be necessary to combat the opinion thus expressed, and remove the evils to which it led. But this would be attempting a radical change, an alteration of the received constitution of the church, and would necessarily be a task of great difficulty. Happily this obstacle does not stand in our way, for the Church of England is a great patron of lively preaching. To freedom of popular address it owes its very existence. Its ministers have furnished the most eloquent orators both in former centuries and modern times. Its ecclesiastical arrangements, both as regards the clergy and the laity, so far from depreciating the pulpit, provide for the efficient discharge of its important duties. These particulars we shall briefly illustrate, that we may found an exhortation to an earnest style of preaching on that weighty and, with some, impregnable basis, the authority of the church.

How much the reformed Church of England owes to the zealous addresses of its clergy in the early periods of its history, is known to all who have in the most slight manner studied its origin and progress. Had no other mode of preaching been employed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries than that which we have shewn is now common, Popery never would have been defeated, nor the masses of the people prepared to hail the principles of Protestantism. "The glorious reformation was the offspring of preaching, by which mankind were informed there was a standard, and the religion of the times was put to trial by it. The avidity of the common people to read Scripture, and to hear it expounded was wonderful, and the Papists were

so fully convinced of the benefit of frequent public instruction, that they, who were justly called *unpreaching prelates*, and whose pulpits, to use an expression of Latimer, had been *bells without clappers* for many a long year, were obliged for shame to set up regular preaching again." Those who wish to know how to bring about changes in the minds of their fellow-men of the best and most permanent kind, should acquaint themselves with the history of Paul's Cross, where the citizens of London, if sometimes excited to sedition, yet learned the grand principles of religious truth. Further, what important examples are furnished by many prelates, some of whom became martyrs to the service, of the mighty influence of public preaching when conducted on the obviously natural design of making an impression on the hearers. Latimer should be studied, as dressed in humble and coarse garments, with his Bible hanging from his girdle, he went on foot from town to village, and chose for his pulpit a green mound or a hollow tree. In contrast with him in outward appearance, as he preached to nobles in the metropolis, Ridley presents an example of faithfulness in the promulgation of the vital truths of holy Scripture. Nor, notwithstanding his faults, must Cranmer be forgotten, as he fearlessly informed the court of Henry the Eighth that "whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." Such examples, *mutatis mutandis*, may now be advantageously studied; they will clearly exemplify the position that, by appeals, fearless and eloquent, to their auditors, great men of old pulled down an antichristian superstition, and set up Protestantism in its place; and what is of far greater importance, they will illustrate the fact never to be forgotten by teachers of others, that it is not by dry arguments and well-set commonplaces, but by appeals to the sympathies and every-day wants of mankind, that the characters of men can be reformed. Eloquence may be properly studied as to its principles in Cicero and Quintilian, but its practical applications are best learned in the lives and labours of men who have successfully wielded those arms which are "not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds, destroying vain imaginations, and bringing every thought into captivity to the obedience of Christ."

It would be highly interesting and instructive to take a critical survey of all the great preachers of the Church of England, from mitred bishops down to humble village curates, for the purpose of shewing what an amount of sanctified intellect the last three centuries have produced. But the task would be too discursive for our object, and a rapid glance is all we can give to the subject at present. To begin with LATIMER. He preached

sermons which would now be considered too humorous for the pulpit, but they were admirably adapted to the popular mind of his age, and produced powerful and lasting effect. TYNDALE, the translator of the New Testament, made himself so active as a preacher in his parish, that he was compelled to flee from his persecutors, and find refuge in Germany. "Holy" GEORGE HERBERT worked beyond his strength, and died at the early age of thirty-nine, having as a faithful preacher obtained great honour in his day. HOOKER, who for a part of his life preached in the Temple, where he divided the popular favour with Travers, a man of great eloquence, conducted his pulpit duties in a manner becoming the author of *Ecclesiastical Polity*. HALL, Bishop of Norwich, has left behind him proofs enough of his power in winning the attention of an audience; how indeed could a man possessing a style so pithy, yet so musically poetical, do otherwise than rivet the attention and affect the heart? The name alone of JEREMY TAYLOR seems to bring before us interested and affected auditories, whom the English Chrysostom could charm, and conform to his bidding. FULLER, the church historian, began life as a preacher at Cambridge, and in that fastidious sphere obtained great popularity. All these divines lived in times of commotion, and more or less were distinguished as polemics. Some of them wrote most laboriously on the great questions of the age, yet they were earnest pastors and successful preachers. While we admire their genius, we are equally attracted by their pious and patient toil. *O! si sic omnes!*

From the middle of the seventeenth century until this time, the Church of England has produced preachers equally celebrated with those before mentioned, with the advantage of their possessing greater polish, and having a language more formed and settled to work with. The mathematical mind of BARROW might render his style unfit for popular effect, but his published sermons indicate a careful preparation and a spirit deeply impressed with the importance of his topics. No one would suspect him of a disposition to throw the pulpit into the shade, since his sermons are long, and conducted in a masterly manner. STILLINGFLEET has left behind him specimens of his pulpit exercises which place him among the great ones in this department of intellectual exertion. He shews a great acquaintance with human nature, which he employs with artistic effect upon the judgment and conscience of his auditors. TILLOTSON owed his elevation from humble life to the see of Canterbury to his reputation as a preacher in the city of London; and the estimation in which his abilities were held is proved by the fact, extraordinary for that day, that his widow received the sum of two thou-

sand five hundred guineas for the copyright of his discourses. If SHERLOCK, Dean of St. Paul's, shone more as a polemic than as a popular preacher, yet his *Discourse concerning Death* indicates those qualities which, employed in the pulpit, must have led to great usefulness; in the case of his son, the Bishop of Salisbury, the character of pulpit orator is more distinctly marked. Respecting SOUTH there can be no difference of opinion, for his remains indicate all those qualities which are adapted to move an audience, though somewhat hindered in their usefulness by an excess of wit, perhaps felt to be an evil less in his day than it would be now. With the mention of this divine we must conclude our enumeration, for names crowd so thickly upon us as we draw near our own day, as to render a correct catalogue impossible, and selection invidious. Of living orators in the English church we will say nothing. They are numerous enough to give a character to the whole community to which they belong, and if studied and imitated with discretion by the body of its ministers, an effect would be produced upon society of incalculable importance. We think we may affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the Reformed Church of England possesses, in the published works of its ministers, an amount of sanctified talent unequalled in any age or country. If it owes its existence to the pulpit exertions of its founders, its continued hold on the affections of the country must be attributed to the preaching of their successors. How admonitory is this fact to all who occupy the posts of influence which those great men once so ably filled!

Have these popular preachers been heterodox in their practice of seeking to move and persuade their congregations? or have they acted in conformity with the wish of those founders of the church by whom the ecclesiastical arrangements were reformed and settled? This is the next question we have to consider, and there are sufficient materials for a decisive reply. We turn to the articles, the ordination service, the homilies, the rubrical directions of the prayer book, and the structure of the pulpit itself, and all utter the same testimony respecting the place which preaching is expected to occupy in the English church.

It must be confessed that on a first glance, and viewing the matter apart from the nature of the case and its historical and moral relations, the formularies of the church do not say so much respecting preaching as might have been expected, when the *practice* of the Reformers is considered. This circumstance must be seriously contemplated and discussed, as it is to be feared clergymen often feel justified in giving little attention to

the pulpit, from this comparative absence of directions respecting its duties. The phraseology employed in reference to the work of the ministry is very different from that which has become current in our day; and as language is the exponent of opinion, we must express a conviction that a more healthy and scriptural state of things is indicated by the ancient than by the modern mode of expression. A minister of the Gospel is *now* too often contemplated as a preacher only; *then* his office had more completeness in the public mind, and the ecclesiastical terms employed to express it conveyed the idea of *all*, and not a *portion* only of its duties. The expressions which we find employed are bishops, priests, deacons, ministers, God's servants, messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord; all more generic than that of preachers, and far better adapted, in most cases, to define the office of the clergy. It is to be regretted that the terminology of the New Testament, thus adopted in the service of the church, should have been so much set aside popularly, as that the species should be exalted to the genus, and a *preacher* be considered as synonymous with a minister. This alteration in the public mind, and its consequent change of expression, arises from the neglect of the pulpit in the church of England. Having depressed preaching far below its proper and scriptural level, churchmen must not be surprised that dissenters have unduly exalted it. This is the natural and inevitable result of an abuse by one party of any doctrine or ordinance—the opposite extreme, and often one equally fatal, will be adopted and patronized.

The adherence to the language of the New Testament by the compilers of the articles and liturgy, must be interpreted as their wish to convey the idea that Christ's ministers now are to correspond as exactly as possible to those who laboured in primitive times; and that what preaching was in the early church, it was expected to be in the reformed church of England. The conclusion appears to be unavoidable, that the reformers had Christ's immediate ministers before them as the *pattern* or *beau ideal* of what they wished all clergymen to be; and therefore, that as the former were to preach the Gospel, to convert men, and to bring lost sheep into the fold, so in all ages these great ends were to be contemplated by their successors. As real amendment of life, resulting from a change of heart, was aimed at by apostles and apostolic teachers, so until all are regenerated and vitally renewed, an office like theirs will be needed, of which the work of preaching formed a conspicuous part. They could not see why Paul, preaching at Athens,

should not be a model to be followed by a bishop or priest among the godless and wicked in Canterbury or London.

Besides the presumption thus arising from the use of scripture language, the meaning of the compilers of the liturgy, in doubtful cases, may be legitimately gathered from historical circumstances, such as their own practice and the custom of the time in which they lived. We have already seen, that to zealous preaching the Reformation owed its existence and success, and we must remember that while the articles and liturgy were being arranged, the country to its very centre was agitated by pulpit addresses delivered in the regular places, or in the more exciting manner of Latimer and others, at Paul's cross or from green mounds and hollow trees. The comparative silence of the prayer book respecting preachers and preaching, has thus more force than the most laboured exhortations; for the duty of a clergyman to be a zealous preacher was too well understood to need any laboured or formal description. The very absence of rule or prescription is often the strongest argument for the existence of a duty, and so it appears to us that the easy and unconstrained manner in which the Reformers speak of the work of the ministry, conveys their opinion that it would be understood as they practised it. As they were sensible of the power of eloquence and earnest public addresses, so they took it for granted that a priest must be, if he did his duty, a preacher of sermons aiming at the instruction and spiritual improvement of his hearers.

Having said so much to guard against a possible argument in opposition to our present object, deducible from the little that is said respecting preaching in the articles and liturgy, we proceed to consider *what is said*; and we find it amply sufficient to leave no excuse for the neglect of the pulpit. In the definition of the church in the nineteenth article, it is said to be "a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached;" and in the twenty-third, "public preaching" is also mentioned *first*; the administration of the sacraments in both cases occupying a second place in the enumeration of duties. In the ordination service for priests, there is everything arising from a rational construction and interpretation to bring before the candidate the most impressive and solemn views of his duty as a preacher of the gospel, and in reviewing it for our present purpose, we have had an impression almost painful of the responsibility it confers. It is no light thing to answer in the affirmative a question like the following: "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you

this office and ministration, to serve God for the promoting of his glory and the edifying of his people?" As the Holy Ghost descended on the apostles and primitive ministers to qualify them to preach the gospel and convert the world, so the mention of his operations in this question seems to imply the same duties. The work to be considered his own is there plainly set before the candidate in the address of the bishop, both by its reference to the authority of Scripture on the subject, and its enumeration of particulars.

"You have heard, brethren, as well in your private examination, as in the exhortation which was now made to you, and in the holy lessons taken out of the Gospel, and the writings of the apostles, of what dignity and of how great importance this office is, whereunto ye are called. And now, again, we exhort you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you have in remembrance into how high a dignity, and to how weighty an office and charge ye are called; that is to say, to be messengers, watchmen, and stewards of the Lord; to teach and to premonish, to feed and provide for the Lord's family; to seek for Christ's sheep that are dispersed abroad, and for his children who are in the midst of this naughty world, that they may be saved through Christ for ever. Have always, therefore, printed in your remembrance, how great a treasure is committed to your charge."

Herbert, Hall, and Secker rise before us as we read these affecting words; and we imagine the deep seriousness with which their minds once received them. In what follows we find the secret of their success, and of their perseverance until death in their adopted and noble course.

"And seeing that you cannot by any other means compass the doing of so weighty a work pertaining to the salvation of man, but with doctrine and exhortation taken out of the Holy Scriptures, and with a life agreeable to the same; consider how studious ye ought to be in reading and learning the Scriptures, and in framing the manners both of yourselves and of them that specially pertain to you, according to the rule of the same Scriptures; and for this self-same cause, how ye ought to forsake and set aside (as much as you may) all worldly cares and studies."

Much more to the same effect might easily be extracted, but we have quoted enough for our purpose. An object highly intellectual is evidently pointed out to the minister as that which he is to be ambitious to attain, and what can that be but the successful discharge of the preacher's office? To read the liturgy and administer the sacraments would demand *piety*, but not the mental exercises so seriously inculcated; and the evident scope of all is an ability to rebuke, exhort, and entreat men, in all the varieties of character presented to one who has the cure of souls. Yet this is the service to which every minister in the English church is bound in the sight of God to conform his

practice and model his life. It would be difficult for precept and authority to do more ; and if zealous preachers are not found in its pulpits, the church is not to blame for any neglect of didactic and doctrinal influence. Imagination cannot conceive the sublime results which would immediately follow a conformity throughout the land to the theory and plain intention of the ordination service of the church of England. The prayer of the bishop would then present, not a consummation to be brought to pass in remote ages, but to be realized *now*,—"So that as well by these thy ministers, as by them over whom they shall be appointed thy ministers, thy holy name may be for ever glorified, and thy blessed kingdom enlarged."

Two matters of minor importance add their weight to the considerations already advanced ; we mean the book of homilies, and the position occupied by the pulpit in our churches. The homilies appear designed in part to afford aid to the minister when, from various causes, he may be unable to preach a discourse of his own. Although now little used, they have an historical value, as indicating the style of address which was common and approved of by the church authorities at the time they were written. That style is intrepid, faithful, and scriptural, shewing no favour to men's sins, but viewing them as the causes of divine wrath ; yet pointing out at the same time the way of pardon and sanctification. The book is a living attestation of what the ordination service means by the faithful instruction of the people, and should be taken by clergymen as explanatory of their vows. The article respecting the homilies speaks of them as containing doctrine "necessary for these times," by which the important idea is conveyed that preaching should adapt itself to circumstances, aiming always at the destruction of prevalent sins and popular errors. If the liturgy has a fixedness, because devotion maintains the same aspects and relations from age to age, the work of preaching is to be variable, because human nature experiences many changes in its habits and tendencies. The same principle which rendered it proper three centuries back to prove from the pulpit, "that common prayers and sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue," would now render it the duty of a minister to combat with other errors which may happen to be fashionable. We do not wish to lay undue stress on any such matters as are now before us, but there does appear to have been in the appointment of the homilies a recognition of the great fact, that preaching should be pointed in its application, and that unless it sharply reproves men's sins, it is an arrow without impetus enough to inflict a wound.

The pulpit in our religious edifices is placed higher than the desk, and this has not been done without a motive. By this arrangement it is not intimated that its duties are more important than those associated with the desk, a doctrine remote from the whole spirit and practice of the church; but it is so placed for a reason which at once recommends itself to our approval, namely that it may command the eye and the ear of the audience. The prayers are presumed to be known by the worshippers, and the officiating minister leads the devotions of the people in a pre-arranged and well understood order, and therefore it is not necessary that in this part of the service he should be elevated or prominent. But it is widely different in reference to the sermon, which is expected to be something new and suggestive, and consequently demanding more attention on the part of the audience. The theory is thus plainly intimated in the very construction and arrangement of the sacred building, that preaching is intended to be popular in its character, to attract the attention of the congregation, and to aim at producing an effect upon the public mind.

It thus appears that every minister of the church of England takes upon him at his ordination the important office of a preacher of the gospel of Christ, and that he is bound by his vows to seek the conversion of men to God, and the extension of the visible and spiritual church. All that can apply to men now, in the exhortations of Christ to his apostles, and all that is permanent in the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, is fully binding on the incumbent of every parish, and he is armed with divine and human authority "to make full proof of his ministry." As the occupier of the desk, no abilities of a peculiar character are required for the respectable discharge of his office. He is expected to suggest nothing, to introduce no new current of thought, but to discharge an office every portion of which is prepared to his hands, and from the prescribed rules of which he cannot deviate. Sincere piety seems all that is demanded to make him an efficient reader of the liturgy and administrator of the sacraments; he has no peculiar personal responsibility, nor do his duties call for any mental exertion. But as a *preacher*, how is his position altered, and how large are the demands then made on the highest powers of his mind and heart! It is left with him to discover what are the spiritual maladies of the people; to seek for appropriate remedies; and to gain, by the arts of persuasion, permission to make trial of his skill in the art of healing. Circumscribed by no boundaries as to topics, he may do all that benevolence can suggest, in a manner as

cultivated and as powerful as all the rules of oratory can confer upon him. Learning, human and divine, is his helpmate; art and science are his tributaries; eloquence is the instrument he is required to employ. With all these advantages for its prosperous discharge, his office contemplates the highest possible ends, even the everlasting welfare of men and the glory of God. Thus commissioned, why should our preachers be inefficient, the pulpit be devoid of power?

In investigating the causes of the low state of pulpit influence in the Church of England, we must premise that it is not a deficiency of orators of which we complain, but of men *who do all they can* to instruct and interest their congregations. In the proper sense of the word, *orator nascitur non fit*, and therefore to be querulous because they are not plentiful is to find fault with the arrangements of divine Providence. Men who can wield all the weapons of eloquence are scarce in all the professions which cultivate the use of speech, and we have no right to expect more of them in the Christian ministry than in the senate or at the bar. But as the legislature and the legal profession are indebted to men who, without being orators, are yet energetic, and pertinent, and useful speakers, so we have a right to expect such men in the highest of all professions. And as every minister, who is not so disqualified for public speaking as to make it evident that he has mistaken his sphere, and ought to retire to make way for another, may by industrious effort become an acceptable and instructive preacher, we demand nothing unreasonable when we wish all our pulpits filled with such men. Further, we have already said, and we repeat it, that we do not attribute the inefficient manner of conducting pulpit services to a want of piety, or a disposition to make light of important duties; this is doubtless the cause in some cases, but not in the greater part of them. With these explanations we proceed to a general inquiry as to the probable and more obvious reasons of the inefficiency of the pulpit.

If we begin with the habit of *reading discourses*, as having something to do with their want of effect, we do so because we wish that our observations should become more weighty as we proceed, since we attach but *comparatively* little importance to the influence of this custom on pulpit services at large. *Why* a habit which is disliked by the majority of the hearers, and which is banished from the senate and the bar, should be so pertinaciously adhered to, it is difficult to explain, since it prevents freedom and liveliness of address, and has many other disadvantages which only very clever men can overcome. Still

a sermon read from the pulpit may be warm, pertinent, and scriptural, as well as correct, and some of the most successful preachers have never deviated from this practice. Other things being equal, there can be no doubt that an extemporaneous address as to delivery will find its way more easily to the heart than one which is read, and on this account the art should be acquired, if possible, by all who wish to do all the good which is practicable in the sacred office. At the same time, we believe that too much has been made of this question in the controversies between churchmen and dissenters, on the part of the latter class of the community. It should be remembered that many eminent nonconformist divines have practised reading sermons, and that very many others have only gained a fluent style of extempore speaking by the sacrifice of the far more essential qualities of correct taste and good sense.

It may assist us in adjusting the proper position of this subject, to imagine what would probably be the results of an ecclesiastical law forbidding the use of written sermons in the pulpit; an interdiction actually made by statute in the reign of Charles the Second. That it would occasion much inconvenience and pain to many whose habits are formed is indisputable; it would probably prevent some men from taking holy orders, and cause others to retire from the field. But it is worth inquiry, whether the advantages would not more than counterbalance these temporary inconveniences. Extemporaneous public speaking would be studied as soon as it was known that a living could not be held without it. Being compelled to throw off the reserve encouraged by reading, on the part of many clergymen there would be more life and energy in their pulpit labours. The pleasure derived from a conscious capacity to use such a potent instrument as a flowing style of public address, would lead, in many cases, to constant advancement in eloquence. There would be many things uttered which a refined taste could not approve of; wildness and fanaticism on the part of some, and the want of sound sense in the statements of others, might discredit the new system; but its great benefits would, we think be speedily acknowledged. More men *apt to teach* would be candidates for the ministry, and their efforts would tell with increasing force on the public mind. If these hypotheses have anything of truth in them, it will follow that, *to that extent*, the habit of reading sermons is prejudicial to the effectiveness of the pulpit in the church. After all, the subject comes within the Horatian rule, applicable to all attempts to move the minds of others, whether made by professional men or private persons:—

" Ut ridentibus arident, ita flentibus adsunt
Humani vultus. Si vis me flere, dolendum est
Primum ipsi tibi."

The want of any direct preparation for public speaking in the preliminary studies of clergymen, must operate most injuriously on the general performance of their pulpit duties. Two young men trained by a university course, the one for the medical profession, and the other for the church, might change their destination at the close of their college life, without the disciple of Esculapius finding any serious technical obstacle in his way to the desk and the pulpit. Certain *pro forma* studies he must pass through previous to examination by the bishop, but none of them have a reference to the art of pleasant and effective public address. A gentleman about to exert his powers in the House of Commons, has always opportunities of rubbing off the rust of which he is conscious, by previous practice at public meetings—social, agricultural, or political. He thus feels his way, and brilliant talents which, quite untried before their *debut* on the more exalted arena, might have been repressed by timidity and reserve, are emboldened to display themselves by a consciousness of previous success. The same observation will apply to the candidate for legal honours at the bar, which are seldom sought until the aspirant has felt his way by private debating, and also by the little public business of courts which is generally attended to before a brief of any importance is entrusted to him. But the candidate for the office of a preacher is generally thrust all at once upon the public view, ignorant of the extent of his own powers, and naturally timid in so important and conspicuous, although untried a sphere. Failure in a first attempt will naturally discourage in future trials, and it is easily conceivable, or rather it may be considered as certain, that this want of previous exercise has often been fatal to future success. This impediment in the way of a prosperous discharge of the most important duties of his office, a clergyman is not responsible for, and the fact of its existence should lead to a kind and forbearing criticism of his public performance. His previous advantages have been great for the acquisition of all that makes a scholar, a correct thinker, and a man of letters; but he has had no preparation for the office of a public speaker. His weighty and invaluable possessions lie buried in the secrecy of his own mind, and their existence can only be known to a select few, while his deficiencies are on the surface, and patent to all men.

Not only is a clergyman of the Church of England placed in an unfavourable position by his education, in relation to other

professions; his advantages for gaining facility of public address are inferior to those afforded to men who are trained for the ministry among dissenters. The gift of speech, possessed in a higher degree than ordinary, is often the suggestive occasion of the ambition of becoming a preacher among Nonconformists; and this idea once seriously embraced, there are numerous opportunities for giving it a practical bearing. Addresses to Sunday schools, sermons to villagers, and various other similar exercises, cultivate any abilities which may be possessed, so that when advanced to a regular pastoral charge, the accepted candidate often owes his success to his fluency of speech. There are doubtless evils in this, but churchmen should guard against opposing principles or modes of action, because they happen to be adopted by men who are in some minor matters their opponents. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*; and when a practice is founded in nature, and obviously useful, it is folly to despise it because it is adopted by even an enemy. In this spirit we might as reasonably refuse to breathe the balmy air, or look upon nature's beauty. We think it is indisputable, that men contemplating holy orders in any church should, in all reasonable and religious ways, qualify themselves to become public speakers. It is the forgetfulness of this principle which we mention as the *second* cause of the inefficiency of the pulpit of the English Church.

A *third* cause is the dread of fanaticism, carried often to such an extent as to become as great an evil as that which it seeks to avoid. Ever since the wit of Butler made certain pulpit performances appear so inexpressibly ridiculous, persons of good sense and correct taste have been suspicious of warmth and energy in preachers, lest they should degenerate into the morbid enthusiasm which that poet so keenly satirizes. This traditional feeling would probably long since have worn out, had not there been constantly an abundance of living instances of a wild excess in the performances of the pulpit. Of the two evils, it is far better for a public teacher to be inane and dull than to enact in sacred places the part of a buffoon, and we had much rather the Church of England should maintain its present too cold and stately mode of instruction, than adopt the coarse and often ludicrous style sometimes witnessed. Whatever specious arguments may be employed to justify the taste for wild and fanatical preaching, it never can be proved that it is adapted to reclaim the vicious or instruct the ignorant. The blind cannot lead the blind; and the incidental benefits professed to be derived by individuals from illogical and bombastic discourses are conferred in spite of the system, and not as its legitimate results. *That* preaching, whether found among dissenters or in the esta-

blished church, which lays aside the calm dignity of truth, and is contented to feed the popular craving for excitement by incoherent rhapsodies, marvellous anecdotes, or an exclusive appeal to the passions, we most thoroughly dislike, and would do all in our power to discredit. Under the pretence of pleasing an audience, and thus winning their assent to the truth, to treat holy Scripture with irreverence, and excite a disposition to laughter where all ought rather to weep, is a practice offensive to God and good men, and whatever evils may fall upon the Church of England we pray this may never be one.

Sometimes from personal acquaintance with this vitiated taste in preachers and congregations, but more often from hearing of its existence, ministers of the church think it their duty to discourage it by a course directly opposite; and thus in seeking to avoid one dangerous path, they imperceptibly glide into another. A man of an educated and refined taste, capable of admiring the severe and chaste beauty of divine truth, recoils with disgust from the tawdry and meretricious image which ill-regulated minds will substitute for it; but in the indulgence of this feeling he is apt to deprive the object of his own worship of warmth and vitality, and reduce it to marble. This result is perhaps not to be wondered at, but it is to be lamented, counteracted, and sedulously guarded against; for the abuse of anything which is really good can never be a reason with a wise man for its entire neglect and disuse. To allow a truly noble subject to kindle its own fires within us; to feel an impassioned glow when discoursing to others on its excellencies; and to strive with earnestness and ardour to make them admire what we consider to be necessary for their happiness; must be consonant with religious truth, and with the duty of its advocate. The preacher should form his own ideas of pulpit duties and pulpit eloquence, without any reference to the opinions or practices of other men, and should carefully avoid the temptation of discrediting what is true to nature, because of its occasional combination with ignorance and fanaticism. That it is true to nature to preach the gospel as if we felt its importance, and were anxious to make others love it, cannot be denied.

To recur again to the bar for an illustration will not be thought unreasonable when it is remembered that to convince and persuade are the objects of both professions, the only difference being in the comparative importance of the contemplated results. It must often happen that a barrister of great abilities and good sense is compelled to listen to gross violations of taste and propriety in the speeches of men in the same profession, and is made to blush at follies perpetrated by those who in the

business of the courts are his companions. But does he, on that account, resolve to conceal his own powers, and repudiate an energetic eloquence because it has been degraded by others? Far from it. It rather appears to him that he is called to put forth more skill, and that the honour of his profession demands that he should exhibit the *legitimate* mental powers which it demands, because in some instances they have been abused. The false fire of others thus makes his own burn brighter, and the caricature which has been displayed of the legal orator makes him more determined to illustrate by his own performance its genuine features. So ought it to be with the wise preacher, who is entrusted with a twofold task; on the one hand to perform his own duties, and on the other to vindicate his profession from the incidental blemishes attached to it by its unwise members. How sad is the reflection, that in too many instances an opposite effect has been produced; a redundancy in one party, leading to a tenuity approaching to atrophy on the other!

A *fourth* cause of inefficient preaching is an inadequate perception of the vast importance of its duties, as deriving their authority from God, and thus conferring an immense responsibility on the individual who undertakes to discharge them. As a matter of doctrine or theory, the office of the Christian ministry is sufficiently elevated, and its purposes are recognized as being most interesting and solemn; but in practice it will be found that this high standard is not duly contemplated, if not sometimes almost forgotten. Nor is this to be wondered at when we remember that the ministerial office has a mere worldly side as well as a spiritual one, and that while its *object* is professedly heavenly and immortal, it has to be sought among things which are seen and temporal. In an establishment of such wealth and influence as the English Church, many collateral aspects present themselves to candidates for holy orders, besides the one to which all should be subordinate: and however sincere a man may be in wishing to give to each of these its relative and proportional regard, the mind will naturally incline most earnestly to the worldly and splendid. The church is a great patron of learning and literature, and holds out high rewards to those who excel in many departments of intellectual exertion. It is also, in some of its relations, semi-political, and may captivate by presenting to its ministers the appliances for an influence over mankind on the magistrate's bench or in the senate. It is, further, the passport to good society, which always forgets humble origin in those who attain an ecclesiastical status, and delights to honour them. Lastly, while there are many

poor curacies and humble livings, there are presented before the ardent and ambitious situations of great wealth, from which no present poverty will in itself exclude them. *Others* have made their way upwards, and why should not *they* be successful? The effort is made, and in the pursuit of the lower and incidental, the real and sublime purpose of the office is at least postponed and undervalued. Here are *four* ends which may be contemplated by those who have the cure of souls, each very attractive to human nature,—a character for learning, political influence, the favour of the fashionable and the great, and wealth. While therefore the spiritual object is the only one which ought, in the first instance, to be pursued, the danger is necessarily great of its claims being thrown into the shade.

These incidental advantages which spread their charms before every one who undertakes the office of the ministry in the Church of England are more seductive and powerful from the circumstance that they are all lawful, and in some degree and within a proper subordination must be allowed their weight in every pious mind. It is absurd to expect that the prevalent form of religion of any country can keep down its officers within certain levels, and shut out from them the various distinctions which superior intellect and high powers ought to command; the thing is impossible, however some may think it desirable. These are the snares of office which it becomes the priests of the sanctuary to guard against with the utmost jealousy; for to love learning, and political influence, and the favour of men, and pecuniary advantages, more than the cure of souls and the honour of God, is to be guilty of simony of the worst kind, to break the most solemn vows, and to throw contempt on divine institutions. That such a dereliction of duty is possible we know too well, but we now presume that the crime is to be apprehended, but has not been committed. From the high position occupied by the man who will never allow such worldly considerations to interfere with his sacred duties, to the lowest state of sordid prostration which we have imagined, there are innumerable gradations of character, on some of which the influence of extraneous aims may be imperceptible although real. It is this unrecognized and yet powerful bearing of the attractions to which we have alluded, which we believe affects the minds of our clergy, and renders them less energetic as preachers. The concentration of spirit necessary to keep always before the minister, that his office is from God, and that for its effective discharge an exact account must be rendered to him, is liable to be weakened by objects which are bound to the office by various ties. Let it be remembered that all high and responsible sta-

tions have their dangers and snares, and that true wisdom consists in knowing and avoiding the peril.

One more observation will conclude what we have to say on this part of the subject. We suggest as a *fifth* cause of the frequent inefficiency of pulpit exercises, the want, on the part of the preacher, of a deep and pervading sense of the spiritual necessities of his hearers. This may be illustrated by the different effects which would be produced on a humane physician by a number of patients whose ills were imaginary or trivial, and another set whose maladies were deeply seated and threatened to be mortal. In the first instance, aid would be afforded without any emotion on the part of the dispenser, and with indifference as to the result; in the other a sense of responsibility would dictate the prescription, and carefully watch over its consequences. That man, however learned and skilful he might be, who should administer to the bodily maladies of a human being without serious thoughtfulness, would lose all character as to fitness for an office eminently demanding forethought and watchfulness. Yet what is a preacher but a physician of souls? and what are his hearers but spiritual patients demanding more or less of healing? It is evident, therefore, that a sermon will be earnest or otherwise, as, in the mind of the preacher, the condition of his hearers is healthy or bad. If they are considered to be whole they need not a physician: if they are thought to be sick, they demand attention in proportion to the degree of virulence of their maladies.

We trust it will not be considered a charge peculiarly affecting *one* class of men, when we express our conviction that a wrong estimate of what is demanded by the spiritual condition of a congregation is a fruitful source of cold and aimless preaching. This blindness to the real wants of men unfortunately afflicts the whole visible church too much to cause its existence in an individual or a body to be a matter of special reproach. But the evil in itself becomes greater by its general diffusion, and ministers of the gospel should be the first to entertain and encourage right views of this momentous subject. Let us suppose that on any given Sunday, at the close of its services, every one who has preached a discourse should be asked, What portion of feeling have you entertained to-day, for the company of immortal beings you have been addressing? Had you reflected on their probable maladies before you ascended the pulpit? While in that sacred place, did a desire to reform the wicked, to dispel the dangerous errors of the ignorant, or to comfort the broken-hearted, modulate your tones to an earnest tenderness? Now that your labours are ended, are you prepared to watch

their results, and again and again to vary the treatment, until, as far as you are concerned, a cure is accomplished? May we not, without being uncharitable, conclude that candid answers to these inquiries would develope much that is merely ex-official and formal in pulpit ministrations!

If a minister could, in any case, be assured that every one of his hearers was repentant and holy, even in that delightful position the themes of his addresses might be expected to kindle a sacred fire in his soul, and produce a warm and eloquent utterance. It is surely no mean thing to build up believers on their most holy faith, to confer upon them increased knowledge, to "allure to brighter worlds and lead the way;" and this office of edifying would justify as ardent an oratory as ever took pleasure in dilating on the sublime or expanding the beautiful. But how different, we may say in every conceivable instance, is the condition of a promiscuous congregation, and how urgent and loud are the claims which it makes upon the earnest efforts of a Christian preacher? All the ills which Christ came into the world to search out and cure are now to be found in every parish, and the time, therefore, has not yet come when apostolic earnestness can be remitted either in warning the guilty or comforting the penitent. As long as self-righteousness, sordidness, sensuality, enmity towards others, impiety, neglect of personal religion, and other kindred sins, may be presumed to abide in the hearts of those whom a preacher addresses, so long he has a work to do which may properly engage every faculty of the intellect and the heart. Let these unclean spirits be expelled, and the voice of forcible reprehension may be hushed, and impassioned language be laid aside, but not before. If in such scenes, so like those in which Christ and his Apostles exerted their powers to do good, thoughts inappropriate and of little worth are uttered, in tones displaying no emotion, the conclusion is irresistible, that the speaker is not aware, or has forgotten, that among his auditors are some ready to perish.

But our object is more to hint at probabilities than to collect and amplify facts, and we forbear to enlarge where the space for doing so is certainly not wanting. One remark only will we make, and that is, that every Sunday which gladdens our country has a tale to tell at its close, which the searcher of hearts at that time listens to and records, but which the future only will reveal to ourselves. The light which broke in the East in the morning of any one of these holy days, witnessed a land, with some few exceptions, recognizing a day of rest, and prepared to send its millions to the house of prayer. The stars twinkle in the evening sky, and those millions have been and returned.

How many hearts have been impressed, how many homes are to be made more orderly and happy, by the amount of scriptural truth which has been brought to bear upon them? Happy is that teacher of others who is able to affirm that in his high and responsible office he has done what he could!

The grand object to be contemplated by a revival of pulpit influence in the Church of England, is the present and future well-being of mankind, as it must be the aim of faithful preaching everywhere else. There is a collateral result which will be thought next in importance by every conscientious churchman; it must tend to prevent dissensions, and to keep up the hold which his church has on the affections of the people. No one acquainted with the habits of thought among the masses of our countrymen will have failed to notice that it is the want of life in the pulpit which makes dissenters from the establishment, far more than any speculative principles respecting church governments, or their political relations. That there are dissenters from principle we of course admit, but they are comparatively few; and many who have now embraced a theory adverse to an establishment, or to Episcopacy, were driven from the pale of the church *in the first instance* by mere practical considerations, such as a want of adaptation in the ministrations to their spiritual wants. The way in which the breach was made of course suggests the best method of closing it, or preventing it from becoming wider:—*let the pulpits be filled with lively and energetic preachers*, and the result is sure. Of course we mean that the preaching should be of the right kind, evangelical, sensible, and earnest, for mere oratory may be employed to recommend error as well as truth. We are aware that the judgments of men will vary as to what the right kind of preaching is, but allowing for variations of taste and of doctrine, there is still a basis sufficiently catholic and sure. *That* preaching, and that alone, will permanently benefit mankind, and extend the influence of the church, which is founded on the plain words of Holy Scripture, which aims at the purification of the heart in this life, and draws attention constantly to our immortal destiny. Let these great principles be illustrated by a modest and unaffected eloquence, and the whole service of the church will have a beautiful harmony; the liturgy and the sermon, the desk and the pulpit, will bear a wise proportion to each other, and devotional exercises will prepare the mind to receive the instructions of truth.

We think there can be but one opinion as to the *desirableness* of an improvement in the pulpit services of the church, although the *practicability* of any great change may admit of

various degrees of doubt. If those upon whom devolves the government of the church, would originate a course of study more especially regarding the duties of the pulpit, a step greatly in advance would be at once taken, and would be highly beneficial. There can be no doubt in the mind of any thinking person, that if the *importance* of popular preaching were once recognized by the heads of the Church of England, the object would soon be secured, as is the case with every branch of learning which the church patronizes. It would be as easy to make Oxford and Cambridge as celebrated for pulpit oratory, as they now are for mathematical and classical learning; and a great responsibility thus rests on those who ought to be the first both to discover the inefficiency of present plans of study for clergymen, and to originate better ones. The *future* in its improved or deteriorated bearings, rests in some measure with them, and it is to be hoped that a subject of vital importance to the church will not much longer be kept in abeyance.

But our special object in this paper is to influence those who are now removed from preliminary and external discipline, and who must themselves be the originators of a course of improvement in relation to the great work with which they are entrusted as Christian ministers. Whether their future life shall exert much or little influence on those whose souls are committed to their care, will depend on their own sense of duty, and we hope that if our remarks are read by them, they will be received with candour, and be allowed to produce practical results. In our estimation, no character is so interesting as a "priest in the temple," and we would do much to confer on it the greatest possible excellence. If Demosthenes could practise great self-denial, and grapple with physical difficulties to qualify himself to be successful as a political orator, it cannot be too much to expect that some clergymen will be stimulated by a holier ambition to achieve far higher results. Believing as we do, that many in holy orders are anxious to employ their talents in the most effective manner, we entertain a persuasion that our hints will be suggestive of methods by which their best wishes may be realized. We earnestly wish them God speed in their sublime and holy purpose.

That will be a happy day for England, when its cathedrals and churches shall furnish no occasion for the thoughts which they have suggested to the writer, but when the performance of the pulpit shall fully carry out the spirit and intention of the prayers. With the melancholy reflections we were compelled to indulge, in the scenes depicted in our commencing observations, some hues of hope for the future mingled themselves,

and there dawned upon our fancy a brighter series of sabbath days, each one conveying no doubtful benefits to countless multitudes. Then the sweet voices of the choir, and the pealing notes of the organ, shall be the prelude to the more abiding fascinations of gospel truth. Every marble column and sculptured capital, reminding of the zeal of other days, shall become an incentive to present devotedness. Confessions of sin, and thanksgivings for mercies received, shall prepare the hearts of the auditors to receive with meekness the ingrafted word which is able to save their souls." The love of art, the attachment to antiquity, now too often the sole attractions of the temple, shall only be handmaids of devotion, and conduce to spiritual improvement. Whether in the crowded city or the rural parish, there shall be heard the solemn words of holy and faithful admonition, before which vice will quail and trembling hope be encouraged. Divine truth enforced by a fervent eloquence shall win the hearts of "young men and maidens, old men and children," and stimulate them to the performance of every arduous duty. The assembly shall disperse, not as it now too often does, listless and unconcerned, or impressed only with the incidentals of divine service, but affected with a sense of sin or animated with lofty aspirations after truth and holiness. Intellectual young men will return to their secular occupations, endowed with those principles which are the best guarantee of success: fathers and mothers of families will take with them from the house of God the truths which will make home happy; while the reverend head, leaning over the staff of age, will ponder with humble confidence the rest and peace of "the inheritance of the saints in light." More powerful than any government, however humane and enlightened; than any literary or scientific societies, important as their mission is; the pulpit in its legitimate results will be prevalent to make our country truly great, truly moral, and, as far as this mingled state of things will permit, truly happy! A condition of mankind contemplated by that service from which we have already quoted, will then be realized:—

"Wherefore, consider with yourselves the end of your ministry towards the children of God, towards the spouse and body of Christ; and see that you never cease your labour, your care and diligence, until you have done all that lieth in you, according to your bounden duty, to bring all such as are or shall be committed to your charge, unto that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, *that there be no place left among you either for error in religion, or for viciousness in life.*"

ELIJAH'S COMING.

THE interpretation of the prophecies relative to Elijah's coming has been a subject of controversy. Is John the Baptist the only Elijah, or are we to look for some further fulfilment of these predictions? This is the main point in dispute, and happily for the peace of the Church it may (without involving the denial of any fundamental article of doctrine) be considered an open question. The authority of very considerable names may be alleged in favour of views as much opposed to each other, as the subject admits of.

When we approach the question, the first thing which strikes us is, that there are three texts, two of which apparently contradict the third, Matt. xi. 14,^a and xvii. 12^b affirming, while John i. 21^c seems to deny, that John the Baptist was the person whose coming was foretold in Mal. iv. 5 and 6.^d

According to the common and most obvious exposition, John the Baptist was the person, and the only person, intended in the prophecy. Such, no doubt, appears at first view to be the easiest way of explaining Matt. xi. 14, and other passages of similar import. If this interpretation be adopted, therefore, we must suppose that John only meant in that answer of his, recorded in John i. 21, to deny that he was *personally* Elijah, the actual prophet himself who had appeared in the days of Ahab; and then the reply must be considered as made to those—probably the majority of the questioners—who expected such a reappearance of the prophet.

But this interpretation is open to serious objections. Chiefly, it may be objected that John's work and ministry were not adequate to fulfil what was foretold concerning Elijah. For, according to Mal. iv. 5 and 6, Elijah, it would seem, was to make preparation for the "great and dreadful day of the Lord," namely, for a day which, however it may have been anticipated in partial visitations, can never be considered as having fully come at any time before the last and universal

^a "And if ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come."

^b "But I say unto you that Elias is come already, and they knew him not, but have done unto him whatsoever they listed. Likewise shall also the son of man suffer of them."

^c "And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elias? And he saith, I am not. Art thou that prophet? And he answered, No."

^d "Behold I will send you Elijah the prophet, before the—coming of the great and dreadful day of the Lord:—and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse."

judgment. Whereas John's ministry was very partial, being limited, personally, to a small part of Judea, and in its immediate effects to but a very inconsiderable portion of the earth. As to its ultimate effects, if they are to be taken into account, we shall have as good reason for affirming that either Moses or the first Elijah, or indeed almost any of the prophets fulfilled the mission described in Mal. iv. 5 and 6 as for ascribing it to John. And again, it is difficult to understand how the Baptist can be said to have "restored all things," which, according to Matt. xvii. 11,^e Elias was to do. That passage seems strongly opposed to the present interpretation, although we need not lay much stress on the fact that our Lord, though speaking of what had already taken place, if John were the person whom he meant, still uses the *future* tense; for since he was applying prophecy, we may conceive him as speaking then, according to a not unnatural mode of thought, from the *prophetic* stand-point of time.

However, on the whole, this way of explaining the prophecy has difficulties which are not to be surmounted; yet at the same time, it absolutely contradicts Matt. xvii. 12, to refer the prophecy to *another* person (perhaps the actual Elijah) still to come; and to suppose that, if the prophecy is particular in respect to persons, *two* persons are meant and not one, is altogether arbitrary. Nor can anything parallel be alleged against such an obvious objection: for it will be of no service in this case to use that latitude of interpretation which we are obliged to claim for certain prophecies concerning the Messiah, and to say therefore that two distinct comings are blended together in one prediction; because those prophecies are not at all to the point. What they comprehend are not the advents of two distinct persons, but different manifestations of one and the same person. They group together, agreeably to the prophetic style, events and circumstances, which are distant indeed in regard to time, but closely allied by an essential and eternal bond, as regards their having a common centre in the same person. Consequently the analogy fails as to a second personal advent of Elijah. It might serve, indeed, were we to expect a second coming of John the Baptist; but this view, even if it were otherwise admissible, is entirely precluded, by the Baptist's own confession in John iii. 30.^f

^e "And Jesus answered and said unto them, Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things."

^f "He must increase, but I must decrease." In respect to the immediate results of his earthly ministry, our Lord may be said to have *decreased*, at least as much as John. The number of his followers diminished towards the end; and shortly before his crucifixion even the small band of those who had remained faithful till then forsook him and fled. But the Lord was to rise again on the third day to his work, and

There remains, therefore, but one other interpretation that can possibly harmonize the two conflicting passages. It will be seen to have this advantage over the common interpretation, that it does not oblige us to explain away, or in any degree narrow, the meaning of the various terms, which seem to ascribe universality to Elijah's work. And whatever may be urged against the view it implies of the figurative character of prophetic language, it will not lie open to the objection of an arbitrary application to particular persons. Let us suppose then that the prophecy has no exclusive individual application, but that by Elijah the prophet are meant men who should come "in the spirit and power of Elias." Let us assume that the Elijah here intended is not the person who in the time of Ahab bore that name, but the class of which he is the representative, each individual of which is entitled to a share in Elijah's name; just that share which he vindicates for himself by sharing Elijah's mantle and by doing Elijah's work.

The prediction then will amount to this—that God will provide for the reception of his kingdom amongst men by ensuring the preaching of *repentance*; and where that necessary preparation is wanting or ineffectual, the only alternative will be a smiting the earth with a curse.

According to this exposition the general lesson intended in the prophecy would be a warning to the world, that although God's kingdom should come, as he had promised, yet repentance must of necessity precede its reception; so that to any in whom preparation had not wrought an effectual repentance, the day of the Lord would only be "dreadful," burning them up, and "leaving them neither root nor branch."⁴ For every advance of God's kingdom presents us with two aspects of his power; on the one side an accession of blessedness and peace to those who welcome it with contrite hearts; on the other disquiet, trouble, and blasting destruction to such as harden themselves. All must wait to meet this kingdom; it is health to him who receives it inwardly, but to every one who only outwardly suffers it to come upon him, successive plagues and shocks and violent precipitation into endless disasters.

moreover, though absent in the flesh, he could baptize with the Holy Spirit. Consequently, in respect to his subsequent ministry, he *increased* through spiritual operation and spiritual manifestation in the Church; and whatever else is wanting to the accomplishment of this work will be supplied at his second visible reappearance. How then could John have thus contrasted himself with Christ, if he too had looked for a resurrection to his ministry with an increased sphere of work, even to the extent of restoring of things?

³ Luke i. 17.

⁴ Mal. iv. 1.

This we conceive to be the general import of the prophecy : a *represented*, not a personal Elijah is meant. And the principle on which we base our exposition is not new, but confessedly one which underlies much of the prophetic language. No one, for instance, doubts that the Gog of Rev. xx. 8,ⁱ is not the actual person mentioned in Ezek. xxxviii. 2,^j but some nation, either that over which he ruled, or which, at the time predicted, shall be dwelling in his land, or perhaps, more probably (since it must be almost impossible now to identify the posterity of Magog with precision, or determine even the limits of the country over which they spread), some general Antichristian confederacy, of no particular race or country. A stronger instance, however, may be adduced, in the prophecies which foretell the future glory of Israel, where clearly (according to the principle laid down in Rom. ii. 29,^k ix. 8,^l and Gal. vi. 16,^m) the Israel intended is not only not the patriarch Jacob, but not even, at least as regards the final accomplishment, his natural posterity. Although many of these children according to the flesh may be included in the benefit of the promise, they are by no means coextensive with "the Israel of God." But even if analogy did not strengthen our position, the declaration of our Lord, in Matt. xvii. 12, and xi. 14, compels us, in the present case, to interpret according to the principle we contend for; for how can John the Baptist be Elias in any sense except by a figurative interpretation of the prophecy? But then do not, it may be asked, these passages at the same time preclude the application of the prophecy to any one else but John? Such objection, if valid, is fatal, of course, to the theory of Elijah's second coming. But is it valid? We do not deny that John the Baptist was one very remarkable representative of Elijah—possibly the most eminent who is ever to appear, because he had a special mission to prepare the way for the Lord's first advent. Yet have we any right to assume from our Lord's words, that John was Elijah in *such* a sense as absolutely to preclude the application of the prophecy to any other person? Is there no

ⁱ "And shall go out to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle: the number of whom is as the sand of the sea."

^j "Son of man, set thy face against Gog, the land of Magog, the chief prince of Meshech and Tubal, and prophesy against him."

^k "But he is a Jew which is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit and not in the letter; whose praise is not of men but of God."

^l "That is, They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of the promise are counted for the seed."

^m "And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God."

room left for other preachers of repentance? To take a parallel case, what is called "the wrath to come,"^a is something which, we know, will not have its ultimate fulfilment until the day of judgment. But suppose a person living at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, and calling to mind the Baptist's words, and other prophetic warnings, had said, in reference to that event, "This is the wrath which was for to come," could we not without any difficulty approve such an application of the word, without supposing that the speaker was unconscious that it had any ulterior meaning? May not, therefore, the words of the passage in question bear this construction? Admit it, and then we have no difficulty in accounting for John's assertion, in John i. 21. It certainly may seem strange, that, if he had possessed an exclusive right to the prediction in Mal. iv. 5, insomuch that the whole prophecy would have been unmeaning, except in relation to him, he should have forborne to assert it (at least as far as we are informed) even once during his whole mission, and, what is more, denied it in unqualified language, when first interrogated by the rulers of the nation, at the outset of his ministry; although from the fact of his giving them no evasive answer, it appears that he was not unwilling to submit to be questioned. But if we adopt the proposed interpretation, then the Baptist's answer is explicable. He replied in the negative, because an answer in the affirmative would not have been true in the sense in which his hearers would have understood him. He added no explanation, because, if the explanation we have suggested be the right one, time, and moral discipline, and practical acquaintance with the truths he was preaching, would have been required to enable them to perceive its spiritual and therefore real significance. For it is only by striving to press into the kingdom of heaven, that we discover the fundamental necessity of having every step of the way prepared by repentance. John, therefore, instead of entering into an explanation, which, upon our hypothesis, was unnecessary to accredit his mission, and would have been of no immediate spiritual benefit to his hearers, confined himself to a more particular yet parabolical intimation which the Scriptures had given of his work and office, styling himself "the voice of one crying in the wilderness," etc.,^c a significant hint, which was intelligible enough to set his hearers thinking and enquiring, and not too plain to take off the edge from their curiosity. In fact, the Baptist's reserve on this point, bears a remarkable resemblance to that which often characterized

^a Matt. iii. 7.^c John i. 23.

our Saviour's teaching, a method of spiritual education exhibited by the latter in his frequent use of parables, and seemingly well calculated to exercise the faith and patience of those who had "ears to hear." In short, it appears to have been a settled principle in our Lord's teaching, not to let the theoretical knowledge of the head, outstrip the practical and experimental knowledge which should establish for the former a basis in the heart, to give it use and stability. Such is the exposition from which, as from a centre, the various parts of the prophecy, otherwise unconnected and inconsistent, seem most naturally to diverge.

Hitherto we have assumed that no difficulty will be found in reconciling our view with every part of the description of Elijah's work. Nor need we anticipate any objection on this score from the supporters of the common interpretation. On the contrary, if there be a difficulty, they must face it also, while, at the same time, being precluded from extending the signification of the prophecy beyond the life and ministry of one single person, they have fewer resources for surmounting it. There is one text, however, which those who insist on a personal advent of Elijah will not admit to be applicable to John, still less, of course, would they apply it to any mere preacher of repentance, as such. By the advocates of this theory, therefore, we shall be expected to shew how the Elijah of our interpretation can be said to "restore all things." It would be enough to answer, that whatever these words may mean, they can be as easily fulfilled, for anything we know, by some one or more future representatives of Elijah, as by the actual prophet himself. But we see no reason why they may not find an adequate fulfilment in the consummation of the whole work of bringing men to repentance. It has, indeed, been alleged that the restoration promised here (identical, it is naturally supposed, with the ἀποκατάστασις πάντων of Acts iii. 21) can imply no less than a restoration of the Israelites to their fatherland, and to their ancient distinctive privileges. But, not to say that the sense which must, in that case, be imposed on "all things," seems arbitrary; it is, to say the least of it, opposed to the confessedly *catholic* character of the evangelical promises. We do not, indeed, deny that other prophecies appear to be pointing to a time when the dispersed Jews shall be gathered together, and established in their land, and thus recover their national polity, but that they will ever recover, in any respect, their former exclusive position, as the peculiar people of God, so long as that dispensation lasts in which "there is neither Jew nor Greek,"^p in which "neither

circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature,"^q we cannot believe. How much more accordant is it with the spirit of the gospel, and of the promises made to "the Israel of God," how much more suitable to the comprehensiveness of the words themselves, to understand them to signify *all things that are to be restored through such means as fall within the scope of an Elijah's work.*

But let us, before proceeding to justify this exposition of the passage, anticipate an objection that may possibly be raised against the arguments we shall advance in favour of it. They will perhaps be considered *mystical*. If, however, under that charge, nothing more can truly be alleged against them, than that they are too spiritual to be universally appreciable, I believe that they are hereby only proved to fulfil the conditions of a right interpretation. I believe we have on this point the authority of our Lord himself, who in speaking to the multitudes concerning John (Matt. xi.),^r and after intimating (v. 12) that the powerful preaching of this remarkable personage, had awakened in certain hearts a sense of an urgent need of the Saviour, does not tell them that John was the Elias, without anticipating a possible unwillingness on their part to receive this truth. "If ye will receive it, this is Elias, which was for to come."

"If ye will receive it:" then perhaps they would not receive it; or if they admitted the proposition, they would be averse to the sense in which it was to be understood. Now the multitudes to whom our Lord addressed these words, had most of them probably, as was but natural, assumed that the prophecy was to be fulfilled in its literal sense, by a personal reappearance of Elijah. The disciples' question, in Matt. xvii. 10,^s sufficiently shews that such was the common opinion. But our Lord was believed to be a prophet, and felt to be one who taught with authority, by at least the greater part of those who heard him on that occasion. His exposition, therefore, (balanced, as it was, against mere conjecture, or the expositions of men confessedly inferior in authority to prophets,) must have had considerable weight. It would have been conclusive, in the estimation of all who ascribed to him any degree of prophetic authority, unless their reverence for him had been outweighed by something apparently too incredible in the doctrine itself. Suppose

^q Gal. vi. 15.

^r "And from the days of John the Baptist until now, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence, and the violent take it by force."

^s "And his disciples asked him, saying, Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?"

then our Lord had merely meant to tell the people that the language was figurative, and that it was adequately fulfilled in the appearance of a preacher, who (as did his forerunner John) bore a certain resemblance to Elijah. In such a method of interpretation, there was nothing which was new to them. The principle was already admitted, as in the exposition of Hos. iii. 5 ;^c and there was no more reason why any of our Lord's hearers should have objected on the ground that Christ's forerunner must be the personal Elijah, than there is for supposing they would have rejected the Messiah himself on the ground that he was not the personal David. To all of our Lord's hearers (those only excepted, who, from sheer obstinacy, may have preferred adhering to an old opinion,) it must have been immaterial whether they had to acknowledge in John a literal or a figurative Elijah, provided only he fulfilled what the prophecies had taught them to look for from the latter. But probably on this score they might have had scruples with regard to John. Those who had been only temporarily, or not at all affected by the Baptist's preaching, would naturally be disappointed in him ; and would turn away with an incredulous ear, when called upon to believe that this man, now declining in influence and wearing out his days in prison, was the great Elijah of whom they expected such wonderful things. These men doubtless looked for worthier deeds from such a personage, than merely calls to repentance. Let it be observed, therefore, that they would object to John, not that the work which he began was still deficient as to its promised extent, but that it had proved of no use at all in preparing for the kingdom of God. That kingdom, as it appeared to their eyes, the carnal glory, the national deliverance and exaltation, was for anything that John had done, as far distant as ever. Clearly, therefore, it is the importance of the Baptist's work, its connexion with the kingdom of heaven, its consequent significance as a vindication of his right to Elijah's name—this is the truth which they would not receive.

Hence our Lord significantly adds, in that well-known admonition to attend to some pregnant hint concerning spiritual truth : " He that hath ears to hear, let him hear." Had they had ears to hear, they would have found no difficulty in crediting his assertion concerning John ; while yet they might not unreasonably have looked to see John's work carried on and finished to a degree commensurate with the prophetic declarations.

^c " Afterward shall the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king ; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days."

How then can the bringing men to repentance be said to be a restoring of all things? This expression, let it be observed, is not to be found in the Old Testament prophecy concerning Elijah, but was first made use of by our Lord, in answer to the question, "Why then say the scribes that Elias must first come?" To the meaning therefore of the answer, it is possible we may discover some clue, by referring to the event which suggested the question. Three of the disciples had just been witnessing our Lord's transfiguration. They had seen Moses and Elias appear with him in glory, and had been disappointed of the hope which the vision must have excited in them. When they doubtless imagined on awaking to behold this dazzling sight, that the time was at last come for their master to enter upon his glorious reign, and were wondering at what they saw and heard, they suddenly found themselves alone with Jesus again. Were not then the scribes mistaken in their expectation? So they seem to reason with themselves. If not, what meant this disappearance of the prophet, who they had fondly hoped was come? Then they ask the question above mentioned. The Lord replies—(and we should remember here, in considering what he says, that it was a custom with our Lord to reply, not merely to the words, but to the inmost thoughts of his hearers, and in terms pregnant with a meaning which their future experience might in due time evolve)—"Elias truly shall first come, and restore all things."^a

Now bearing these words in mind, let us recur to the vision.* What is meant by the appearance and glorification of Moses? Clearly the glory of God as revealed to us through the Law. Moses represents the discovery of what men are by original nature, and to what they are tied and bound by the covenant of their existence. But to whom is this discovery made? To sinners, to creatures who have broken the covenant, who have sunk below their nature, and who have in heart disowned the sovereignty of their God. But again, for what purpose is the discovery made? Because, with a view to future and eternal blessings, it is the will of God that they should be restored to their allegiance.

Hence another kind of ministry is required than merely that of Moses. It is by Elijah that God's glorious voice must

* Matt. xvii. 11.

^a The term *vision* is in Matt. xvii. 9, applied to this event. There is no reason on that account to doubt that the persons whom the disciples saw were really and objectively present; the word *ὄραμα* (like *ἄνω*) being used in Scripture to designate appearances of angels, or other similar manifestations of the objective realities of the spiritual world."

now be heard. Preachers must go forth "in the spirit and power of Elias;" "turning the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just;" stirring up men to repentance by the alarming yet encouraging announcement, that "the kingdom of heaven is at hand." What therefore is Elijah's work, but a work of *restoration*? It begins where that of Moses ceases, with convincing them of disobedience to the discovered law: it ceases when that which is peculiarly the ministry of Christ has begun its work, when there is no longer a halting between two opinions, but Christ is actually acknowledged, and his gospel cordially embraced. Having once laid hold of the promises, they are reinstated in God's grace, and have an ever-widening prospect of glory in the kingdom before them; they are once for all restored, insomuch that should they afterwards utterly "fall away," it is impossible "to renew them again unto repentance."^w So that, although Elijah's ministry may be needed from time to time to revive fading impressions, and thus to prepare Christ's way till his kingdom shall have interpenetrated every tissue of the human heart, it must be like that of Moses, from its very nature, transitory.

Would we then interpret this vision, let us look within. There one may have seen Moses, Elias, and Christ. First, he discovers that there is a commandment which is holy and just and good. Next, that he himself is carnal, sold under sin. But then when he is crying, "Oh wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"^x he recollects that he has heard a voice which said, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye Him." And so, it may be, he at last discovers that he has strength to say, "I thank God through Jesus Christ our Lord." And then repentance, having brought him to this confession, there leaves him. But will he have again to listen to Moses and Elias? Yes, if he abides with Christ. From time to time the vision will reappear, and he will hear them talking about a "death which must be accomplished,"^y a "crucifixion of the flesh with its affections and lusts."^z Yet if he has patience to wait the last vision out, then when he turns again to look, those voices will be silent, and he will see no other messenger from God thenceforth for evermore save Jesus only with himself. Possibly indeed, in his ignorance, instead of being content that Christ alone should dwell in his heart by faith, he will think to make separate tabernacles there for Moses and Elias: that is to say, there will be some aspects of obedience or of repentance in regard to which, before arriving at perfect light, his

^w Heb. vi. 4—6.^x Rom. vii. 24.^y Luke ix. 31.^z Gal. v. 24.

Christian consciousness will be confused. He will either be secretly enticed in some respect, through reverence for order, to idolize the law itself, instead of feeling a singleness of veneration for him of whose will it is only the expression; and so perhaps he will shew himself stern and rigid in cases where a clearer consciousness of truth would have taught him to yield: or he will dwell with a morbid satisfaction on the work of repentance itself. He will try to provoke gloomy and distressing sensations, and burden himself with needless penances, when he ought to be encouraging every hopeful thought, in order that he might find strength to lay aside every weight and besetting sin, and patience to run the race which is set before him. But still if he abide with Christ, some cloud or other will intervene, and put an end to any vain or superstitious project he may have entertained; and when he turns to look for explanation of his perplexities, he will find himself again with Christ alone. Repentance will have brought him to this better understanding, but only to take leave of him there, and to shew him that for itself there is no place in the kingdom of God.

Such we believe is the nature of the restoration which Elijah is to effect—a *moral* restitution. But it is to embrace *all* things. John accomplished but a few things, and therefore, as it seems, declined to assume the prophet's name as an exclusive and distinctive designation, but preferred to be known by that appellation which he alone is entitled to bear: "The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Make straight the way of the Lord." Though John therefore was the first reappearance of Elijah before the Lord of Hosts, he cannot be the last. Though first and greatest of God's pioneers, yet, unless we have ceased to pray, "Thy kingdom come," he cannot be the last. Though first and loudest of the voices which have cried, "Make straight his paths," yet, unless we have ceased to say, "Thy will be done," he cannot be the last. That voice which was first heard crying in the wilderness has awakened many others, echoes of itself; and these we may be sure will never cease reverberating through the world till the cry shall have sounded in the ears of every creature to whom the gospel must be preached.

In conclusion, let it be observed that our view of the prophecy by no means binds us to assert that it will not be ultimately accomplished by a personal advent of Elijah. All that we maintain is, that the terms of the prediction do not of themselves authorize us to look for such an event, and that a fair and adequate interpretation of all that Scripture has told us about the matter is to be found in our hypothesis. If Elijah is to come in person and restore all things by finishing the work of his prede-

cessors, then the Scriptures, I contend, were not meant to give us intimation of the fact beforehand, to the extent, at least, of justifying us in saying "it is written." For, to reason from analogy, if we look at the predictions which regard the Lord's first coming, here and there we observe that the language of the prophets has been verified remarkably by a literal coincidence with the circumstances of our Saviour's life, while certainly the greater part has turned out to be figurative. In such cases, it is evident, the general scope and spiritual lesson of the prophecy were the only thing intended to be instructive in it until the event itself had called attention also to its minute and circumstantial fulfilment. Thus on the one hand a Jew who lived before the Christian era, might, by confining himself to the spiritual meaning of the words, have drawn forth a very edifying lesson from Zechariah's prophecy in ch. ix. 9.^a Nor would he have been at all the wiser if he had adopted the literal sense, although that, indeed, was destined also to be fulfilled. But if, on the other hand, he had uniformly adhered, whenever it was possible, to the opposite system of exposition, he would have fallen into the mistake of inferring from Is. lxiii. 1—3,^b that the Messiah was literally to come from Edom and Bozrah with blood-stained garments, and single-handed to trample down, literally, and exterminate his enemies with havock and carnage. It is most reasonable, therefore, on principle as well as in consideration of the peculiar difficulties we thus escape in the present instance, to take a spiritual and comprehensive view of the meaning of the prophecy.

To the exposition we suggest, no objection, as it appears to us, can be alleged. Neither, as far as we can see, need any be felt; unless it be the difficulty of realizing in repentance an act of restoration. But yet if any one should, after all, reject this exposition, from a feeling that repentance does not restore him, and that he has need of something more, he will find, perhaps, that, instead of repenting, he has been trusting to some technical substitute for repentance, relying on some fictitious title to, instead of realizing his place in, the City of God. Whereas the

^a "Rejoice greatly, Oh daughter of Zion; shout, Oh daughter of Jerusalem; behold thy King cometh unto thee; he is just, and having salvation; lowly and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass."

^b "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this that is glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength?" I that speak in righteousness, mighty to save.

"I have trodden the winepress alone; and of the people there was none with me: for I will tread them in mine anger, and trample them in my fury, and their blood shall be sprinkled upon my garments, and I will stain all my raiment."

truth is, that while his only title can be the meritorious sufferings and work of Christ, there is but one way by which faith enables him to claim the freedom of that city, namely, by repenting. Has he not repented? It matters not that from the days of John the Kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it, he is spiritually living in those days, and no less needs an Elijah to prepare him for the coming kingdom than did any among the multitudes to whom the Baptist preached. And what signifies it, that in point of time he is living now? Though our Lord was speaking to his Apostles only when he promised to be with them always, even unto the end of the world, we do not scruple to claim for ourselves a share in that promise as being one body with them. I see no reason, therefore, why we should object to making a somewhat similar application of the warnings that we find in Scripture. All who are in any respect outside the Kingdom of Heaven, forming as they do in that respect one body, are doubtless addressed in the prophecies in question. Surely, then, may every one who can call to mind some voice of truth whose appeals he is conscious of neglecting, conceive the Lord to be saying, in words intended for himself, provided he can take them in their intended sense. "If ye will receive it, this is Elias which was for to come."

THE LAST BLESSINGS OF JACOB.

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHALDEE TARGUMS OF JONATHAN BEN UZIEL AND JERUSALEM.

Authorized Version of Genesis, chap. xlix.

1. And JACOB called unto his sons, and said, Gather yourselves together, that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days.

Jonathan Ben Uziel.

1. And JACOB called unto his sons, and said unto them, Cleanse yourselves from impurity, and I will shew to you hidden secrets, reserved conclusions, and the gift of reward of the righteous, and the punishment of the wicked, and the appearance of Eden what it is. [Then] were the twelve tribes of Israel ga-

Jerusalem.

1. And JACOB our father called unto his sons, and said unto them, Gather yourselves together, and I will teach you the end of hidden things, deep secrets, and the gift of reward of the righteous and the punishment of the wicked, and the happiness of Eden what it is. [Then] as one were the twelve tribes of Ja-

Authorized Version of Genesis, chap. xlix.

2. Gather yourselves together, and hear, ye sons of Jacob; and hearken unto Israel your father.

3. REUBEN, thou art my first-born, my might and the be-

Jonathan Ben Uziel.

thered together as one, compassing the golden bed in the midst of which he was lying, and from which was manifested the glory of the Shechinah of Jehovah, [but] the end [of the time] when hereafter KING MESSIAH should come was hidden from him. Then said he, Come ye, and I will tell you what shall befall you in the end of days.

2. Gather yourselves together and hear, ye sons of Jacob, and receive ye instruction from Israel your father.

3. REUBEN, thou art my first-born, the beginning of the strength of my servitude, the beginning of the purpose of my thoughts. The primogenitureship, the high priest-

Jerusalem.

cob gathered together, compassing the golden bed in the midst of which our father Jacob was lying, praying that he would teach them the end of blessing and consolation, but after the secret was revealed to him it was hidden from him, and after the door was opened to him it was shut from him. Our father Jacob turned and blessed his sons, [every] man according to his good deeds blessed he them.

2. After that the twelve tribes of Jacob were assembled together, and compassed the golden bed in the midst of which our father Jacob was lying, they thought that he would reveal to them the orders of blessing and consolation, but they were hidden from him. Our father Jacob answered and said unto them, Abraham my father was a father from whom arose the profane Ishmael and all the sons of Keturah, and Isaac was a father from whom arose the profane Esau my brother, and I fear lest there shall be a man among you whose heart is divided against his brethren to go to worship before strange idols. The twelve tribes of Jacob answered all of them together as one, and said, Hear [our confession] from us, O Israel our father, JEHOVAH OUR ELOHIM IS ONE JEHOVAH! Jacob our father answered and said, Let his great Name be blessed for ever and ever!

3. REUBEN, thou art my first-born, my strength and the beginning of my grief. It was seemly for thee, Reuben, my son, to receive three parts more than thy brethren,—the

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ginning of my strength, the excellency of dignity, and the excellency of power.

4. Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel; because thou wentest up to thy father's bed; then defilest thou it: he went up to my couch.

5. SIMEON and LEVI are brethren: instruments of cruelty are in their habitations.

6. O my soul, come not thou into their secret, unto their assembly mine honour, be not thou united; for in their anger they slew a man, and in their self-will they digged down a wall.

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hood, and the kingdom are suitable for thee, but because thou hast sinned, my son, the primogenitureship is given to Joseph, and the kingdom to Judah, and the priesthood to Levi.

4. I will liken thee to a little garden, into the midst of which there entered torrents hasty [and] strong, so that it was unable to bear them but was overturned, so fallen art thou, Reuben, my son, because thou hast sinned thou shalt not increase, though concerning that which thou hast sinned it shall be forgiven thee, for it is reputed of thee that thou wentest in to the wife of thy father in order to lie with her, when thou didst confound my couch on which thou didst ascend.

5. SIMEON and LEVI are courageous brethren, their thoughts are [after] sharp weapons for plunder.

6. In their council my soul did not delight itself, and in their assembling at Shechem to destroy it my honour did not unite, for in their wrath they slew the king and his princes, and in their pleasure they broke down the wall of their enemies.

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primogenitureship, the priesthood, the kingdom,—but because thou hast sinned, Reuben, my son, the primogenitureship is given to Joseph, the kingdom to Judah, and the high priesthood to the tribe of Levi.

4. I will liken thee, my son Reuben, to a little garden into the midst of which there came overwhelming torrents which it was unable to bear, but was broken down before them, so art thou broken down, Reuben, my son, in thy good deeds, because thou hast sinned; nevertheless thou shalt not return to sin, and that which thou hast sinned shall be forgiven thee.

5. SIMEON and LEVI are courageous brethren, men possessed of sharp instruments; they made contention from their childhood, in the land of their enemies they made victory of their foes.

6. In their council my soul did not delight itself, and in their assembling at the city of Shechem to destroy it they were not concerned for mine honour, for in their wrath they slew kings with princes, and in their pleasure they sold Joseph their brother, who was like unto an ox.

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7. Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: I will divide them in Jacob, and scatter them in Israel.

8. JUDAH, thou art he whom thy brethren shall praise: thy hand shall be in the neck of thine enemies; thy father's children shall bow down before thee.

9. Judah is a lion's whelp: from the prey, my son, thou art gone up: he stooped down, he couched as a lion, and as an old lion, who shall rouse him up?

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7. Jacob said, Cursed was the city of Shechem when they ascended into the midst of it to destroy it in their wrath which was strong, yea, [cursed was] their anger against Joseph, for it was sharp. Jacob said, If both of them were dwelling together, there is not a king or ruler who could stand before them, [therefore] I will divide the inheritance of the children of Simeon into two parts, one part shall go out to him from the midst of the inheritance of the children of Judah, and another part among the rest of the tribes of Jacob, and I will disperse the tribe of Levi into the midst of all the tribes of Israel.

8. JUDAH, thou didst confess concerning the matter of Tamar, therefore thus shall thy brethren praise thee that the Jews shall call themselves by thy name; thy hands shall avenge thee of thine enemies by casting arrows at them when they turn the shoulder before thee; and the children of thy father shall come before thee to ask concerning thy welfare.

9. I will liken thee, Judah my son, to a whelp, the son of a lion, for from the murder of Joseph my son thy soul didst abstain, and from the judgment of Tamar thou shalt be free: calm and dwelling in strength as a lion, yea, as an old

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7. Cursed was the city of Shechem when Simeon and Levi ascended into its midst to destroy it in their wrath for it was strong, and in their anger for it was sharp. Our father Jacob said, If they were dwelling together there is not a people or kingdom who could stand before them, [therefore] I will divide the tribe of Simeon [that they may be] scribes teaching the law in the synagogues of Jacob, and the tribe of Levi I will disperse in the schools of the children of Israel.

8. JUDAH, all thy brethren shall praise thee, and all the Jews shall call themselves by thy name; thy hands shall avenge thee of thy foes, and all the children of thy father shall come before thee to ask concerning thy welfare.

9. I will liken thee, my son Judah, to a whelp, the son of a lion. From the murder of Joseph thou wast free; from the judgment of Tamar, my son, thou wast innocent; calm and dwelling in the midst of strife as a lion, yea, as a lioness,

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10. The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver till between his feet, until SHILOH come; and unto him shall the gathering of the people be.

11. Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes.

12. His eyes shall be red with wine, and his teeth white with milk.

13. ZEBULON shall dwell at the haven of the sea; and he

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lion, who shall cause him to arise?

10. There shall not cease kings and rulers from the house of Judah, or scribes teaching the law from his seed, until the time that KING MESSIAH, the least of his sons shall come, and the nations shall be dissolved on account of him.

11. How fair is KING MESSIAH who is hereafter to arise from the house of Judah! binding up his loins, and descending and setting in array the troops of war [against] his enemies, and slaying kings with their princes, yea, there is not a king or ruler who can stand before him; making the mountains red from the blood of their slain, his garments dipped in blood, like to the treader of grapes.

12. How fair are the eyes of KING MESSIAH! pure as the vine from seeing illicit concubinage and the effusion of innocent blood, and his teeth are purer than milk, because he eateth not violence and rapine, therefore are his mountains made red, and his presses [are bursting] with wine, and his valleys white with corn and sheep-folds.

13. ZEBULON shall dwell on the borders of the sea, and he shall be

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and there is no people or kingdom who will be able to stand against thee.

10. There shall not cease kings from the house of Judah, nor scribes teaching the law from his children's children, until the time that KING MESSIAH shall come, whose is the kingdom, and to him hereafter shall all the kingdoms of the earth be obedient.

11. How fair is KING MESSIAH who is hereafter to arise from the house of Judah! binding up his loins, and going forth to battle against his foes, and slaying kings with [their] princes, making the rivers red from the blood of their slain, making his valleys white from the fatness of their strength, his garments dipped in blood, and he is like to the treader of grapes.

12. How fair are the eyes of KING MESSIAH! even as the vine, purer than to see with them illicit concubinage and the effusion of innocent blood, his teeth are more exercised with rites than to eat with them violence and rapine; ruddy are his mountains from vineyards, and the presses from his vine; white are his valleys from the multitude of corn and flocks of sheep.

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shall be for a haven of ships; and his border shall be unto Zidon.

14. ISSACHAR is a strong ass couching down between two burdens.

15. And he saw that rest was good, and the land that it was pleasant; and bowed his shoulder to bear, and became a servant unto tribute.

16. DAN shall judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel.

17. Dan shall be a serpent by the way, an adder in the path, that biteth the horse-heels, so that his rider shall fall backward.

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ruler over the havens, yea, he shall subdue the isles of the sea with ships, and his border shall reach to Zidon.

14. ISSACHAR [labours as] an ass [*i.e.* laboriously] in the law, and he shall be a strong tribe, knowing the signs of the times, and he shall lie down between the boundaries of his brethren.

15. For he saw the repose of the future world that it was good, and the portion of the land of Israel that it was fat, therefore he bowed [his] shoulders to labour in the law, and his brethren shall bring him gifts.

16. From the house of DAN there shall rise hereafter a man who will judge his people with righteous judgments; the tribes of Israel shall hearken to him with one accord.

17. He shall be a man chosen [of God], and he shall arise from the house of Dan; [he shall be] like to an adder which lieth in the separation of ways, and to the head of the serpent which lieth in wait on the roads, and biteth the horse in his heel, and from fear of it his rider is thrown backward: so will Samson, the son of Manoah, kill all the strong men of the Philistines, [both] horsemen and footmen, and will

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The blessing of Zebulon is wanting in this Targum.

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14. ISSACHAR is a strong tribe, and his border shall be in the midst between two borders, and he saw the holy house which was called Comfort, for it was good, and the land for her fruits was fat, and he bowed his shoulder to labour in the law, and all his brethren shall bring him gifts.

17. There shall be a redeemer who is hereafter to arise; he will be strong and elevated above every kingdom, and he shall be like unto a serpent which lieth in the way, and to an adder which lieth in wait in the separation of ways, which striketh at the horse in his heel, and from thinking of his terror his rider is thrown backwards. And this is Samson, the son of Manoah, whose terror was upon his enemies, and

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18. I have waited for thy salvation, O Lord.

19. GAD, a troop shall overcome him : but he shall overcome at the last.

20. Out of ASHER his bread shall be fat, and he shall yield royal dainties.

21. NAPHTALI is a hind let loose ; he giveth goodly words.

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hough their horses, and cause their riders to be thrown backward.

18. Jacob, when he saw Gideon the son of Joash, and Samson the son of Manoah, who would arise to be deliverers, said, Not for the deliverance of Gideon do I wait, nor for the deliverance of Samson do I hope, for their deliverance is a temporal deliverance, but for thy deliverance I wait and hope, O Lord, for thy deliverance is an eternal deliverance !

19. The tribe of GAD armed shall pass over the brooks of Arnon with the rest of the tribes, and they shall subdue before them the mighty ones of the land, and they shall return armed at length, with great treasures, and shall dwell in peace beyond Jordan, for so they desired, and it was so, and they received their inheritance.

20. O happy ASHER ! abundant are his fruits ! his land multiplieth spices and myrrh !

21. NAPHTALI is a swift messenger, like to a hind which runneth on the edges of mountains announcing good news, for he announced that Joseph was yet alive, and he was hasty that he might go to Egypt, and I caused [him] to bring the instruments of the double field in which there was no portion for Esau, and when he opened his mouth to praise in the assemblies of Israel, he was approved above all tongues.

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his dread upon his haters, because he slew kings with [their] princes.

18. Jacob our father said, Not for the deliverance of Gideon, the son of Joash, doth my soul wait, for it is temporal ; nor for the deliverance of Samson, for it is a creature-deliverance ; but for the deliverance which thou hast said through thy WORD shall come to thy people, the children of Israel, for this thy deliverance my soul waiteth !

19. From the house of GAD armed troops shall go forth, and they will cause Israel to pass over Jordan, yea, they will cause them to possess the land of Canaan, and afterwards they shall return in peace to their dwellings.

20. O happy ASHER ! how fat is [thy] land ! yea, his land shall supply delicacies to the kings of the children of Israel !

21. NAPHTALI is a swift messenger to announce good tidings, for he announced to our father Jacob from the first that Joseph was yet alive, and he descended to Egypt in a brief space, and I caused him to bring the instruments of the double field from the palace of Joseph, and when he opened his mouth in the assemblies of Jacob, his tongue was sweet as honey.

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22. JOSEPH is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by a well, whose branches run over the wall.

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22. My son who hast increased, JOSEPH my son, who hast increased and art strong, and whose end is to be strong, because thou didst subdue thy concupiscence in the matter of thy mistress, and in the matter of thy brethren. I will liken thee to a vine planted by the fountains of waters which sendeth forth his roots, and breaketh the teeth of rocks, and by his branches subdueth all barren trees: so didst thou subdue Joseph, my son, by thy wisdom and by thy good works, all the magicians of the Egyptians, and when they were praising before thee, the daughters of princes were walking on the towers and casting before thee necklaces and bracelets of gold, that thou mightest raise thine eyes to them, but thou didst not raise thine eyes to one of them to become guilty on their account at the great day of judgment.

22. My son who hast increased ! JOSEPH, my son, who hast increased and art strong, and art seen to be strong. I will liken thee Joseph, my son, to a vine planted by the fountains of waters, which sendeth forth his roots into the deep, and breaketh the teeth of all rocks, sendeth forth itself on high, and subdueth all trees, so didst thou subdue, Joseph my son, all the magicians of the Egyptians by thy wisdom, and all their wise men who were there at the time when they made thee to ride in the chariot second to Pharaoh, and crying before thee, saying, This is the Father of the King ! live and be established, O Father of the King ! who art great in wisdom and little in years ! And the daughters of kings, and the daughters of princes, were leaping against the windows for thee, and beholding thee from the lattices, and they were strewing before thee necklaces, rings, bracelets, chains, and every kind of gold [ornaments], thinking that thou wouldst lift up thine eyes, and think on one of them. Far be it from thee, Joseph my son, that thou shouldst raise thine eyes to one of them ! So the daughters of kings and the daughters of princes said one to another, This is the pious man, Joseph, who walketh not after the sight of his eyes, and the thought of his heart ; for the sight of the eyes and the thought of the heart destroy mankind from the world. Therefore shall two tribes arise from thee, Manasseh and Ephraim, and they shall receive a portion and inheritance with their brethren in the division of the land.

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23. The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and hated him.

24. But his bow abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made strong by the hands of the mighty God of Jacob; (from thence is the Shepherd, the Stone of Israel.)

25. Even by the God of thy father, who shall help thee, and by the Almighty, who shall bless thee with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, blessings of the breasts and of the womb.

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23. And all the magicians of the Egyptians provoked him, and chode him, yea, they slandered him before Pharaoh, thinking to cast him down from his glory, they spake against him with a third tongue [*i.e.* slanderously and from hearsay] which was sharp as an arrow.

24. But he returned to dwell as at first in the strength of his members, because he had not sinned with his mistress, and his hands were dispersed from the thoughts of seed, and he subdued his concupiscence on account of the powerful instructions which he had received from Jacob, and so he was worthy to be a governor and to be associated with his brethren in having his name engraved on the stones of Israel.

25. Thy help shall be from the WORD of the God of thy father, and from Him who is called Omnipotent: thou shalt be blessed with the blessings which descend from the dew of heaven above, and with good blessings from the fountains of the deep, which ascended and covered the branches below, with the blessings of the breasts from which thou hast sucked, and of the bowels in which thou hast lain.

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23. All the magicians of the Egyptians spake against him but could not prevail against him, and all the wise men spake evil of him before his lord; they slandered him before Pharaoh king of Egypt, that they might cast him down from his glory. They spake against him in the court of Pharaoh with a third tongue, which was sharp against him as an arrow.

24. But he placed the strength of his confidence in his two hands and his arms, and entreated mercies from the Strength of his father Jacob, who by the arm of his strength shall lead forth and bring the tribes of Israel [to the promised land].

25. The blessings of the breasts from which thou hast sucked, and the bowels in which thou hast lain [shall come upon thee].

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26. The blessings of thy father have prevailed above the blessings of my progenitors unto the utmost bound of the everlasting hills: they shall be on the head of Joseph, and on the crown of the head of him who was separate from his brethren.

27. BENJAMIN shall raven as a wolf: in the morning he shall devour the prey, and at night he shall divide the spoil.

28. All these are the twelve tribes of Israel; and this is that which their father spake unto them, and blessed them; every one according to his blessing he blessed them.

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26. The blessing of thy father shall be added to the blessing with which my fathers Abraham and Isaac blessed me, when Ishmael, Esau, and all the sons of Keturah, desired to be princes of the world; all these blessings shall be gathered together, and they shall be made a crown of glory for the head of Joseph, and shall encircle the man who was prince and ruler in Egypt, and shining in the glory of his brethren.

27. BENJAMIN is a strong tribe, [ravening] as a wolf for its prey. In his land shall rest the Shechinah of the Lord of the world, and in his inheritance shall be built the holy House. In the morning there shall be priests offering sheep continually, until the fourth hour, and between the twilights they shall offer a second sheep, and in the evening they shall divide the residue of the other offerings, and shall eat every man his portion.

28. These are all the twelve tribes of Israel, all of them were righteous together, and this is that which was said to them by their father, and he blessed them, [every] man according to his blessing blessed he them.

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26. The blessing of thy father shall be added to the blessing with which thy fathers Abraham and Isaac (who are like to mountains) blessed thee, and the blessing of the four mothers (who are like to hillocks), Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Leah; all these blessings shall come, and they shall be made a crown of glory for the head of Joseph, and shall encircle the man who was prince and ruler over the land of Egypt, and shining in the glory of his brethren.

27. [BENJAMIN] shall be like to a ravening wolf. Within his boundary they shall build the sanctuary, and in his inheritance the glory of the Shechinah of Israel shall rest; in the morning there shall be priests offering sheep continually, with a meat-offering; and with the going down of the sun there shall be priests offering sheep continually with a meat-offering, and in the evening they shall divide the offerings of the children of Israel.

In presenting to the readers of the *Journal of Sacred Literature* the foregoing specimen of two of the Chaldee Tar-

gums, it may not be deemed unnecessary to notice a few particulars relative to their origin and history.

The word TARGUM is derived from a Hebrew root, signifying *to interpret* or *explain*. It may therefore be applied to any *interpretation*, *version* or *paraphrase* whatsoever, but it is now exclusively applied to the *translations* or *paraphrases* of the Old Testament, which have been made into the *Chaldee* language. The Jews have ever been remarkable for their attachment to their sacred books in the original text, and equally so for their desire to translate them into other tongues, contrasting very favourably with one great branch of the professedly Christian Church, which has spared no pains to hide them from the perusal of the common people. Of all these Jewish translations, the oldest (except the Septuagint) and most remarkable are those in the Chaldee language. These arose from the circumstance that during the seventy years captivity in Babylon, the great majority of the exiles lost the *familiar* use of the Hebrew language, and acquired that of their Chaldean masters, so that, after the return to Jerusalem, when the Books of the Law were read in the synagogues, many were unable *thoroughly* to understand their full import without some explanation in the vernacular dialect. It is not to be supposed, however, that the Hebrew was totally neglected or unknown, on the contrary, it is certain that several books of Scripture were written after the captivity, and in as pure Hebrew as most of those confessedly written long before that event. But still it appears that many words and phrases in the Law were found obscure, and requiring explanation; hence we find it written (Nehem. viii. 8), "So they read in the Book of the Law of God distinctly, and gave the sense, and caused them to understand the reading." The Jews are unanimous in asserting that after the reader had finished the verse in Hebrew, he repeated it in Chaldee; and, indeed, several Hebrew manuscripts have been found in which this plan has been adopted, the Hebrew and Chaldee being placed alternately, verse by verse. In process of time, it was found that many of the readers were incompetent for the task of translating, and hence arose a desire for a more exact and uniform interpretation, which being committed to writing, would be accessible to all. This object was at last secured by a variety of writers at different periods, whose combined labours have translated into Chaldee the whole of the Old Testament, with the exception of the Books of Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. From several statements in the Talmud and other Rabbinical writings, it would appear that these books were also translated, but have been lost in the stream of time. We now proceed to notice the several Targums in order.

I. TARGUMS ON THE "PENTATEUCH," which are threefold:—

(1.) ONKELOS, a proselyte to Judaism, about forty years before Christ, was the first who translated the five books of Moses into Chaldee. His work is extremely literal, and is written in a good Aramæan style, though far from attaining the purity of a Daniel or Ezra. It is remarkably simple and clear, generally gives the true meaning, and is free from the legends which disfigure some of the other Targums. As it was composed before the introduction of Christianity, Onkelos had no occasion to distort the meaning of those texts relative to the Messiah, and accordingly he supports the Christian *versus* the Jewish interpretation; he assigns a distinct personal agency to the *Memra* or *Word* of God, as distinguished from God himself. His whole doctrine on this important subject is identical with that of the first chapter of the Gospel of St. John, regarding the Logos. Altogether, Onkelos occupies a very high place among Biblical translators, and is accordingly prized both by Jews and Christians; so much so, that some of the former have not hesitated to assert his virtual inspiration.

(2.) In addition to the Targum of Onkelos on the Law, there is another which has for its reputed author, Jonathan Ben Uziel, a most distinguished disciple of the great Hillel, whose name is so familiar to all acquainted with Jewish literature. Jonathan was a contemporary of Onkelos, and like him aspired to the honour of translating the Scriptures into Chaldee. He is said to have translated *the Law*, and those books which are included in the Jewish division of *the Prophets*. But the difference between the style of these is so great, that critics have pretty unanimously refused to sanction with his name the translation of *the Law*, which indeed, ought to be regarded, not as a *translation* but as a *paraphrase*, and therefore of more use in exhibiting the Jewish mythology than Scripture interpretation. Fanciful as it is, it still contains the remains of many important truths, and affords to the Christian considerable assistance in his controversy with modern Judaism. It is probably of the fifth century.

(3.) In addition to the two already mentioned, there is a third Targum on the Law, which is anonymous. It is called the JERUSALEM TARGUM, either from the peculiar dialect in which it is written, or the place where it was composed. It is not complete,—it omits verses and even chapters, and in its general features so greatly resembles the Targum of the (Pseudo-) Jonathan that some have supposed it to be simply a collection of glosses or marginal notes to it, which indeed, is very probable. The Jews profess entire ignorance regarding either its

author or history. It is greatly to be wished that some one would undertake a critical examination of it, both externally or internally, as like the preceding, it contains several interesting remarks worthy of attention.

II. TARGUM ON THE "PROPHETS," according to the Jewish division of Scripture.

The Targum of JONATHAN BEN UZIEL on the Prophets, ranks in age and value next to that of Onkelos. It is however much freer and more paraphrastic, and the style is less pure. Numerous allegorical expositions are introduced into the text. In some places it favours the Christian view of disputed passages, and in others opposes them. There is reason to suspect that his text has been tampered with, to make it speak in accordance with more recent Jewish views. It however deserves perusal, and suggests useful thoughts to a careful reader.

III. TARGUM ON THE "HAGIOGRAPHIA."

This work is supposed to have been executed by Rabbi Joseph the blind, of whom nothing particular is known. Judging from the inequality of the style it may be considered as the work of several translators, issued by Rabbi Joseph, about A.D. 500.

The remaining Targums are all anonymous, viz., *one* on the Megilloth, *one* on Chronicles, and *three* on Esther. They are all written in the same general style, are often obscure and fanciful, full of Greek and Latin words, evidently implying a recent date, and only valuable as shewing the allegorical style in which the Rabbins indulged, and the means they adopted for captivating and instructing their readers.

For full and complete information regarding the Targum, the reader is referred to Walton's *Prolegomena*; Schickard's *Bechinath Happemshim*; Wolff's *Bibl. Hebraica*; Zunz's *Gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*; Horne's *Introduction*; and various works by Buxtorf, Cartwright, Mercier, Michaelis, Munster, Smyth, Taylor, Winer, Fuerst, etc.

The principal Chaldee (Targumical) Lexicons, are those of Buxtorf, Munster, Dessauer, Nork, Landau.

The principal Grammars are: Zandlini, Cellarius, Fuerst, Winer, Riggs, Hackett.

The texts of the Targums are to be found in the Polyglot Bibles, published at Complutensia, Antwerp, Paris, and London; and in the Rabbinical Bibles of Bomberg, Buxtorf, and Frankfurt, and in various editions of the Hebrew Bible, generally accompanied by Rabbinical commentaries. No *separate* edition has ever yet been printed, but it is to be hoped that this desideratum will yet be supplied.

R. Y.

LUTHER.

Luther ; or Rome and the Reformation. By ROBERT MONTGOMERY, M. A. Sixth Edition. London, 1852.

Luther : His Mental and Spiritual History ; with special reference to its Earlier Periods, and the Opening Scenes of the Reformation. By BARNAS SEARS, D.D. London Religious Tract Society.

THE presence of these two books at the same time before us, suggests that without at present entering fully into the great theme of Luther and the Reformation, it might be interesting to take them together, and bestow particular attention upon the points of common interest between them.

It is well observed in the Preface to the second of these works that, "The flood of light which has been shed upon the times of Luther within the last quarter of a century, has awakened a new and general interest in his history." This interest has been evinced in numerous works produced in Germany—the influence of which has been felt in other countries which have received a heritage of blessings from the reformation. In America, the literary and theological connection of which with Germany is closer than our own, this has been chiefly manifested in articles (sometimes extended through several numbers), in divers theological journals. Indeed this may have been the case with the contents of the present volume, as we remember to have read parts of it some years ago in the American *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

The author is an American minister of distinguished attainments, whose intimacy with German theological literature has enriched his mind without distorting his views. Luther has been to him a deep and special study. Impelled by a deep admiration for the character and doings of this great man, he studied to make himself thoroughly acquainted not only with his external history, but with his whole mind and spirit, nor did he suffer anything in his circumstances or history of the times which might illustrate the conduct and career of Luther, or which might be supposed to have exerted an influence upon his character or career to elude his research. The whole of this, instead of being extended into sundry dense octavos, is here set forth in a very portable duodecimo, presenting in a readable and racy style the vital essence of a large body of recent researches, and furnishing undoubtedly, the best account

of Luther and his times, and the most faithful portraiture of the man, which the English language yet possesses.

In England this quickened interest in Luther, has been chiefly manifested by the fact that Mr. Montgomery has made him the theme of a poem as large as an epic; and that the public has sanctioned this bold experiment by demanding six editions of it in ten years. We call the experiment "bold," for it is, as far as we know, the first attempt on any extensive scale, to invest a spiritual hero with the honours of poesy. It speaks much for the author's judgment that he perceived the poetical capabilities of such a theme; and had his poem been merely a respectable failure, instead of being, as it is, a distinguished success, he would have been still entitled to respect and gratitude for the endeavour to demonstrate that there are other conflicts than those with cold steel, and other conquerors than those who "overcome in battle," entitled to poetical celebration. There are in the history of our own reformation many circumstances replete with tragic interest, with startling incidents, with keen contests, with mental developments, and spiritual trials and triumphs—that deal with men of variously contrasted characters, among whom stood some who were "giants on the earth," in their day. Why should not these afford themes as worthy of the highest poesy, as the material battles of other days, and the physical conflicts of bloody times. If Mr. Montgomery himself, or any competent person stimulated by his example, would apply his attention to this matter, he would render a material service to the great cause for which there were men who rejoiced to die; and the nearer interest of the subject would ensure the most signal success to any worthy and well directed effort.

It is too late in the day to discuss the qualities of Mr. Montgomery's poetry—nor in any case would this be the place for the discussion. The public—and more especially the religious public—has long since made up its mind on the subject; and we doubt not that its approving judgment will be confirmed in the next ages, and that posterity will be more inclined to promote him to a higher than reduce him to a lower level than that in which contemporary opinion has placed him.

It is however, with the present poem rather than with the author's claims as a poet, that we have to do; and to that we now proceed.

Although Luther is the theme of the poem, and is its central figure, it is by no means a biographical or a descriptive poem. It is essentially reflective—being composed of a series of meditative excursions from the principal incidents in the reformer's

career, the incidents so chosen being themselves often wrought out with much poetical enrichment.

There is a fine prelude under the title of "God's Heroes," showing the uniformity of their career, their call to their work, their cold reception, their conflict, and their final triumph.

"Here is the doom of Hero, Bard, or King;
The cross of hatred first their hearts endure,
And *then*,—the crown of homage on their heads
Dying, or dead, at last cold Justice puts!
Their crown we witness,—has their cross been weigh'd?
We boast their triumphs,—have we told their tears?
We laud their greatness,—have we felt their gloom,
Their lonesome watchings, and their weepings long,
They fret, they fever, and those wasting pangs
Year after year, that wore the heart of Youth
To sickness, ere the laurell'd moment came
When truth and triumph paid high merit's due?
Result the many only dare to prize;
But still, the *process*—solemn, stern, and strange,
Through stormful agonies, and griefs, and glooms,
By which a Hero to his great result
Attaineth,—why should this no homage win?
Luther was great at threat'ning Worms, we grant;
But, greater still in solitude, and tears,
When first he grappled with his fiery heart
And, in the prison of a papal creed,
Panted, and pray'd for evangelic day."

Yet even these "heroes of God" have their faults, and no exemption is claimed for Luther, whose faults were many and grievous.

"Still, what is life, but imperfection's breath,
And human being, but incarnate fault
E'en at the best, howe'er by grace refined."

And this leads to the following beautiful, true, and finely drawn and discriminated character of Luther.

"Spirits there be, like flowers from heaven that fall,
Deck'd with fine beauty, clad with mental bloom
Most delicate, but soon earth's tainted soil
Bedims them; trodden in the dust they lie,
Forgotten, faded, or defeatur'd things,
Ere yet they open'd their immortal buds
Of virtue, or their perfect fragrance gave.
Not such was Luther's: like some burly oak
Whose boughs wave battle with the tearing winds
And bend, but never break,—his fighting heart
Contended with all mutinies, that came

From prince, or pope, from circumstance, or creed,
 And wrestled with them ; or, with Samson force
 Subdued them,—or himself with glorious fall
 Laid prostrate ; Sinful oft, his moody ire
 Betray'd him ; unadvised words he spake ;
 And sometimes, when his fervid heart grew wild,
 Scatter'd both friend and foe, with burning force
 And tameless fury ! Like a soul on fire,—
 The gentle wonder'd, and the wise condemn'd,
 To see him thus by evil lightnings rent
 And harrow'd :—but how soon the tempest died !
 When the broad sunshine of forgiving love
 Blazed o'er his spirit, like a summer noon
 Settled, and bright. Not always hot and harsh
 Did nature find him ; playful he could be ;
 For oft that smiting earnestness of tone
 Which scorn'd the false, and cleaved all fiction through,
 Priestly or papal, with a forcing might
 That flash'd with fierceness, like a sword's descent,—
 Melted away ; and, like an infant lull'd,
 Pathetic Luther all the poet-life
 Of purest feeling testified, and taught.
 Witness, ye tears ! that dropt o'er Tetzels bed
 When reft, and dying ; and o'er thine which fell,
 Beloved, and lost, and beauteous Madaline !—
 Oft in the granite of a soil unhewn
 Full many a flower in secret freshness smiles ;
 And many a stream, where all looks arid blank,
 Lurks in the Horeb of the heart, unknown.
 E'en such was Luther ; with his rocky front
 And jagged features, to the foe display'd :
 But sweet affections, sanctified, and soft
 As ever water'd human breast with love,
 Gush'd into force when feeling's reign began."

The poet then enters more largely into the subject of
 Luthur's faults, and sets them in the right point of view—

" And so with Luther ; bold as blazing fact,
 The failings of his outer-life advance,
 To catch the censure of prosaic eyes,
 And hearts that never with emotion rock'd
 Themselves, or others. But, the secret fight
 Internal, when the wild and wasted soul
 Struggled, and strove, contending with the Fiends
 Of darkness, baffled oft, and bleeding faint,
 But yet, right upward, through eclipsing gloom,
 Through storm and danger, and internal wrong,
 From famish'd boyhood e'en to fearless man
 Advancing with a most unconquer'd will,

To God and virtue,—who hath laurell'd *this*,
 Or wreath'd the record with a just renown?
 But, true biography in heaven is writ,
 And every heart-beat throbs a record *There*."

A strong and vigorous faith, active and unflinching, was the great secret of his strength.

"Faith was the weapon; by it Luther fought,
 Conquered himself and then the world subdued!"

* * * *

"Here was thy rock, thy fortress, and thy rest,—
 A FAITH intense, beyond mutation firm,
 Whose solid basis was th' ETERNAL HEART,
 Open in Scripture, by THE SPIRIT read,
 But in the life of Jesus heard to beat
 With pulse almighty, in its love for man.
 Here was thy spell, thy secret, and thy sway,
 Thy lock of strength, unsever'd and unshorn;
 Luther!—in *this* thine earthly comment lies.
 Here is the key, which all thy soul unlocks,
 And let mute wonder, with exploring gaze
 Each vast apartment of thy spirit view."

"The Child prophetic of the Man" is perhaps the most essentially poetical portion of this fine poem—telling us how

"amid the true and stern
 And keen realities of testing life,
 The boy was rounded into full-orb'd man,
 And fitted for his function."

These "keen realities," were such as grew out of the poverty of his father, who was originally a poor peasant, afterwards a miner, but who eventually attained to better circumstances; and out of the harshness of his teachers—the rod being in that age deemed a most essential instrument of education. Luther declares that he was sometimes flogged fifteen times in a single afternoon at school.

The incident of Luther's finding a Latin Bible in the University of Erfurt, is made less of by Mr. Montgomery than we should have expected, though he admits—

"That moment was the Reformation's seed."

It was in fact a striking circumstance, and has been hence more dwelt on than in strictness it claims to be. The general impression is that he was then a monk, and that having discovered the precious volume, he repaired to the library regularly to read it by stealth. We have seen pictures so representing the circumstance. But in fact he was a student in the University, and had no thought of becoming a monk when this event

occurred, and it was only a passing look, sufficient to create a desire of knowing more of the book, which he was not until two years after able to gratify. Luther often alludes to the circumstance himself. He once says, that it occurred "when he was a young man and a bachelor of arts." At another time he says "when I was twenty years old I had never seen a Bible." In another place he intimates, that he saw the Bible only once while he was in the University, and that an interval of about two years intervened before he saw another copy in the cloister. "I was reading," he says, "a place in Samuel; but it was time to go to lecture. I would fain have read the whole book through, but there was no opportunity then. I asked for a Bible however, as soon as I had entered the cloister." That was when he had concluded to abandon the career of learned and legal distinction which was then opened to him, and totally against the wishes of his father, to become a monk. When he entered the cloister to commence his novitiate, he had no difficulty in obtaining the free use of a Bible. He says himself:

"When I was received into the cloister, I called for a Bible, and the brethren gave me one. It was bound in red morocco. I made myself so familiar with it, that I knew on what page and in what place every passage stood. Had I kept it, I should have been an excellent textual theologian. No other study than that of the Holy Scriptures pleased me. I read therein zealously, and imprinted them on my memory. Many a time a single pregnant passage would abide the whole day long in my mind. On significant words of the prophets, which even now I remember well, I cogitated again and again, although I could not apprehend the meaning thereof; as, for example, we read in Ezekiel, "I desire not the death of the sinner." Again he says, "Not till after I had made myself acquainted with the Bible, did I study the writers." By "the writers," he must mean the scholastic theologians. For he himself says, in a preface to Bugenhagen's edition of Athanasius, that he "read the colloquy between Athanasius and Arius with great interest, in the first year of his monastic life, at Erfurt." No doubt he also read at that time the legends of the saints, the Lives of the Fathers (a favourite book with him), and other works of a similar tendency. The new rules of the order prescribed, however, the diligent study of the Scriptures, and the probationary year appears to have been designated for Biblical study. But we must guard against being misled by the fact that there was such a rule, and by the name that was given to the study. Neither the sentiments nor the practice of the Erfurt monks coincided with the rule. Though they could not refuse to give a Bible to the novice who requested it, they discouraged the study of it. Besides, Luther's time was so much occupied with other useless and menial services, that his progress in the study of the Scriptures must have been much impeded. He was, furthermore destitute of suitable helps for studying them critically. He did not see the Bible in the original, nor had he then any

knowledge of the Greek or Hebrew. He had only the Latin Vulgate, with a most miserable commentary, called the *Glossa Ordinaria*, or Common Gloss. And, what is more than all, he brought to the study of the Bible a mind overborne with monastic and papal prejudices.’”

Staupitz, the provincial of the order into which Luther had entered, sympathised in his love for the study of the Bible, and encouraged him in it; but he was not a man to interfere with the established routine; and as that routine prescribed that one who had finished his “Biblical studies,” as they were untruly designated, should direct his chief attention next to the scholastic theology, and as his immediate superior was a zealous scholastic, the Bible was taken from him, and the books of this theology given him instead. But still, he says “as often as I could, I would hide myself in the library and give my mind to the Bible.”

These passages together, seem to form the true history of Luther’s early acquaintance with the Bible, of which so much has been said, and so much misunderstood.

Both Mr. Montgomery and Dr. Sears hurrying on to the time which constituted the real dawn of the reformation—not perhaps willingly, but from the comparative paucity of materials—until the learned professor at Wittenberg drew the attention of all Europe upon him, when, provoked by the profligate enormities involved in and attending the sale of indulgences by Tetzel—

“Upon the door of Wittenberg’s dark pile
He fastened then, with hand divinely firm,
Ninety and five of those all-fearless truths,
Which shook the popedom, and the world redeemed
From charms infernal, to the cross alone.”

The account of these matters must however, be sought in Dr. Sears, by whom they are lucidly given; for Mr. Montgomery starts into a large excursion on papal error and evangelical truth, ending with a very distinct intimation that a Luther is very much needed among ourselves—

“To charm the sensual from the nation’s soul.”

“The sublime of History,” is the title which Mr. Montgomery gives to that portion of his poem in which he celebrates Luther’s appearance before the Diet of Worms. And, truly, it is well entitled to this designation. Dr. Sears gives a very interesting and satisfactory account of this grand scene in ecclesiastical history. No one now questions that Luther “decided with wisdom as consummate as his courage,” when he determined to proceed to Worms, although he had good reason to distrust the faithful observance of the safe conduct which was given to him not only for his going thither but for his return. “It was

here, at Worms: that he opened the eyes of many of the rulers of Germany, and actually drove a wedge which split the diet into two religious parties, not for many centuries to be again united. The scene which was opened at Worms did not close till the end of the thirty years war, when the Protestants wrung from the Catholics a political equality."

Often as this scene has been reported, it will bear repeating in the graphic description of Dr. Sears.

"When the hour arrived, Ulrich von Pappenheim and Caspar Sturm came and conducted him first to the Swan, the quarters of the elector of the Palatinate, whence he was conveyed through secret passages to the Guild-hall, to avoid the concourse which had thronged the way from Luther's lodgings to the emperor's quarters. Many had climbed upon the house-tops to see Dr. Martin as he passed. As he was about to enter the hall, Freundsberg, a celebrated military commander tapped him on the shoulder, and said, 'Monk! monk! thou art about to make a passage and occupy a post more perilous than any which I and many other commanders ever knew in the bloodiest battle-fields. If thou art in the right, and sure of your ground, go on in God's name, and fear not; God will not forsake thee.' Even after he had entered the hall, where, according to the account of George Vogler, an eye witness, not less than five thousand were assembled, including those in the galleries and windows and about the doors, many persons ventured to approach him, and speak to him words of encouragement; saying to him, 'Speak manfully, and be not afraid of them who kill the body, but have no power over the soul.' He was instructed by Pappenheim to say nothing but when he was called upon.

"Now the imperial orator, Dr. John Eck (not the theologian, but the official or secular agent of the archbishop of Treves), addressed him at the emperor's order in Latin and then in German, saying that he had been called before the imperial diet to answer to these two questions: "First, whether you acknowledge these books [a large pile of which lay on the table] to be yours or not; secondly, whether you will retract them or their contents, or whether you will adhere to them still."

"Before Luther replied, Schurf, his counsellor, said, 'Let the titles of the books be read.' Then the official read over the titles, among which were, *Exposition of certain Psalms*, *Treatise on Good Works*, *Explanation of the Lord's Prayer*, and others which were not of a polemical character.

"Luther then answered, both in Latin and in German, 'First, I must acknowledge the books just named to be mine, and can never deny them. But touching the next point, whether I will maintain all these, or retract them, seeing it is a question of faith, and of one's salvation, and of the word of God, which is the greatest treasure in heaven and earth, and deserving at all times our highest reverence, it would be rash and perilous for me to speak inconsiderately, and affirm, without reflection, either more or less than is consistent with truth; for in either case I should fall under the sentence of Christ, "He that denieth me before men, him will I deny before my Father which is in heaven."' Therefore I beg of your imperial majesty time for reflection, that I may able to

reply to the question proposed without prejudice to the word of God, or to my own salvation.

"Hereupon the diet consulted, and returned a reply through the official, 'That although thou mightest have known from the imperial summons for what purpose thou wast cited, and dost not deserve the grant of further time for consideration, yet his imperial clemency granteth thee one more day.'

"Whether we consider the serious nature of the transaction, or the impression to be made upon such a national assembly, we shall perceive that Luther judged wisely in making such a request. The solemn suspense only heightened the solicitude of the multitude to hear the result.

* * * *

"On the following day, Thursday, the 18th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the herald called again for Luther, and conducted him to the emperor's court, where, on account of the engagements of the princes, he was obliged to stand waiting until six o'clock, with an immense crowd, which was gathered to hear his answer. The lamps were already lighted in the council hall. When the princes were ready to hear him, and Luther was standing before them, the official called on him to answer to the questions laid before him the previous day. Luther made his statement and defence in German, with modesty and calmness, but, at the same time, with a confidence and firmness that surprised those who expected nothing but a recantation. After bespeaking the indulgence of the diet, if, from his monastic and retired habits, he should fail in respect to any of the customary proprieties of courtly address, he observed, that his published works were not all of the same character. In some, he had treated of faith and works of piety with such plainness and Christian simplicity, that even his enemies were obliged to confess their harmlessness, usefulness, and worth. To retract these would be to condemn the truth, which all parties confessed. The second class of his works was directed against the papacy and the papists, as corrupting with their teaching and example all Christendom, both in body and soul. No one can deny nor conceal that by the papal laws and teachings of man, the consciences of Christians are held in bondage, burdened and tormented, and that goods and possessions, especially in Germany, are devoured by their incredible tyranny. They themselves have ordained in their own decrees, that the laws and doctrines of the pope which are contrary to the gospel and the teaching of the fathers, be regarded as erroneous. Were he to revoke this class of his books, he would but contribute to the strength of tyranny, and leave open, not only a window, but a door and a gate to wickedness wider than ever; and by his testimony, especially if extorted by his imperial majesty and the whole German nation, their unchecked tyrannical rule would be strengthened in its foundations. The third class of his books was personal, and written against those who undertook the defence of Roman tyranny and the overthrow of the Divine doctrines which he had inculcated. Against these he had, he confessed, been more violent than was becoming. He did not set himself up for a saint, and disputed with his opponents, not about his own life, but about the doctrines of Christ. But even these

books he could not revoke, because he would thereby give his influence in favour of Roman tyranny, which would trample on the people's rights more mercilessly than ever.

"But as he was a man, and not God, he could not do for his books otherwise than Christ did for his doctrines, who, when questioned in respect to it by Annas, and smitten on his cheek by the servant, said, 'If I have spoken wrong, then shew it to be wrong.' 'Therefore,' said he, 'by the mercy of God, I beg your imperial majesty, or any one else who can, whoever he may be, to bring forward proof against me, and overcome me by the writings of the apostles and prophets. And then, if I am shewn to be in error, I will be ready and willing to retract, and will be the first to cast my books into the fire.' But we cannot attempt to present even an outline of this address. When it was ended, he was requested, for the sake of the emperor and his Spanish court, and others, who did not understand German, to repeat it in Latin. Though exhausted with the effort he had made, he consented to go over the ground again and rehearse the whole matter in Latin.

"When he had finished, the imperial orator accused him of evading the point in question, and demanded that, instead of debating on articles which the councils had long ago settled, he should give a plain and direct answer, whether he would retract or not. To this Luther replied: 'Since your imperial majesty and lordships desire a direct answer, I will give one, which has neither horns nor teeth; and it is this: unless I be overcome by the testimony of Scripture, or by clear and plain argument, (for I do not believe either in the pope or in the councils alone, because it is plain and evident they have often erred and contradicted each other,) then I am overcome by those passages which I have cited, and am bound by my conscience and by the word of God, and therefore I may not—cannot retract, inasmuch as it is neither safe nor right to violate my conscience. Here I stand, and cannot do otherwise, so help me God!'"

Mr. Montgomery's description of the same scene is very fine, but space forbids its quotation.

The friendly and collusive capture made of Luther upon his return home, by his patron, the elector Frederick, with a view to his safe and secret seclusion in the castle of Wartburg, from the dangers that now surrounded him, is a very interesting incident in the career of Luther, and the period of retirement gives the gratifying relief of *repose*, following most appropriately and graciously after the high excitements at Worms.

On this journey Luther was enabled once more to visit Eisenach, the place of his mother's family, and where he had himself spent some of the best of his boyish years before his removal to the university of Erfurt. Mr. Montgomery with true poetical tact and spirit takes advantage of this circumstance.

"As near he comes,
His brave heart, softer than a willow bends

Beneath the magic of remember'd days !
 For now, that locial air again he breathes,
 Where once, a foodless child of wo, he fought
 With iron hardship, and with cruel want,—
 Bathing the crust reluctant mercy gave
 With drops of anguish, from his harrow'd soul
 So often wrung. And now, in dreaming calm,
 His true heart echoes what reviving hours
 Are back restoring to all scenes, and spots,
 What once they took of character, or tone,
 Of stern, or mild, of melanch'ly, or strange ;
 And thus, full softly doth the man subside
 Down to the boy. For, e'en as infant smiles
 Transmute the aged, till their features old
 With infantile expression learn to gleam,
 In gentle answer ; so, experienced mind
 Touch'd by the spirit of life's early scene,—
 Replies serenely to the haunting charm
 Of vernal fancies ; or, of vanish'd hours
 Which waken round us, when maturer life
 Down the green windings of gone youth descends.
 Yea, all the poetry of peaceful thought
 (For, men *live* poems in their purest hours,
 But *write* them, when the heart-song overflows,)
 Becharms him, till his eye looks glist'ning prayer.
 Oh, had they seen him in his softer mood
 Unmantled—what a loving heart was *there* ;
 Guileless, as that which throbb'd on Jesu's breast !”

At Eisenach Luther remained for a day, and then turned aside to visit his uncle and other relatives at the hamlet of Mora, where his father was born, but which place he had left for Eiselen to seek employment in the mines before his son saw the light. The poet writes beautifully of this visit of the great reformer to “his ancestral vale” with some discoverable regret that an adhesion to historical truth will not allow him to report it as a visit of Luther to his own native home.

The utmost care was taken to keep the place of Luther's retreat secret ; and even his person was carefully disguised. In one of his letters of this time, he writes :

“‘So here I am, my own attire being laid aside, and that of a knight being put upon me, with long hair [as monk, he wore his hair shorn in the form of a crown of thorns] and long beard, so that you would hardly know me. Indeed, I have not for some time known myself. Here I enjoy Christian liberty, being set free from all the laws of that tyrant, though I would choose rather that, if it were the will of God, I should suffer for his word, that Dresden swine [duke George] should be thought

worthy to put me to death for preaching publicly. The will of the Lord be done.'"

In furtherance of the same object, when he at length ventured to write to some of his friends, he dated them in a style equally indefinite and amusing. One, to Amsdorf, is dated "In the regions of the air;" another written the same day to Melancthon, "In the regions of the birds;" others, "from my hermitage;" "from the Isle of Patmos;" "among the birds which sing sweetly in the trees, and praise God with all their might, night and day."

The situation of Luther during the ten months of his residence at Wartburg is of a highly romantic character.

"The heroism he had lately shown, the perilous condition he was in when he left Worms, the mystery which hung about his present place of abode, all acted with visible effect upon the minds of the people. And now that we are let behind the curtain, his secluded life appears no less extraordinary than the wonderful missiles which, from his unknown retreat, he continually sent forth to the consternation of his adversaries. At one time, we find him wandering for amusement, or picking wild berries, along the hill-sides and ravines east of the castle, toward St. George's gate, or the south gate of the city. Again, we see him out on a two-days' chase, busy-ing himself with dogs and traps; but finding, in the hare caught by himself and wrapt in a garment to preserve him from the dogs—which nevertheless seized and destroyed it—an image of souls which others had endeavoured to save, but which Satan and the pope were seeking to murder. Now he rides in disguise, under the direction of a wary knight, to the neighbouring towns and villages, to Gotha, Erfurt, Reinhardsbrunn and Marksuhl. At the last-mentioned place, about five miles to the south-west of Wartburg, he saw his friends; but knight George, as he was then called, was not recognised in his knight's dress and long beard and hair. At Reinhardsbrunn, between Altenstein and Gotha, he was conducted hastily away by his guardian, when the latter perceived that his ward was known to the people."

Undoubtedly this retirement had a most salutary effect upon Luther's character and spiritual state; and it is often thus, that God withdraws into the solitude of the wilderness for a time those to whose hearts he means to speak, in those still small voices which might not so well be heard or so effectually heeded amid the hurry of overmuch business and the excitements of active life—and it is frequently observed that it is usually immediately before or presently after, the most exciting periods of a man's life, that these seasons of repose—of quiet communion with God and his own heart, are afforded to him.

The benefits were not however obtained without previous struggles, which to the imagination of Luther assumed the aspect of almost bodily conflicts with the foul fiend; which Dr. Sears

still more materially attributes to "too good living for one of his monastic habits;" and suggests that "a little medical treatment and the poisoning of rats would have aided essentially in giving him quiet nights." Perhaps!—but certainly more practical, and probably more true, is Mr. Montgomery's account of the matter.

"From vast excitement, to the voiceless depths
Of this weird Solitude, at once transposed,—
Who wonders, that reaction, like a curse
Besieged him; or, with arid weight o'erhung
The beatings of his brave and free-born heart?
Till, in such blank and barren waste of things
He sank, and melted into mindless tears;
Or sighed, as if the very soul was worn
And weaken'd down to senselessness, and shame.
Oh! there were moments, when a fiendish gloom,
A lurid darkness not of earth begot,
Enwrapt him, like a shrouding agony,—
A stifled pain, a suffocating pang,
A grief benumbing with torpedo touch
All the warm currents of his healthy blood,
Till life itself one long compunction grew!
Thus did he suffer; till the brain o'erboiled
With feeling, and his soul was set on fire;
And then, rebukes from some sarcastic Fiend
Would ring around him, with disdainful tone,
To mock the little, and to make it less,
Of all that He, and Truth together did,
When back recoil'd from their sublime assault
Popedom and Pope, with all their banded powers!"

But this lasted not long. Dr. Sears admits that his present seclusion was favourable to his character both as a Christian and reformer.

"He needed time for reflection. Ever since he left the Erfurt convent, he had been very active, and often much excited by controversy. It was well that he could now commune with himself and with his God, and calmly contemplate the scene without. He had necessarily been much occupied with tearing down and destroying what was false; he now had an opportunity to direct his mind steadily to what was true. The work of building up, which was soon to follow, was even more difficult than that of destroying."

The most important result of Luther's seclusion was, however, that it afforded him leisure to translate the new Testament into the vernacular German—a work which must render the name of Wartburg Castle for ever memorable in ecclesiastical history.

"But, in thy castle, Wartburg! chief o'er all
 The monuments which mind up-built there,
 Let grateful rev'rence long that work admire,
 O'er which a Seraph's wings might shake with joy,
 By Luther, with colossal power, achieved.—
 There, was the WORD ALMIGHTY, from the grave
 Of buried language, into breathing life
 Summon'd, in sainted glory to arise,
 And speak to souls, what souls could understand.
 Oh! to have seen him, in that toil august,
 Lifting to heaven his meditative eyes
 Radiant with wonder, as the words of truth
 Eternal gave their hoary secrets up,
 While God's own language into Luther's pass'd
 With prompt transition;—till, behold, the voice
 Of Jesus out of classic fetters came,
 And, like its AUTHOR, to the poor man preach'd."

Even in this pleasant and refreshing solitude, the active mind of Luther could not withdraw his interests or his view from the fortunes and transactions of the religious party of which he had become the leader. Matters at length became so urgent that after ten months retirement at Wartburg, he felt it his duty to go back to his post at Wittenberg, at whatever hazard to his personal safety, and at whatever risk of losing credit with the elector Frederick, to whose friendship he owed so much. Nothing daunted, however, the reformer set forth on his return, still however preserving his disguise on account of the dangers of the way; and after some adventures on the road, he reached Wittenberg in safety.

The next point on which we may rest, is that of Luther's marriage, which took place when he had attained the mature age of forty-two, his bride being then twenty-six. There is a curious *naviété* in the whole business which is, at this day, very entertaining, and is to be accounted for by the simple social manners of the time and country, and still more, perhaps, by the child-like inexperience of both the ex-monk and ex-nun in matters of this nature.

Luther, convinced of the evils of monastic life, had written a tract, shewing that even nuns who had taken the veil, might, with a safe conscience before God, lay it aside again. Monks and nuns eagerly read the writings which aimed at restoring their natural rights. Among others, the nuns of the Cistercian nunnery, Nimptschen, near Leipsic, pined for deliverance, and finding their friends indisposed to remove them, they ventured to send an appeal to the reformer himself. He bestirred himself warmly in the matter, and succeeded in procuring their removal

—nine in number—to Wittenberg. He then seems to have felt that the duty of providing for them devolved on him, as they had now no homes to which to repair. Marriage seemed the most feasible mode of accomplishing this object, and accordingly most of them were, at his instance, married among his friends. He was obviously startled when it was suggested to him that he should take one of them himself. He confessed that, had he thought of it, he might have chosen Eve von Schönfeld, who, however, was, at his suggestion, married to a medical student. His destined wife was, however, Catherine von Bora, whom he did not at first affect, and whose marriage with a young theological student named Baumgärtner, he endeavoured to promote. This young man, however, returned home to Nürenberg, and the attachment faded from his thoughts. Luther sought to quicken him by letter.—“If you intend to have your Katy von Bora, you must be quick about it, or she will be another’s, who is already at hand. Her love to you remaineth unaltered. I should certainly rejoice to see you united to her in wedlock.” The other, here referred to, was Glatz, pastor at Orlamünde, whom Luther had selected for Catherine, in case Baumgärtner should fail. All this match-making was conducted by the simple minded reformer with little reference to the person mainly concerned. When at length *she* was consulted, it was found she had a mind of her own, and would have nothing to do with Glatz. She entreated Amsdorf to divert Luther’s mind from this project, adding, however, by way of conciliation, that if Luther himself, or Amsdorf, were to become suitor, she would make no objection!

Luther does not seem to have taken this very broad hint too kindly at first, as he had something of a prejudice against the lady, under the impression that she was proud and haughty, but learning, upon better acquaintance, that what had so appeared was, in reality, a certain womanly dignity and independence, he came to entertain other feelings towards her.—“And, thank God,” he says, “it hath turned out well, for I have a pious and faithful wife, to whom one may safely commit his heart.” He often, in his writings, speaks of this marriage as a happy one for him. “A more obedient wife,” he observes on one occasion, “I could not find, unless I were to chisel one out of marble.” And again, “I prize her above the kingdom of France or the state of Venice. She is a pious, good wife, given me of God.” An impression, however, got abroad that she was somewhat of a shrew; but this seems to have arisen from the playful sallies of Luther being taken in a more sober sense than he intended.

“It may well be conceded that many of those expressions were half in joke and half in earnest. But the man who sets them all down as the

serious propositions of a formal witness, betrays an utter ignorance of the character of Luther. Thus, when, in his humorous letters, he addresses her as 'My lord Katy' (*meus dominus Ketha, mea dominus Ketha, meus domina Ketha*, etc.), he furnished pleasant amusement to his university friends and the students, some of whom were generally members of his family. He once gave out a similar phrase in German to a student in his examination to translate into Latin, and the answer contained such a ridiculous blunder, that it long continued a by-word. Luther closes one of his letters to an old friend by saying, 'My lord and Moses [the law-giver] Katy most humbly greeteth you.' He also, in a letter to his wife, addressed her as 'My kind and dear lord and master Katy Lutheress, [Lutherinn], doctress and priestess at Wittenberg.' Stupid, indeed, must he be who construes all these freaks of the reformer's pen into so many serious charges against his wife!"—*Sears*, p. 333.

"And thus, within the haven of a home
Luther, at length, his care-toss'd spirit found
Anchor'd in peace, and matrimonial joy
Secure. And, where do Love's fond annals tell
A home of heart, more exquisite than his?
The once cowl'd monk, who trod the cloister's dim,
And made his melancholy footsteps ring
With cadence long and lone, was now become
A glowing husband, and a gladden'd sire.
And, lovely was it, when his mind, unrobbed
Of all its panoply of public state,
Reposed in sunshine, and, at home retired,
Sparkled and play'd around his infant boy;
Or else, in laughing sweetness, echo'd back
The tones of glee, and truths of gay delight
Which Ketha, from her glowing spirit sent;
Or, look'd applause, to see his portrait rise,
Under the magic of embroid'ring art
Featured, and form'd. And so, when sombre night
Mantled his dwelling with sabbatic peace,
Seldom have Angels, as they waft their flight
From home to home, on voiceless errands wing'd
A fairer landscape of domestic love
And life beheld, than Martin Luther made
Around him, with his wife and infant smile.
Nor, haply, upon heaven's memorial page
The meek hosannahs of more thankful minds
Have they recorded, than the chants they heard,
When sang the great restorer of the Truth
Hymns of the heart, around his household-shrine."

Montgomery, pp. 196, 197.

Mr. Montgomery evidently delights in the picture of Luther married, and to

"Behold the man, whom death nor dungeon awed,
Serene and simple as a peasant live."

There is, however, we conceive, less of real contrast here, between the public and private Luther, than often exists in the case of public men; for he, more than any great man of whom record remains, was always *homely*, in the best and finest sense of that excellent old word. Mr. Montgomery perceives and acknowledges this:—

"The MAN was never in his NAME absorb'd,
Chain'd like a captive to his own renown.
Framed in the homeliness of cottage worth,
A racy humour, and a rough disdain
For mock supremacies, for mean effect,
For little greatness, and for large pretence,—
Were his; and he who held all Rome at bay
And bulwark'd nations by his brave appeals,
Looks he less lofty, to those hearts which love
The sterling, and the true,—when playful seen
In the mild sunshine of a married state?
There, could he sparkle round the social board,
As romp'd the infant on his rocking knee;
While the glad mother, sat with glowing face
And bath'd her feelings in the father's smile."

But we must hasten to the close.

It is a remarkable circumstance that Luther should have died at his native place. There had been a difficulty of long standing between the Count of Mansfeld, his brothers, and the inhabitants of Eisleben, respecting the property in the mines there. Although a secular matter, out of his sphere, Luther had, from his connexion with the parties, interested himself in it, and had been there before, trying, without success, to effect a reconciliation; now, however, it was agreed among them, that, if he would come again, they would submit their differences to his judgment, and abide by his decision. The Count of Mansfeld, therefore, besought him to come, if his health would permit, and Luther wrote in reply (Jan. 20, 1546), "I am busy writing against the asses in Paris and Louvain, and, for an old man, my health is good enough." Accordingly he set out, on the 23rd, for Eisleben; and one day less than a month from that date, his corpse was brought back to Wittenberg, and there laid in the tomb. The account of the journey, and "the last scene of all," is, we think, less effectively given by Dr. Sears, than Dr. Stowe, in his *Last Days and Death of Luther*,^a whose statements we shall therefore adopt:—

^a In the *American Biblical Repository*, April, 1845.

"On the morning of the 23rd he set out for Eisleben, and took with him his two sons Martin and Paul, the eldest of whom was then about twenty. His wife was sick, and on that account obliged to stay at home. There had been a violent storm, the rivers had all overflowed their banks, the bridges were carried away, and travelling was both difficult and dangerous. At eleven o'clock on the morning of the 24th, he arrived in Halle, and in the evening preached in St. Mary's church. He was detained there three days by the state of the river Saale, which was full of floating ice, and running with a furious current. On the 28th he and his two sons, with Dr. Jonas, rowed themselves across the river in a skiff, at the imminent hazard of their lives. While they were struggling with the ice and water, Luther spoke to Dr. Jonas in his dry pleasant way: 'Dear Doctor, would it not be fine sport for the devil to drown Dr. Martin Luther and his two sons and Dr. Jonas, all together, here in the river!' They gained the shore in safety, and proceeded on their journey. The count of Mansfeld met them with a company of one hundred and thirteen horses, and escorted them to Eisleben. When they came in sight of the church tower of Eisleben, a rush of tender reminiscences crowded upon the mind of Luther with such overwhelming force that he fainted entirely away. When he recovered, he said: 'The devil must needs insult me from the old steeple yonder. But I will give him a pull or two yet before I die.' Luther found himself very much exhausted by the fatigues and inconveniences of his journey. He had an issue for the pains in his head. This had been neglected since he left home, and had become very painful. After a night's rest, however, he entered on business and pursued it with unremitting diligence. * * * *

"February 14th, he ordained two preachers and received the Lord's Supper for the last time. The next day he preached his last sermon from Matt. xi. 25—30.

"February 16th, at supper Luther spoke with great cheerfulness on the brevity of human life. * * * *

"His appetite had been very good and his meals remarkably cheerful; and he observed that, getting back to his native town, his food tasted to him as it did when he was a boy.

"On the morning of February 17th, he appeared so unwell that the count of Mansfeld begged him not to attend to business that day, but keep his room. This he consented to do, he saw no company, and his dinner was sent up to his apartment. In the afternoon, however, he said he could not bear to eat his meals alone, it was so gloomy and unsocial, he would go down and take supper with the family. His two sons were with him, his friend Dr. Jonas, and his servant Ambrose. He walked thoughtfully up and down in his chamber, and at length said: 'I was born here in Eisleben; what if I should die here?' He complained of pressure for breath; he walked to the window and opened it; his lips moved and a low murmur was heard, as if he were in earnest prayer. His servant Ambrose, supposing he might want assistance, came softly behind him, and heard him speak to the following purport: 'Lord God, Heavenly Father, I call upon thee in the name of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ our Lord, whom I by thy grace have acknowledged and preached, that thou

wouldst, according to thy promise and for the glory of thy name, graciously listen to my prayers at this time. Oh, grant, according to thy great mercy and loving kindness toward me, that the light of the gospel, which now begins to shine on the earth, may everywhere take the place of the terrible apostacy and darkness and blindness of the pope, before the great day of judgment, which cannot now be far off, but is at the door: and withal preserve thou the church of my dear fatherland pure unto the end in the steadfast profession of the truths of thy holy word, and graciously keep it, that all the world may know that thou didst send me to do this work. Ah, dear Lord God, Amen, Amen.'

"Not a word was spoken by any of his attendants. They felt as Jacob did in Bethel, 'How dreadful is this place!'

"He resumed his seat, and said to Dr. Jonas and his sons; 'Oh, I wish this business of the count of Mansfeld's were settled, that I might go home and lay myself down in my coffin to sleep, and give this poor body to the worms!'

"Michael Coelius, the minister of Eisleben, came in to see him, and he said to Coelius and Dr. Jonas: 'Pray for our dear Lord God, that it may go well with Him and His church, for the Council of Trent is in a great rage.' He complained of pain in his breast, and requested them to rub him with warm flannels, which they did. He felt better, and at supper time, went down and ate with the family with a good appetite. Observing the company rather desponding, he began to converse with great liveliness, and by two or three sallies of his ever ready wit, threw them into a hearty laugh.

"After supper he again complained of a pain in his breast, and asked to be rubbed with warm flannels. They urged him to send for a physician, but he declined. At nine o'clock he went up stairs, in company with his two sons Martin and Paul, Dr. Jonas, Mr. Coelius, and his servant Ambrose. He lay down on a sofa in a little ante-room adjoining his chamber and slept for about an hour and a half. He then awoke and asked Ambrose to warm the bed in his chamber. He arose from the sofa, took off his clothes without assistance, wrapped himself in a dressing gown, walked to his bed and lay down. Seeing his sons and the other friends standing anxiously around him; he requested them to retire to bed; but they earnestly begging permission to sit up with him, he made no further objection, but turned his face toward the wall, and seemed to sleep. His servant Ambrose says he did not really close his eyes, but seemed to be narrowly watching the flickering shadows made upon the wall by the unsteady light of the fire. At half-past eleven he told his servant to light a fire in the little room; and soon after exclaimed, 'O Lord God!' in a tone of distress. His friends were immediately around him, and he said to Dr. Jonas: 'I have most distressing pain at my heart, I think I must be dying.' They rubbed him again with flannels, and the sad news spread through the family and through the city, that Luther was dying. The two principal physicians of the city were soon by his bed-side, the count of Mansfeld came hurrying in with some salts of ammonia, then newly discovered, and was soon followed by his lady the countess, the count John Henry von Schwartzburg and his lady, and Dr. Aurifaber, the particular friend and biographer of Luther.

Luther soon recovered, rose from the bed without assistance, walked once or twice across the chamber, and then went into the little ante-room and lay down again upon the sofa. It was now one o'clock in the morning. Soon after lying down, he said in Latin: 'Father, into thy hands I commit my spirit: Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, God of truth.' The countess of Mansfeld wished him to take some of the medicines she had brought; but he said his poor dear Catey, in her abundant anxiety for him, had put up, just before he came away, a little case of refreshments and medicines, and if he took anything he would rather have some of that. His son went to his trunk, took out the parcel he spoke of, and handed it to him. He took one or two of the things it contained, just put them to his lips, handed them all back to his son, and told him to put them away, and never to forget the kindness of his mother. Soon after, he said: 'Dear God, I am in dreadful pain, I must be going.' Mr. Coelius said to him: 'Venerated father, call upon our dear Lord Jesus Christ, our great high priest, our only mediator; you have done a great work for him; God will be gracious to us; you will yet recover.' 'No,' (said Luther firmly,) 'I feel the cold sweat of death—I am breathing my soul out—my distress is increasing.' He then prayed in German: 'My heavenly Father, eternal, most merciful God, Thou hast revealed to me Thy dear Son, our Lord Jesus Christ; Him have I professed, Him have I preached, I adore Him as my only Saviour and Redeemer, while the ungodly reproach and revile and persecute Him. O take my poor soul to Thyself.' He then said in Latin three times in quick succession: 'Into Thy hands I commit my spirit;' and added: 'God so loved the world that he sent His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him might not perish, but have everlasting life.' After a moment's silence, he again spoke in German: 'O, heavenly Father, although this body is breaking away from me, and I am departing from this life, yet I certainly know I shall for ever be with Thee, for no one can pluck me out of Thy hand.' And then subjoined with a cheerful tone in Latin: 'Our God is a God of salvation—our Lord delivereth from death.'

He appeared to be fast sinking, and the Countess of Mansfeld again administered some cordials, and directed him to be bathed with spirits. Then Dr. Jonas said to him: 'Most beloved father, do you still hold on to Christ, the Son of God, our Saviour, and Redeemer?' His faded countenance once more brightened, his clear blue eye sparkled with intelligence, and he replied, in a distinct and thrilling tone: 'O yes.' He then folded his hands across his bosom, turned his face a little on one side, and began breathing softly and gently as a sleeping infant. His eyes were becoming fixed in their sockets, the glassy hue of death was fast gathering on them, when one of the old men in attendance, who had been his companion in childhood, (and who in bad weather had often carried the favourite little Martin to school in his arms,) in that awful moment, forgetting entirely the mighty reformer and thinking only of the friend of his heart, knelt down by the sofa, and putting his arm across his bosom and his face to his cheek, exclaimed in the plaintive notes of childhood: 'Martin, dear Martin, do speak to me once more!' But there was no reply. The mighty spirit had already gone. Before the

words were fully uttered Luther was already with Moses, with Paul, with John, and with Christ; and in the last only did he find a superior. The Countess of Mansfeld would not be persuaded that he was dead. Even when she heard the death-rattle in his throat, and after that all was still; when she saw his lips open with a slight and scarcely perceptible gasp, and then move no more; still, with all a woman's perseverance and hopefulness, she stood intently watching his face, and anxiously rubbing now his feet and now his hands, till at last perceiving that they grew ice-cold to her touch, and she could warm them no more, hope was forced from her, and she turned from the couch, threw herself into a chair, and covered her face and wept like one who refuses to be comforted.

"Luther died of cancer in the stomach, or, *angina pectoris*,⁶ at half-past two o'clock on Tuesday morning, February 18th, 1546, at the age of sixty-two years, three months, and ten days. As he seemed to anticipate, his native city, by a singular providence, became also the place of his death.

"Luther's death, though peaceful, and full of unwavering confidence in Christ and his gospel, was not so joyous and extatic as that of many a Christian in humble life. For this, two reasons may be assigned:—

"1. His personal hopes were never of the exhilarating kind. Of himself he was often distrustful; it was only in respect to the cause in which he was engaged that he was always undoubtingly confident.

"2. He was probably, during the whole time, suffering excruciating bodily pain. Though he said but little about it, it is evident from what he did say that his sufferings were extreme. And it must have been so, for he had a mighty, muscular frame to be shaken down, and such a frame could not, in so short a time, have been brought to dissolution without terrible torture."

Such was the ending scene of this great life. Mr. Montgomery, as usual, treats of it subjectively, in passages of much force and beauty; the following being the one which bears most directly on the actual circumstances of the reformer's death:—

"Deeper and deeper do the shades of death
Around him close, while drop the fainting lids
O'er his sunk eyeballs; thickly heave and fall
Those panting breath-gasps; while the ear of Love
Drinks with delight some shatter'd tones, or sighs
Of Bible promise, or those falter'd notes
Of faith, which tell the spirit's life within.
The strife is mortal, but the strength divine
That meets it! Death, all stingless, and the law,
All dreadless,—neither can from Luther's heart
Hurl the high confidence, a christian seats
There on its throne of evangelic truth.
Around him friends, and mourners, each with sob
Half stifled, and with tears that hang unshed
On the still'd eyelids of revering love,—

⁶ "The authorities differ on that point."

Are group'd; while bands of waiting angels watch
 That mighty spirit into glory pass!
 Cold is the damp which dews his whit'ning brow,
 And pains convulse him with continuous rack;
 But, underneath that palpitating flesh
 Calm lies the soul!—in peace celestial bathed,
 Though clay and spirit sunder. Hark! again
 The last weak cry of ling'ring Nature lifts
 A dying homage to the truth divine;
 And then, on yonder kneeling forms and friends
 Before him, falls one faint and farewell gaze,
 And,—all is over! while his features fix
 Their pale expression into placid trance.
 No sigh is heard; nor groan, nor shudder comes;
 But speechless, and with hands devoutly lock'd,
 And mute as monumental prayer, he lies,—
 A dead IMMORTAL, deep in glory now!"

In going through Mr. Montgomery's *Luther*, the plan we have chosen of confining our attention to those passages bearing directly upon the career of the great reformer, has precluded us from directing attention to many of the finest passages of the poem, regarded simply as poetry; and has compelled us to shut our eyes to many noble sentences and vital lines, which we would gladly have transferred to our pages. Such are, however, not wanting in the passages we have adduced, and which we have only forborne to *italicize* out of respect to the reader's judgment.

We should, perhaps, have hesitated to notice a work which first appeared anterior to the birth of our Journal, but that our scope is not restricted to new things, and that, in fact, there is much new matter in this edition. We have, for instance, a supplementary poem on the Jesuits, a subject not so incongruous with the great theme of Luther as might, at first view, appear; for Jesuitism was the means of cure adopted for the purpose of healing the wound in the Papal head which the reformation had inflicted. This might well have formed a separate poem, not ill suited to the circumstances of the times, and to the questions which now agitate the public mind. The poet realizes a clear and correct apprehension of the character and career of Ignatius Loyola, and of the influence his system exercised upon the destinies of the Papal Church. He frankly confesses that Loyola was a great man—which, indeed, it were useless to deny. Referring to the time when he led his adherents to register their vows of blind obedience, for body and soul, to the Pope, the poet says:—

"Mark, in the front, with war-like mien, and gait
 Most kingly, He who leads yon priestly band!"

His countenance seems in itself a Church
 And Council,—grave, profound, august,
 Delved with the lines that deep reflection brings
 Into the brow of Thinkers. From those eyes
 Which blaze with intellectual fire, there dart
 Imperial rays, beneath a godlike front
 Which Painting loves to study. None could view
 That martial figure, and a King of mind
 Imagine not; for, look, and step, and air
 Betray'd his mission. He was born to rule,
 And in the world's great heart a crisis form
 Of glory, or disaster."

It was a purpose which this man found ineffectual, for:—

"Ere twenty years had vanish'd, what a world
 Ignatius wielded! more than Pompey dreamt,
 Cæsar acquir'd, or Alexander's heart
 Encompass'd, ere he died, the Jesuit rul'd.—
 Luther and he were two incarnate Types
 Of that great Problem, which the earth convuls'd
 With doubt and danger,—how in one to blend
 The rights divine of *individual souls*
 By God created, and by Christ redeem'd,
 With that consentient law of *common life*
 Incorporate, which a perfect church demands.
 Luther for Souls, as single, liv'd and died
 In battle; But, Ignatius for the Church
 Contended, striving to engulph the Man
 As unit, in that Body of the whole
 Communion, where each sep'rate life expires."

And again:—

"Oh! 'twas a System deeper than the thoughts
 Of ancient Despots in their dreams of power,
 Fathom'd or fram'd, which now the world o'ertook—
 Luther and Calvin, when Ignatius rose,
 Had like a storm-blast heav'd the mind and heart
 Of Empires; mental life and action spread
 With speed miraculous; Monkish night dispers'd
 Like cowering demons by the gaze of Christ
 Daunted and dazzled. Novelty awoke;
 The fountains of the spirits deep were barr'd
 Or broken up; creation was abroad
 And active; while, in science, creed and art
 Inventive Genius with irruptive force
 Burst into sway:—and now, behold! the plan
 Both wise and wondrous, by the Jesuits work'd
 Not to reverse, by effort mad, they tried
 The onward rush of European life;
 But, through the prowess of exceeding mind
 Master'd its move, and led the mighty van

Church-ward to Rome, while yet, they *seem'd* to act
 And mingle with it. To suspend, as chain
 The giant impulse, had their skill surpass'd
 However subtle; so the lead they took,
 Absorb'd, embodied, gather'd in the whole,
 And guided that, which else had govern'd them."

This is really a masterly exposition of the principle of Jesuitism, and its mode of operation. But our author's attention is especially arrested by the perfect organization for the purposes of priestly influence and craft, which, under Jesuitical influence,

"The Babylonian lady of the hills,"

gave to the system of confession. This has always seemed to us the weakest, as well as the blackest spot of the existing papal system, and our author's animated protests against it, and exposure of it, may be read with advantage, and are calculated to do much good. He is, as becomes him, especially indignant that under this system,

"The crush'd modesties of woman bleed,
 Under the hoof of man's inhuman speech
 Down trampled."

Against his system the poet records, in the name of England, a protest, to which she will willingly set her name. Looking back, at the close, he sees that men labour for the remedies to the evils of their time, but never reach them:—

"Till at length,
 Giants in faith, (by God himself equipp'd)
 With mental grasp magnificently wide
 And wondrous, on the stage of manhood rise;
 And these, at once, like INCARNATIONS seem
 Of all that Cent'ries in their sighs invoked,
 Or truth had vision'd, as the master-shape
 In which to cast our virtues. What was once
 An aimless yearning, or a blind desire
 Haunting the heart with perturbation wild,
 Is now personified by form express
 And open; want hath now a PRIEST obtain'd
 To vent the truth, to give abstraction voice,
 And body forth, intelligibly plain,
 Sorrows which pleading Ages have deplored.

"And such was Luther, when the clock of time
 Sounded the hour for his decreed approach:
 He was the Mouthpiece of oppress'd mankind,
 A great Interpreter of tongueless wants
 And pains, which lack'd an intellectual power
 Their own profundity to tell, or prove."

THE LANGUAGE OF SYMBOLISM.

OF the three degrees of human existence—the physical, the intellectual, and the spiritual—the first or physical degree is shared by the whole family of the animal and vegetable creation, (and even the mineral world is admitted by Kepler, Berkeley, and others,) since in all these cases the great common law of reproduction is uniformly observed: the second or intellectual degree is manifested with more or less occultation in the mammalia, and attains its full development in man, “the apex of the living pyramid:” while the third or spiritual degree is peculiar to the human family, whereby “man is made a little lower than the angels, and crowned with glory and honour.” Between these two last degrees of existence there lies that affinity that the seen has with the unseen, or the creatures of time and sense with the immaterial beings of the spiritual world; an affinity that betrays itself in mythologies, incantations, and idolatry in its ever varying condition.

This feeling is not confined to one nation or class; it is common to the civilized and the barbarous, to the most ancient as well as to the most modern races of whom history has left us any record. It may be enunciated as the expression of abstract ideas, articles of belief, or points of doctrine, through a conventional medium.

Thought finds many channels of information. In one man it is expressed by heroic action, in another by words of eloquence or works of charity, in a third by some mechanical handicraft. It is to this latter class that we are indebted for the transmission of those refined sentiments that point to an all-pervading spirit of creativeness, maintenance, and retribution even among those nations from whom the light of revelation has been withheld. Without this friendly medium the Jewish ceremonial would have been a blank to us; the ideographs of Egypt and Assyria would be meaningless; and the architecture of the mediæval church would cease to be vocal, and lose the peculiar value that is attached to its arrangement and detail.

Viewed in this light, *symbolism* is of the greatest value, as making us acquainted with the religious feeling of nations that have long since made their exit from the world's stage, or remain in the disguise of an inferior character; though but too often the material symbol that should have served merely as the exponent of a nation's faith has degenerated into the object of a blinded idolatry.

So prone is the mind of man to assimilate or idealize, that

there is an unusual choice of words by which the same process may be expressed, though all have a shade of meaning that forbids an indiscriminate use of the terms; such as metaphor, allegory, parable, figure, type, and the like. In none of these, with the exception of the last, is action involved; they are simply illustrations of diction, and therefore differ entirely from symbols, which imply action, or rather production as the result of action. In its fullest and widest sense symbolism may be taken to express a mark which is always attached to some particular meaning, and therefore its origin will be coexistent with the earliest indications of civilization; its more specific definition will refer only to those marks that have a sacred meaning.

There are and have been those, it is true, who detect spiritual correspondences in the whole range of animate and inanimate nature; who assert that the idolatries of the Gentiles of old took their rise in the science based upon this relationship; that the ancients who were thus versed made themselves images which correspond with heavenly things, and were greatly delighted with them by reason of their significance, and because they could discern in them what related to heaven and the church. In the *Arcana Cœlestia* of Swedenborg these ideas are developed at large. He says that it was for this reason that in Egypt and other places they made images of calves, oxen, serpents, and also of children, old men, and virgins:

“Because calves and oxen signified the affections and powers of the natural man; serpents, the prudence and likewise the cunning of the sensual man; children, innocence and charity; old men, wisdom; and virgins, the affection of truth; and so in all other instances. Succeeding ages, when the science of correspondences was obliterated, began to adore as holy, and at length to worship as deities the images and resemblances set up by their forefathers, because they found them in and about their temples. For the same reason the ancients performed their worship in gardens and groves according to the different kinds of trees growing in them, and also on mountains and hills, for gardens and groves signified wisdom and intelligence, and every particular tree something that had relation thereto, as the olive, the good of love; the vine, truth derived from that good; the cedar, good and truth combined; a mountain, the highest heaven; a hill, the heaven beneath.”

This is the language of one who dealt more largely in mysticism than either the philosophers of Greece or Germany; but while we admire the profundity of his thought no less than the versatility of his genius, we are compelled to hold that theology unsound *ab initio* which denies the plenary inspiration of Scripture, or would substitute an arbitrary system of correspondences for the literal truths contained in it. The above quotation serves

to illustrate the distinction between two words which in our view are not synonymous, although differing merely in the prefix.^a When men illustrate the virtues and attributes of one being by the corresponding virtues and attributes of another, these latter are said to be *emblematical*; but when unnatural forms, such as the idols of Egypt and India, numbers, such as the tetractys,^b or geometric figures, such as the octagon, square, triangle and circle,^c are employed to explain the perfections of a Deity, then we recognize the true spirit of *symbolism*.

It would be interesting to trace the various methods in which this latent spiritualism has manifested itself in the several nations of antiquity; but to do this fully would involve the whole history of truth and error—a subject of prodigious magnitude even were it limited to the available materials of a single nation or age, how much more so when dated from the first false step that exiled a world from paradise!

There is one point obviously suggested by the discovery of a symbolic language, viz., that the adoption of a mean of instruction necessarily unintelligible to the multitude, argues the existence of a priestly influence or the rudiments of an organized theology. Viewed in this light, there are strong points of similarity between the medicine-man of western America, the Hiererus at Delphi, the Flamen at Rome, or the Pontiff of more modern times, all more or less dependent on the insignia of their office for the influence they exercise on the untutored minds of their superstitious fellows.

Where then shall we find the first indications of this occult science? History at once points to Egypt—the Mizraim of Abrahamic times—the parent of mysticism—as inappreciable in her greatness as she is mysterious in her ruins; Egypt, that gave birth to the lion-headed Pasht and the colossal scarabæus; to whom Persepolis and Greece (and Rome through Greece) owed their arts; by the one to be intensified at the expence of simplicity, and by the other to be purified at the expence of symbolism. The symbols of most frequent occurrence in Egypt—

^a Symbol, σύμβολον ἀπὸ τοῦ σὺν βάλλειν.

Emblem, ἔμβλημα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν βάλλειν.

^b The tetractys or number 36 was used by the Pythagoreans as their greatest oath, and was denominated “the world,”

τετρακτίς

Παγὰ δαναὺ φύσεως.—*Carmen Aureum*.

The number is formed from the composition of the four first even and the four first odd numbers, collected into one sum thus $2 + 4 + 6 + 8 = 20$; $1 + 3 + 5 + 7 = 16$; $16 + 20 = 36$.

^c The equilateral triangle was called Minerva Coryphagenes, or *begotten from the summit*, and Tritogeneia, because it is divided by three perpendiculars drawn from the three angles.—*Plutarch de Iside et Osiride*, Reiske, p. 501.

tian design are the winged globe, the lotus, the asp, beetle, ibis, crocodile, &c., forms which are highly significant in themselves, and derive additional importance from being the archetypes of many insignia which the approving hand of posterity has borrowed and moulded to her own requirements. We find the same spirit of adaptation in the mythology and architecture of Greece. For example: Isis and Osiris reappeared under the names of Ceres and Bacchus, with like attributes and circumstances. Thus we find Osiris teaching man the first rudiments of agriculture, as Bacchus is fabled to have taught the Indians:—

“Primus aratra manu solerta fecit Osiris,
Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum.”

Tibull., lib. i., eleg. vii.

Bacchus like Osiris, assumed the visage of a bull, and both in like manner were fabled to have descended to Hades, where Bacchus and Ceres were metamorphosed into Pluto and Hecate, in the same way that Osiris was changed into Serapis, and Isis underwent a similar change of character. This identity or double character is alluded to in the following lines of Ausonius:—

“Αἰγύπτου μὲν Οσίρις ἐγὼ Μυσῶν δὲ Φανάκης
Βακχος ἐνὶ Ζῳοισιν ἐνὶ φθίμενοισι Ἀιδωνεύς
Πυρογένης δίκερῳ τιτάνολετῇ Διονύσος.”

In addition to their heroic or dæmonic calendar, the Egyptians indulged in a species of worship, which, for the extent to which it was carried, is without its parallel in the history of any other nation. We have already hinted at it in a quotation from Swedenborg. Not content with a moderate allowance of sacred animals, the Egyptians enlarged the bounds of their Pantheon, and like Noah's ark of old, admitted animals clean and unclean, with this difference, “Noah admitted into his ark the raven and the vulture, he admitted the wolf, the dog, and the serpent, *but he gave no entrance to idolatry.*”^d Herodotus pretended to understand the symbolism of this idolatry, but his silence on the subject renders the fact doubtful. The priests themselves were unable to explain the system in the time of Ptolemy. Plutarch and Diodorus referred it to the useful nature of the animals themselves; but this theory will exclude the reptiles and beasts of prey—no inconsiderable portion of the sacred menagerie. Lucian started an hypothesis about the constellations, an hystero-proteron sort of argument, since probably the constellations would be named after the sacred animals. Porphyry seems to have regarded this Polytheism as a Pantheism, and held that the Deity permeating these creatures was the object of

^d Tertullian on *Idolatry*, sect. 24.

their immediate adoration. The Pythagoreans would possibly have explained it by the doctrine of transmigration, and the followers of Swedenborg by a system of correspondences; but by far the most interesting solution is offered in Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*), which is so convenient to our subject, that we cannot forbear quoting it at length:—

“It now remains,” says he, “that we should speak of the utility of these animals to man, and of their symbolical meaning (*καὶ τὸ συμβολικόν*), some of them partaking of one of these only, but many of them both. It is evident therefore that the Egyptians worshipped the ox, the sheep, and the ichneumon, on account of their use and benefit, as the Lemnians did larks for discovering the eggs of caterpillars and breaking them; and the Thessalians, storks, because as their land produced abundance of serpents, the storks destroyed all of them as soon as they appeared. Hence also they enacted a law, that whoever killed a stork should be banished. But the Egyptians honoured the asp, the weazle, and the beetle, in consequence of observing in them certain dark resemblances of the power of the gods, like that of the sun in drops of water. For at present many believe and assert that the weazle engenders by the ear and brings forth by the mouth, being thus an image of the generation of reason (*εἰκασμα τῆς τὸν λόγου γένεσεως εἶναι*). But the genus of beetles has no female, and all the males deposit their spawn into a spherical piece of earth, which they roll about, thrashing it backwards with their hind feet, while they themselves move forward just as the sun appears to revolve in a direction contrary to that of the heavens, in consequence of moving from east to west. They also assimilated the asp to the star, as being exempt from old age, and performing its motions unassisted by organs with agility and ease. Nor was the crocodile honoured by them without a probable cause, but is said to have been considered by them as a resemblance of divinity, as being the only animal that is without a tongue. For the divine reason is unindigent of voice, and proceeding through a silent path, and accompanied by justice, conducts mortal affairs according to its laws. They also say it is the only animal living in water that has the sight of its eyes covered with a thin and transparent film, which descends from his forehead, so that he sees without being seen, which is likewise the case with the first God. But in whatever place the female crocodile may lay her eggs, this may with certainty be considered to be the boundary of the increase of the Nile. For not being able to lay their eggs in the water, and fearing to lay them far from it, they have such an accurate pre-sensation of futurity, that though they enjoy the benefit of the river in its access during the time of their laying and hatching, yet they preserve their eggs dry and untouched by the water. They also lay sixty eggs, are the same number of days in hatching them, and those that are the longest lived among them live just so many years, which number is the first of the measures employed by those who are conversant with the heavenly bodies. . . . We ought not however to wonder if the Egyptians love such slender similitudes, since the Greeks also, both in their pictures and statues, employ many such like resemblances of the

gods. Thus in Crete there was a statue of Jupiter without ears. For it is fit that he who is the ruler and lord of all things should hear no one, (be impartial.) Phidias also placed a dragon by the statue of Minerva and a snail by that of Venus, at Elis, to shew that virgins require a guard, and that keeping at home and silence become married women. . . . If therefore the most approved of the philosophers did not think it proper to neglect or despise any occult signification of a divine nature, when they perceived it even in things inanimate and incorporeal, it appears to me that they in a still greater degree venerated those peculiarities depending on manners which they saw in such natures as had sense, and were endowed with soul, with passion, and ethical habits. We must embrace therefore, not those who honour these things, *but those who reverence divinity through these*, as through most clear mirrors, and which are produced by nature in a becoming manner, conceiving them to be the instruments or the art of the God by whom all things are perpetually adorned. But we ought to think that no inanimate being can be more excellent than one that is animated, nor an insensible than a sensible being, not even though some one should collect all the gold and emeralds in the universe. For the divinity is not ingenerated either in colours or figures, or smoothness, but such things as neither ever did, nor are naturally adapted to participate of life, have an allotment more ignoble than that of dead bodies. But the nature which lives and sees and has the principle of motion from itself, and a knowledge of things appropriate and foreign to its being, has certainly deserved an efflux and portion of that wisdom, which, as Heraclitus says, considers both how itself and the universe is governed. Hence the divinity is not worse represented in these animals than in the workmanship of copper and stone, which in a similar manner suffer corruption and decay, but are naturally deprived of all sense and consciousness. This then I consider as the best defence that can be given of the adoration of animals by the Egyptians."—*Plutarch de Iside et Osiride*, Reiske, p. 501.

The difference between the rude inspirations of Theban art and the more refined conceptions and finished workmanship of the Greek era, may be referred to the *ἥθος*, under which they were severally produced. The one, as a solemn exponent of faith, naturally shrouded its mysteries in obscure symbols, hieratic devices, and unnatural combinations, by which the attributes of the brute creation were concentrated upon a fabulous divinity. The other makes little or no appeal to *faith*: the deities of the Greeks were figments of their own invention; their mythology was made up of the fabulous adventures of the imaginary beings whom the people worshipped, the exploits of ancient heroes, the traditions of early migrations, wars, and revolutions, the marvellous tales of distant lands brought home by mariners and travellers, and the moral and physical allegories of its sages and instructors. Such were the materials out of which the Greek cosmogony arose, and which resulted in a system of *per-*

sonification, to the exclusion of symbolism. This substitution is to be the less regretted as to it we owe the happiest efforts of art the world ever witnessed. Take the group that is most familiar in sculptural art; in 'Cupid and Psyche,' the refined mind will discover the intercourse of flesh and spirit, an acknowledgment of a future state, and a striving after immortality, which tell us how strangely the artist must have grappled with the ideal world, which his intellect rather than his faith had created. Hence the very enrichment of their temples as adopted by the two nations, was stamped with a natural peculiarity. In Egyptian hands it was effected by surface ornament, became an intelligible language, and is known as the hieroglyph or sacred scripture; in the Greek school of art the same effect was gained by such ornaments as the wave, the fret, the honeysuckle, and the guilloche, forms nearly meaningless in themselves, and devoid, as far as we are able to judge, of any conventional meaning or symbolic value. These remarks cannot apply of course to the ornamentation of their friezes, which may be ranked among the most perfect productions of man's handiwork, they appeal to the intellect, and intellect confesses that there is nothing left to be desired. We need but to visit the British Museum, and pass from the Egyptian to the Elgin saloon, to appreciate the distinction we have endeavoured to lay down; in the latter we feel as if the sculptor, conscious of his skill, had given his own expression to the hero or demigod to which his chisel gave birth; nor cared to seek for a medium of information *that was not wholly dependent upon his genius as an artist*, when engaged upon the energetic tableaux that have gloriously immortalized the Parthenon; but in the Egyptian room, whether we look at a Sphinx or a Cynocephalus, we feel conscious that the will of the artist has been subjugated to a conventional standard, which fettered him in his aspiration for the beautiful (if such ever occurred to him), but renders his work of greater value in a moral point of view, since every departure from a natural type has its symbolic meaning.

We need not dwell long upon Rome, Pagan; her theology no less than her architecture, was a modification of the Greek. And not only these, but the very rudiments of literature and the technicalities of science, flowed from Greece, either as the source or the purifying medium of all that was refined or beautiful.

"Graius ingenium, Graius dedit ore rotundo
Musa loqui."

The genius of Rome prompted her to seize all that was beautiful in principle, while, at the same time the wealth, power, and acquisitiveness of her rulers tempted them to a more equi-

vocal appropriation, and enabled her to gratify the taste of the public by filling the city^e with antiques from Greece, Sicily and elsewhere. Her lares and penates are as much the invention of men as the *βωμολοι θεοι* of the Greeks. The "genius" of Cicero found its prototype in the *Δαίμων* of Socrates. What faith can we suppose that the mass of the Roman people held when we find that in the time of Cicero there was found only one member of the college of augurs who repudiated the charge that the system of divination at that time practised was simply a contrivance of statesmen. The maintenance of this opinion drew down upon the single-handed Appius Claudius a storm of pamphlets from Marcellus and others. The controversy is not without value as an illustration of the negative state to which the creed of a nation may be reduced at a time when philosophy and art had reached a climax previously unattained. Cicero the ambidexterous himself admitted the fact. "Augury might probably be introduced," he said, "upon a persuasion of its divinity, and when, by the improvements of arts and learning, that opinion was exploded in succeeding ages, yet the thing itself was wisely retained for the sake of its use to the republic."

In this uncertainty of faith we look in vain for the recognition of the one supreme headship, without which the unity of the religion of a nation cannot be maintained. The monstrous portents and improbable miracles that were weaved into their strange mythology could have gained but a slender acceptance with the thoughtful, and a total rejection or blind acquiescence by the careless who would elude any speculation into the origin of his belief with an apathetic "*Credo quia impossibile.*" Within two centuries of the Christian æra we find human sacrifices perpetrated while the sacrifices and festivals which had formerly been celebrated in honour of the gods with rustic simplicity, now served more as amusements and shows for the multitude, which became the more pompous as the people became more and more accustomed to splendour and magnificence. Sculpture under this phase could no longer be the vehicle of indigenous ideas; it lacked the originality that ought to give life and history to each chiselled outline, and point each stone with a moral, legible to the understanding if not to the heart. Accordingly we find that the acanthus, the sphinx, lotus, and griffin are the

^e Casiodorus tells us that at one time Rome contained as many statues as inhabitants (see Suetonius in *Aug. Cass.* lib. vii., ep. 6); and speaks of Rome as one huge miracle of art. "In rudi sæculo quicquid emerisisset novum per ora hominum jure ferebatur eximium. Nunc autem potest esse veridicum, si universa Roma dicatur esse miraculum.—Lib. vii., *Variorum Form.* xv.

principal characteristics of Roman design—forms used without meaning, and therefore unconnected with our subject.

We have already said that symbolism is suggestive of priesthood, and consequently we have an *a priori* reason for expecting to meet with it in every religion that recognizes a legitimate hierarchy. How far this is the case in the Christian dispensation, and how far there may be conflicting antecedents, remains to be seen.

In Italy, France, Germany and England, certain features are observable in the churches, which, as they are only indirectly connected with the ritual performed in them indicate a strong desire on the part of those who designed them to express some common sentiment in many cases at the sacrifice of convenience, and in all at the expenditure of much mechanical contrivance and skill.

Commencing with the plan in which cruciformity was always aimed at (although in England the large numbers of small village churches precluded the general adoption of the arrangement), the builders of the mediæval ages strove to embody the spiritual temple with perishable materials, and to illustrate, by a profusion of symbols, those truths which practically were neglected by the uninformed, and in many cases, degraded mass of the population. Falling short of their highest ambition, they contented themselves with rearing an earthly tabernacle in repudiation of the apostolic message, that "Christ is not entered into the holy places made with hands, which are the figures of the true, but into heaven itself, now to appear in the presence of God for us" (Heb. ix. 24).^f In the Roman church the growth of symbolism bore a correspondence to the growth of idolatry. From the middle of the fourth century, when the first cross church was built by Constantine, to the middle of the tenth century, the purity of the Christian Church on the continent underwent a gradual obscuration, and from the middle of the tenth century in England, when the cruciform arrangement was first introduced by Edward the Confessor, till the Reformation, we find a similar investment of error which grew palpable and cumbrous till the impatience of those who had hitherto been held in bondage shook off some of the fungus with which an ambitious priestcraft had clogged the free exercise of intellect, and gave to the nation a printed Bible in her own native tongue.

The origin of this superstition may be traced in a great mea-

^f The Jewish ceremonial presents, independently of its typical aspect, a series of symbols given by the Almighty himself for the benefit of his own peculiar people. Into these we cannot enter, as their divine origin gives them a peculiar character and renders them unfit for comparison with mere human inventions.

sure to the nature of the service which, from a very early date, was with one exception conducted in the Latin language, a fact which made old Tindal remark, that "they pray in Latin, they christen in Latin, they blesse in Latin, they give absolution in Latin; only curse they in the English tung." The pulpit, as a vehicle of instruction, might have counterbalanced this evil, but it was seldom brought into requisition more than four times in the year.^g A little later (A.D. 1188), and a most pernicious element of decay was introduced in the system of indulgences,—a system subversive of religious devotion, and contrary to the whole tenour of the gospel code. By a most just retribution was the effrontery of an agent engaged in this infernal traffic (John Tetzel) made the immediate cause of the Reformation in Germany. Circumstances, apparently unimportant in themselves, may, when taken in connection with the current of history, serve as records of the progress of error. Thus the tonsure of the priest (A.D. 1200), intended, no doubt, to symbolize the crown of thorns, furnished an external mark of distinction between the clergy and the laity,—a demarcation still more strongly emphasized at a subsequent date by the withdrawal of the cup from all those who had not taken holy orders (Concil Constance, 1417).

Thus again, with the dedication of churches to a patron saint; at first the name was considered a fitting and sufficient memorial of the individual commemorated; then the name was written, or a supposed likeness of the saint was depicted over the altar,^h which in its turn was displaced or succeeded by a life-sized effigy erected in the chancel. This idolatrous tendency may be noticed also in the representation of the Virgin Mary. M. Bloxam says, "We do not notice at this early period the image of S. Mary bearing in her arms the infant Christ, or occupying a position over the entrance into a church or elsewhere, which in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more especially during the latter period we may have observed her image to possess."^k

^g See Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. iii., p. 164.

^h Archbishop Wulfrid, A.D. 816. "Seu etiam præcepimus unicuique episcopo ut habeat depictum in pariete oratorii, aut in tabulâ, vel etiam in altaribus quibus sanctis sunt utraque dedicata.—Wilkin's *Concil*, vol. i., p. 169.

Bishop Bleys, A.D. 1229. "The year, the day, name of dedicant and of saint to be distinctly written above the high altar and the smaller altars."—*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 624.

A.D. 1272, in the time of Edward I., Robert Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, decreed that the image of the saint was to be erected in the chancel. See Barrett Attleborough Ch. p. 111.

^k Bloxam, *Principles of Gothic Architecture*, ed. vii., p. 143. Mr. Bloxam is right to a certain extent, but we must not, therefore, infer that Mariolatry was unknown in England prior to the conquest. The first introduction of the image of

About the end of the thirteenth century, Durandus, Bishop of Mende, wrote his celebrated work entitled *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* (a favourite subject with the writers of the middle ages), and devoted the commencement of it to a consideration of the symbolism of church architecture. His remarks apply, "*cum grano salis*," as much to English as to French architecture, as the same detail is for the most part observable in the remains of the two countries; we are not, therefore, surprised to see modern writers on Christian art in England appeal to this singular production in confirmation of their views with greater faith in many instances in our author's arbitrary interpretation than their own common sense. For let an impartial reader take up the first book of the *Rationale* and form an estimate of its value as a precedent for our modern arrangements in the service, and other details. In it he will probably discover some truth, some absurdities, and much ingenuity. Incredulous of anachronisms, the worthy prelate will justify his position by precedents, drawn indifferently from the Pentateuch, the prophets, the gospels, the fathers, or his own fertile invention. Not unfrequently his anxiety to discover an obscure moral in some minor detail of church garniture will lead him into inconsistencies for which his translators' offer the best apology in their power.

the Virgin took place A.D. 712—714, in consequence of the pretended visions of a Benedictine monk named Ecgvine, whose "idolomania" was submitted to a council at London, at which no opportunity was given for argument or comparison, but the visions of the monk as to image-worship were taken into consideration, and it was asserted that the new doctrine met with the most unqualified approval of the pope. A decree was consequently passed, that images should be placed in the churches and honoured by the celebration of mass.

¹ *The Symbolism of Church and Church Ornaments.* A translation of the first book of the *Lib. Div. Off.*, written by W. Durandus. By the Rev. M. Neale and the Rev. E. Webb. Leeds, 1843. Mr. Webb refers to the parable of the leaven hidden in the meal, as though no interpreter had ever suggested that it implied the spread of evil. Cyril remarks, "Leaven, in the inspired writings, is always taken as the type of naughtiness and sin." (Hom. Paschal, 19.) Vitringa gives two explanations of the parable, taking the leaven first in a good sense and then in a bad one. We are aware that most of the popular commentators take that sense of the parable which they think more convenient for practical exhortation. For our part we have a strong conviction that scripture symbolism is ever self-consistent, and incline to the belief that every apparent deviation may be explained; indeed, where there is any ambiguity of meaning we should prefer that interpretation which harmonizes best with other uses of the same figure. We could not refer to a more striking interchange of symbol than that of the serpent. Satan is that old serpent, the tempter of Eve, on whom the sentence was pronounced, "Cursed art thou above cattle." But the brazen serpent, erected in the wilderness, was a type of Christ, according to our Lord's own comment: "As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up." John iii. 14. So then the same symbol is made common to the Prince of Light and the Prince of Darkness. The explanation is found in the vicarious character of our Lord's sacrifice. "He hath made him to be sin for us (*ὅτι ἡμῶν ἀμαρτίαν ἐποίησεν*) who knew no sin, that we might be

"The difficulty," say they, "vanishes if we remember that the resemblance for the most part is derived from grouping independent things together, and viewing them in a particular light. We do not deny the *real* essential symbolism of a material result, but this, its particular significance, need not obtrude itself at all times; the thing itself in other combinations and viewed under other aspects, may acquire an additional and occasional meaning. For example, it is the union of the rose, thistle,

made the righteousness of God in him." 2 Cor. v. 21. In some instances a symbol has been adopted by common consent when scripture has only referred to it by way of incidental illustration. Thus the dove has been made the symbol of the Holy Spirit though the evangelical narrative speaks only of the Spirit *descending* like a dove (*καταβαῖνον ὡσεὶ περιστέρην*) on our Lord at his baptism. A bright cloud, we apprehend, descended with a tremulous motion similar to that of a dove when about to alight. So a roaring lion, as he walks the forest, illustrates the destructive activity of the devil (see 1 Pet. v., 8), but we are not to make this animal the symbol of the great enemy. When our Lord is called the Lion of the tribe of Judah, it is clear that the symbol, as such, is definitely appropriated to him. This use of the symbol moreover is quite consistent with the noble qualities shadowed forth in the cherubic emblems. But to return to the parable of the leaven. No one denies that in every other passage leaven is spoken of as the symbol of moral corruption, we ought not therefore to apply a different meaning in this instance without good reason for so doing. This reason the commentators would allege is supplied by the parable immediately preceding—that of the mustard seed. If the growth of Christian doctrine is intended in one, they would argue, it is intended also in the other. Let them however go one step further back in the same chapter, and they will find the parable of the wheat and the tares. The intrusion into the church of false professors is there symbolized by the act of an enemy sowing (*ἐκείδων*) an unwholesome plant resembling wheat among the true. Parallel to this commingling of false brethren with the faithful, is the corruption of *doctrine*. To express this another parable is necessary, where the figures employed shall retain their due analogy with those of the former. Here the seed is introduced in a form as prepared for food: it is meal. We are to imagine an ephah of it, or three sata, (see Gen. xviii. 6, Judges vi. 19,) prepared for a Jewish family to eat during the feast of the passover. The law expressly requires that it shall be unleavened. Like the enemy, who sowed tares while men slept, a woman introduced leaven and hid it (*ἐνέκρυπεν*) in the meal, the natural consequence of which was that the whole mass was leavened, and unfit for paschal food. 'But,' exclaims Mr. Alford, 'if the progress of the kingdom of heaven be towards corruption, till the whole is corrupted, surely there is an end of all the blessings and healing influences of the gospel on the world.' We reply, that this corrupt development had proceeded in the Jewish church, so that our Lord characterized the leaven of the Pharisees as hypocrisy, and we know that with this the whole mass was at that time leavened. Does not the history of Christendom tell the same sad tale? Has not the *woman* who sits on the seven hills spread far and wide her idolatries, and has not error so penetrated the Romish system that the light which is in it has become darkness, the silver become dross, the meal altogether leavened? But the figure has a scriptural limitation. In St. Paul's time the leavening was going on, but there was a remnant whom he calls the "unleavened" (*ἄζυμοι*), and he tells them what was their duty: "Purge out the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened." (1 Cor. v. 7). This indeed was the work of Luther when he found the church a *φύραμα ζύμωθεν*, and it will be the work of all lovers of the truth to the end of time to resist the corrupting influence and keep themselves pure. It would be more pleasing to look forward to an unresisted march of the Gospel, but the same inspired book which reveals Christ tells us of Antichrist; the wheat has its antithesis in the tares; the good fishes in the bad; the meal in the leaven.

and shamrock which is the emblem of our united empire; they have each their own figurative sense: in combination they acquire a new meaning. The harp is not less the emblem of Ireland, because it must primarily represent music. Leaven was of old the symbol of wickedness. Our Lord spake of the leaven of the scribes and pharisees, yet we hear from his own lips, 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven.'"

The fallacy of this passage lies in the very illustrations quoted to prove the case. Figures of speech cannot prove matters of fact. A harp is not the symbol of music, nor are the rose, shamrock, and thistle symbols of the United Kingdom: they are undoubtedly recognized *emblems*, but they do not (at least, we are not told so in the quotation) embody any attribute or convey any moral. If the device selected were that of the Isle of Man, we might indeed have admitted some hidden meaning in those three radiating legs,—one in the act of devotion, one in the act of progression, and one in the act of defence. So, then, we maintain our protest, and object to the irregularity of adopting what must have been in many instances the arbitrary explanation of capricious details, and this without any compromise of our belief in the significance of the leading outlines and general arrangement of the mediæval churches. In addition to the cruciform arrangement, the architects of the middle ages presented the emblem of our salvation in every available situation. The site was first marked with a cross, and a ceremony denominated the *stauropegia* accompanied the act: the same mark was incised on the foundation stone, and repeated five times on the mensa or slab of the altar; it forms the base or theme of an endless variety of tracery, crowns each gable with its elegant outline, and forms an appropriate termination to the spire. Singularly beautiful are some of the devices adopted by the primitive church; full of faith are the symbols attached to the evangelists and proto-martyrs, as we find them in the records of the past. So much importance was attached to symbolism as a means of instruction that every available point was seized upon: the very light of heaven was enlisted in the service, and spake through storied windows of our crucified Head in suffering and in glory; of faith militant and faith triumphant, of saints gathered to rest, and of judgment to come; and these, not as subjects of sense, but as invested with a portion of that mystery which belonged to the scene depicted. Hence the introduction of the sacred monogram and triagram, the aureole and nimbus, the *vesica piscis*, and the serpent, either as a Norman dragon or late-gargoyle, in allusion to the Satanic principle.

Nor was this latent language confined to *objects*: it found vent in ceremonies and practices, many of which are retained to

the present day, though much of their significance has been purposely neglected or unconsciously forgotten.

If we take, for instance, the rite of baptism, we shall be able to discover a suggestive meaning in every particular,—the position of the font always close to the entrance of the church as indicating the admission into the spiritual church; its form generally octagonal, hexagonal, or circular—figures which have been referred respectively to regeneration, passion, and perfection; its material, stone, as symbolical of the living Rock from which the waters of salvation flowed. The sculpture introduced had reference generally to the baptismal act.

“There is frequently, and more especially in Romanesque fonts, a great deal of symbolism in the ornaments: sometimes this is of the very plainest description, as to quote a late example in Rochester, St. Nicholas, where the letters **C R I S T I A N** are sculptured one on each side of an octagonal font. At St. Michael Castle, Frome, Herefordshire, there is a representation of the baptism of our Lord, who is surrounded by little fishes, the well-known emblem of Christians. At St. Mary, Thorpe, Arnold, Leicestershire, a Christian soldier is opposing the attacks of dragons. At All Saints, East Meon, the fall is represented, and with great propriety, on that instrument by which we are purified from its effects. The symbolism is sometimes more obscure, as in St. Mary Magdalene, Stoke Cannon, Derbyshire, where evil beasts appear chased from the font by virtue of the cross, which is sculptured between them. A lion and a dragon are sometimes found in combat, signifying the battle between the lion of the Tribe of Judah and Satan. A salamander appears at St. Bridget, Bridekirk, Cumberland, a very early font, and the animal is met with in far later examples, as in St. Mary Salehurst, Sussex, it typifies the baptism by the Holy Ghost and fire.”—*Hand Book of Ecclesiology*, p. 150.

This is a subject upon which we could dwell long and willingly, but space will not allow us to do more than briefly recapitulate the views we have taken.

The ideograph of Egypt was as uncongenial to the *understanding* of the devotee as it was inconsistent with nature; hence all intelligent worship must have leapt over the barrier of time and sense, and held intercourse with an invisible deity, whose attributes were but obscurely rendered in the idol, before which he prostrated himself; all other worship must have been of the grossest kind, without one spark of love to illumine the wayfarer's path through time, or to penetrate the uncertain maze that veiled a doubtful futurity. The barrier that thus intercepted the view of the Egyptian philosopher, was partly overcome by the ardent aspiration of the Greek. The theology of Plato and Proclus exhibit the perfection of human reasoning,

and withal, such a recognition of the highest type of moral excellence, that we blush for our profession, when Christian men deny or fail to illustrate the triple graces of the apostle, which a heathen philosopher has thus beautifully anticipated—

“There are three nomads according to these intelligible causes subsisting uniformly and casually in intelligibles, but first unfolding themselves into light in the ineffable order of the gods. I mean faith, truth, and love. And faith establishes all things in good, but truth unfolds the knowledge in beings, and lastly, love converts all things and congregates them into the nature of the beautiful.”

Cicero and Seneca among the Roman writers promulgated the same sentiments, but in proportion as heathen philosophy became more exalted, the less stress was laid upon the material symbols and emblems of their religion. Plutarch, it is true, justifies the superstition of the Egyptians, but only in Egypt. Socrates and his more polished disciple, Plato, communed with the spheres, but found no space to build a religion of mysteries and formularies. Seneca upheld the morale of a virtuous life as superior to the promulgation of creeds and axioms. He says, “*Homines amplius oculis quam auribus credunt, longum interest per præcepta, breve et efficax per exempla;*” and Cicero, as we have already seen, disclaims any belief in the auspices and auguries of an effete superstition. It remained for a church blessed with a divine revelation, and boastful of a pure apostolic succession to engraft a system essentially heathen in its antecedents upon the pure light of the truth. The fairer as she grew in her externals the fouler was the corruption within; the ceremonies imposed upon her by successive councils symbolized, but gradually superseded, the truths they were intended to illustrate, and Rome, the nursing mother of the Church of Christ, proved unfaithful to her charge, by giving the poison of human tradition instead of the pure milk of the word. But the truth of the Bible cannot be affected by œcumenical councils or an ambitious priesthood; wherever the seed has been sown there will be fruit, at times partial, at times laid low by the storm of persecution, at times blighted by the corruption of heresy; but the promise is sure, and there will always be a remnant. There was a period when the Church of England, in apostolic purity, received the teaching of the venerable Polycarp long before Augustine with his Roman emissaries published those doctrines, which in their perverted development have laid the church of the seven hills under the charge of the deadliest heresy. This primitive state and the subsequent defection is thus pithily described by Ranulph Higden (temp. Rich. ii.) “Then had ye wooden churches, and wooden

chalices, and golden priests, but since golden chalices and wooden priests."^m How much greater occasion of animadversion would Higden have discovered had he lived in the sixteenth century; not that the age was wanting in faithful witnesses, even though they did not all reject the Papal supremacy. The keen satire of Erasmus was more frequently pointed against the church of which he was a professed member, than the 'heretical' section whose opinions were gaining ground every day. In his *Moria* he speaks of—

"Almost all Christians being wretchedly enslaved to blindness and ignorance, which the priests are so far from preventing or removing, that they blacken the darkness and promote the delusions, wisely foreseeing that the people (like cows, which never give down their milk so well as when they are gently stroked) would part with less if they knew more, their bounty proceeding only from a mistake of charity. Now if any grave wise man should stand up and unseasonably speak the truth, telling every one that a pious life is the only way of securing a happy death; that the best title to a pardon of our sins is purchased by a hearty abhorrence of our guilt, and sincere resolutions of amendment; that the best devotion which can be paid to any saints is to imitate them in their exemplary life;—if he should proceed thus to inform them of their several mistakes, there would be quite another estimate put upon tears, watchings, masses, fastings, and other severities, which before were so much prized, as persons will now be vexed to lose that satisfaction they formerly found in them."—*Erasmus Moria*, translated by Bishop Kennett, p. 70.

The subject which we have been discussing resolves itself into a question of history and experience when we treat of its applicability to the present age. Has the introduction of symbolism exercised a salutary effect upon Christian worship, or has it not rather tended to foster a spirit of mysticism in the learned and a spirit of superstition among the unlearned? During the five centuries that succeeded the conquest, the literature of England was in the hands of monopolists, who, so far from wishing to impart their stock of erudition, wrote for the most part in a dead language; the people thus excluded from the adytum of science were left to draw what lessons they could from the oral teaching of the priest, or the more subtle lessons which the architect or the artist might have embodied in their productions. The result of this education we have already seen, and must therefore regret the misdirected zeal of those who labour to revive a system which has been tried and found wanting. New channels of information have been opened, and the area of spiritual destitution has enlarged tenfold since the time of the conquest; to be trifling with

^m Higden. *Polychronicon* 47, cap., fol. 18.

the externals of religion in such a case is but to neglect more important opportunities of doing good. To insist on the form is but too often to deny the spirit of the church of Christ.

Nor is there any danger that architecture will suffer when prominence is no longer afforded to the doctrine of symbolism. Appropriateness and adaptation are the first laws in the determination of æsthetic beauty; if, therefore, it can be proved that this indirect and uncertain method of conveying ideas is liable to misconstruction, and that in the nineteenth century we have readier and more certain means of education, we shall be guilty of an anachronism if we revive obsolete forms purely on account of their supposed symbolic value; and thus deny to architecture and art generally an attribute which we are all conscious that she possesses—the power of growth and self adaptation.

S.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PRINCIPLES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

DEAR SIR,—Permit me once more to solicit the favour of a corner in your Journal, for the purpose of replying to Dr. Tregelles.

Both Dr. Tregelles and myself having avowed our respective views and convictions as to the manner in which *internal goodness* is to be employed as a criterion in judging between conflicting readings, from which it appears that we differ both as to the *nature* and *use* to be made of that test, I might here allow the argument to drop, since a difference so fundamental would necessarily lead to a protracted discussion, in which I fear that I would prove but a sorry match for so skilful and experienced an opponent. I cannot however refrain from making a few observations on what has fallen from Dr. Tregelles in his last letter; and should no one better qualified for the task come forward to defend the position I have taken, I may hereafter return to the subject.

To the remark of Dr. Tregelles, that “if we make mere *goodness* the criterion, we reject all sound criticism,” I might content myself with re-joining, that to make the mere *number* of MSS. in which any reading is contained the test of its genuineness, would be equally repugnant to the acknowledged principles of criticism, and indeed to common sense. But as I cannot believe that Dr. Tregelles is prepared to defend the latter opinion, so I am sure no one, from anything I have said, can justly charge me with holding the former; and a controversy is but little advanced by

first exaggerating, and *then* repudiating the views of the opposite party. What I maintain, and have already illustrated at length, and confirmed by the authority of Griesbach,^a is, "that internal goodness may sometimes be of sufficient weight to authenticate the reading of a *minority* of the MSS. and versions, (just as a smaller number of more ancient and trust-worthy documents may outweigh the evidence of a greater number of inferior ones.) This Dr. Tregelles will not admit; and this therefore is the point at which we part company, if I may so speak, as respects the degree of consideration to which this mark of genuineness is entitled.

For the meaning which I attached to the expression itself, I might appeal to the authority of Dr. E. Henderson,^b who was wont thus to define it in his *Lectures on Biblical Criticism*:—"The *goodness* of a reading, which Griesbach, etc., call *bonitas interna*, is determined partly by the words, and partly by the sense; thus a reading is said to be good, which is agreeable to the *usage* of the writer, and which yields a good sense, that is, a sense according with the *scope* and ideas suggested by the *context*;" and such certainly is the meaning which the expression itself naturally suggests, and to which I think it ought to be restricted.

Although I have hitherto spoken of the internal goodness chiefly under this aspect, I was perfectly aware that the phrase is actually employed by Griesbach in a wider sense, as comprehending the whole of (what may be more appropriately designated) the *internal evidence*, and therefore as including what Dr. Tregelles describes as—"the general character of the reading when contrasted with what has been done by careless or *improving* copyists;" and which has given rise to such canons as the following:—that the *shorter* reading is generally to be preferred to the longer; the more *elliptical* to the more explicit; the *less usual* to the more common; and even the more *obscure* to that which is plain and easy, etc. What I have said, however, in regard to the place due to internal goodness *properly so called*, is equally applicable to the kind of goodness referred to by Dr. Tregelles; since, in addition to the possibility of a *critical* reading, such as those to which he alludes, having found its way into several MSS. from a common source, "it may have been introduced into many copies," as has been well observed by Planck,^c "because its very character recommended it in the same way to many transcribers."

I cannot however agree with Dr. Tregelles, when he speaks of the latter as a much *higher* kind of goodness than the former, or "that the character of the reading" is "far more" decisive in cases of conflicting evidence, than its *harmony with the context, and with the scope and style of the writer*, (for I do not accept Dr. Tregelles' explanation of my meaning.)

Before I could admit this, even supposing that the two kinds of

^a In the citation from his *Prolegomena*, Oct. No., p. 209, the words "if these belong to different classes, or even one," are printed so as to appear *mine* instead of *his*, from the omission of the marks of quotation.

^b Author of *Commentaries on Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Minor Prophets; The Great Mystery of Godliness Incontrovertible*, etc.

^c Introduction to Sacred Philology, *Clarke's Bibl. Cab.*, vol. vii., p. 50.

goodness run counter to each other, I would require to be convinced that the transcribers of the older MSS. of the New Testament, to which Dr. Tregelles appeals, (for it is of these I speak all along,) were both less fallible and more unscrupulous than their successors, or than the copyists of other ancient writings. That *some* of them were so, I do not doubt, and their MSS. must be judged of accordingly; but unless they were *all* of the same stamp, I am unable to see the propriety of Dr. Tregelles' "far more."

But as Griesbach, to whom we all defer so much, has been named, it will be best to allow that great critic to speak for himself; and to prevent the possibility of misrepresentation, I quote from the original:— "*Instita sua bonitate,*" he says, "*commendatur lectio, quæ VEL auctoris cogitandi sentiendique modo, stylo, scopo, cæterisque περιστασεσι, sive exegeticis, ut contextui, adjunctis, oppositis, etc., sive historicis, omnium convenientissima, VEL ita comparata est, ut, eâ velut primitivâ positâ, facile intelligi queat, quomodo cætera lectiones omnes, sive librariorum errore, sive scribarum, grammaticorum, commentatorum, aut criticorum ineptâ sedulitate, progenita ex illa fuerint.*"^d The two parts into which the internal goodness is here divided correspond, the *first* to that which I had in my eye in my previous letters,^e and the *second* to that specially referred to by Dr. Tregelles; for it was from the latter part of his definition that Griesbach deduced the rules by which a preference is given to the shorter, more elliptical, unusual, obscurer reading, etc.

Now it will be observed that no superiority of the one species of goodness over the other is here affirmed; they stand side by side on a footing of perfect equality; or if we can imagine that it was intended to assign a higher place to either, it must be that which is *first mentioned*. And this entirely accords with my view of the matter: I should always look *first* to the agreement with the context, and scope, and style of the author, just as we do in classical criticism, and *then* consider whether the known character of the copyist afforded any ground for suspecting that critical emendation had been resorted to.

I have thus far proceeded on the supposition that these two kinds of goodness must be mutually opposed to each other, which Dr. Tregelles seems to take for granted. It is, however, altogether a gratuitous assumption. Agreement with the context does not necessarily imply prolixity, that nothing should be left to be supplied by the reader, that there should be no obscurity in the style, or that no uncommon terms should be made use of. On the contrary, the context itself is often a most invaluable means of detecting and exposing the amendments of transcribers. Thus, in John vii. 8, cited by Dr. Turner^f as an example of a difficult reading, where οὐκ ἀναβαίνω is justly preferred by Griesbach to the more facile reading οὐπω ἀναβαίνω, instead of the context favouring the latter; the occurrence of the same adverb (οὐπω) in the next clause (ὅτι ὁ καιρὸς ἐμὸς οὐπω πεπλήρωται) not only determines it to be unnecessary, but might lead to an *a priori* suspicion of its genuineness.

^d *Prolegomena*, sect. iii., p. 63, of the Leipzig edition.

^e January and October Numbers for 1851.

^f In the Appendix to his Translation of Planck's *Introduction*.

Accordingly there is no hint of any such contrariety in the definition of the great German critic. The two species of goodness there appear as homogeneous, as two parts of one whole, each introduced by the particle *vel*. And so in specifying the cases in which the shorter is to be regarded as the better lection, and *vice versâ*, he says on the one hand, that "the *shorter* is preferable if harsher, more obscure, ambiguous, elliptical, hebraizing, or a solecism:" and on the other, that "the *fuller* is to be preferred, *if the shorter is less agreeable to the genius, style, and scope of the author.*" I am far from confounding "logical neatness" with critical goodness, although I think there can be but little goodness where logical sequence is violated; nor would I plead for a reading because of "the doctrinal sense" it afforded, however attached I might be to that doctrine, nay, however *scriptural* it might be, unless such sense were plainly required by the *scope* and *connexion*.

My last letter was chiefly occupied with shewing the untenableness of Dr. Tregelles' explanation of the subjunctive readings in Rom. v. 1, and 1 Cor. xv. 49, and in stating my own views of the meaning of these passages, on the supposition of *ἔχωμεν* and *φορέσωμεν* being the true readings.

Dr. Tregelles considers the surprise which I expressed at the idea of *obligation* being denoted by the subjunctive in a principal sentence altogether uncalled for, having in fact (according to him) no better foundation than "my own commentary on Mr. Green's use of the word "ought" in rendering certain passages." On this I remark, in the first place, that if to take words in their literal, obvious, and customary sense, the sense in which they are used by all correct writers and speakers, can be called *commenting*, then I plead guilty to the charge; but if otherwise, not. For I should like to know by what more appropriate or forcible term in the English language the idea of *obligation* could be conveyed than "ought" (the preterite of "owe"); and further, whether it *can* ever be legitimately used except to convey that idea, and without actually conveying it to the mind of the reader or hearer.

In the second place, I can assure Dr. Tregelles that my surprise had no reference whatever to the use of the term in question by Mr. Green, who employs it to express the force of the *deliberative* or *dubitative subjunctive*, i. e., the subjunctive mood in a *question* implying *perplexity*, *indignation*, *disbelief*, and the like. I did indeed call the word as thus used an "unfortunate one," and for this reason chiefly, *that it had misled Dr. Tregelles*, and might mislead others, who, as appears to have been the case with him, were previously unacquainted with the idiom referred to, and would not take the trouble of inspecting the examples. I also said that I thought a softer term would be more suitable as a *general* one; because although the subjunctive in such doubting questions does sometimes refer to the obligation of *duty*, and may then properly enough be rendered by "ought," (as perhaps in Luke xii. 5, "I will forewarn you whom ye *ought* to fear," yet in the great majority of cases, *expediency*, or simple *futurity* seems all that is implied, when the milder terms "should," "shall," (by which it is almost uniformly rendered in our version,) or "am to," would be more appropriate.

This is, however, very different from supposing that the subjunctive can *directly affirm* obligation, (being incapable in fact of directly affirming *anything*,) or that it can be rendered by "ought" in a principal sentence which is *not a doubting question*, nor indeed a question at all. This is the use which Dr. Tregelles proposed to make of it in the rendering of *ἔχων*, at the same time describing it as an example of the deliberative subjunctive; and this it was which excited my surprise. Nor can I refrain from reiterating my expression of astonishment, that Dr. Tregelles should have been either so ignorant or oblivious of so well known an idiom, which is common to the Greek and Latin languages, and of which examples can be produced by the dozen, as to take it for a discovery of Mr. Green's; and then that he should proceed, without examining into its nature, to make an application of it, which I am sure Mr. Green himself would be the foremost to repudiate, as he would be the first to disclaim the credit of the discovery.

Dr. Tregelles complains of the length of my remarks on 1 Cor. xv. 49, and that he does not quite understand them. I am sorry if I have given him any just cause of complaint. The *length* of my exposition, however, arose from the importance which I attach to the *connexion*, both in criticism and interpretation, which led me to examine how far that verse, with the subjunctive reading rightly interpreted, might harmonize with the preceding context. Any want of perspicuity may be fairly put down to the conciseness, as compared with the extent of ground gone over and the difficulty of some of the topics alluded to, which I was nevertheless obliged to observe. Such obscurities as Dr. Tregelles condescends to *specify*, are easily cleared up.

And first, in regard to my observation on the body of our Lord, which, I said, "had from the very first a *heavenly origin*." As Dr. Tregelles thinks this assertion calculated to awaken suspicions of my orthodoxy in reference to the real humanity of the Saviour, it may be as well to state distinctly at the outset—that I believe our Lord to have been at once *very God* and *very Man*; and that in his mysterious person^g *Deity* was united with a real *human body*, and a veritable *human soul*. I trust this will be satisfactory. At the same time I considered, and still consider, that, without going into details, or speculating as to the precise *manner* of the formation of the body of Christ, that the language of the Evangelist, in the passage to which I referred at the time, was *more than sufficient* to justify the expression which I made use of:—"And the angel answered and said unto her (viz., Mary), The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee; *therefore also* that holy child (not 'thing,' the supplement being *παῖδιον*) which shall be born of thee, shall be called the Son of God." (Luke i. 35.)

Without disputing the doctrine of the Church of England as contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, that that body was formed "of the substance

^g Without affecting ignorance of his *meaning*, I cannot very well understand the *propriety* of Dr. Tregelles' use of the term "person" as opposed to "body," when he says,—"Our Lord's *person* was from heaven, but his *body* was human." Was not his body then a *part* of his person? Nay, in ordinary discourse, is not "the person" the *body* itself, as opposed to the *mind*?

of the Virgin," it is certain that it was not produced in the way of *ordinary* generation. As all who are descended from Adam by ordinary generation are begotten "in *his own* likeness, after *his* image," (Gen. v. 3,) and therefore in the likeness and after the image of fallen humanity, it was necessary that the human nature of him who was to be in all respects "holy, harmless, and *separate from sinners*," as well as "born of a woman," and a "partaker of flesh and blood," should have a different origin. It was consequently by a direct and miraculous exertion of Almighty power that that body was "prepared for him" in the Virgin's womb, that both body and soul might thus be free from all taint of sin, and from all natural or necessary liability to the penal consequences which connexion with Adam in the usual way entails on his posterity. If this be not enough to constitute "a heavenly origin," what else does Dr. Tregelles imagine the words as so used *could* mean; unless any one could be so absurd as to suppose that the *matter* of our Lord's body was brought down from heaven?

Dr. Tregelles considers the two statements which I made in reference to Adam's body:—"That it had in itself no principle of permanence," and "that it became mortal through disobedience" as self-contradictory. A few remarks will suffice to shew the groundlessness of this charge.

In the first place, then, the propositions are *both true*, and therefore cannot be contradictory. The latter, as being on all hands admitted, I need not stop to prove; and it needs only a little dispassionate reflection to be equally convinced of the truth of the former. That Adam's body "had in itself no principle of permanence" is evident whether we consider the elements of which it was composed ("And the Lord God formed man out of the *dust*^a of the ground, Gen. ii. 7) or its constitution. For if it be allowed, what no one I suppose will dispute, that his body was provided like our own with *organs* adapted to the various animal, vital, and natural functions, it must have been, without a perpetual miracle, amenable to the same invariable laws by which we *know* that all other material and organic bodies have been regulated, both *before* (let that be noted) the appearance of man upon this earth, and from the time of Adam downwards; and these are such as to involve in every case a gradual *progress* towards maturity, and then a gradual *decline* ending in dissolution.ⁱ So much for the truth of the propositions.

Let me next remind Dr. Tregelles of the important difference between what a thing *IS IN ITSELF*, and what, by the operation of some external influence, it *may become*, or is *destined to become*. A thing *naturally* perishable *may yet be preserved* from destruction, and that Almighty power could effect this in the case before us cannot be doubted. So the *destiny* of that which is at the disposal of a superior Being is distinct both from what it *is* in itself, and from what it *may possibly* become.

Now as the destiny of Adam's body, equally with that of his *better*

^a Which at least implies that the *elements* of his body were similar to those of "the soil" on which we tread.

ⁱ It was, in fact, what the Apostle calls it, *χοῖρος*, having no more permanence per se than a *χῶος*, or heap of earth.

part, was by divine appointment, to hinge on the issue of the probation to which he was subjected, and as I take the term "mortal" to signify 'destined' or 'doomed to die,' and "immortal" 'destined to live for ever,' so I consider that before the fall, by which his fate was decided, he could neither be said to be the one nor the other. When, therefore, Dr. Tregelles says, "if it (his body) *became* mortal through disobedience, then it was *not* mortal before." I agree with him; only adding, that neither was it *immortal*.

Having sinned, what was previously *contingent*, became *fixed*; his doom was that he should *remain* in that state or condition of being in which his probationary trial had been gone through, and continue subject to its laws, as indeed the words of the sentence itself plainly imply,— "for dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." (Gen. iii. 19, compared with Eccl. iii. 20.) There is thus no contradiction in the *terms* in which the two statements were expressed, any more than in the propositions themselves.

What would have become of the corporeal frame of the head of our race, had the result of the trial been different, we cannot precisely tell, as the Scriptures do not supply us with sufficient *data* for a conclusion. Of one thing, however, I think we may be tolerably certain, viz., that it would not have been permitted to undergo decomposition (see Gen. iii. 22); in which case we may venture to suppose that the period of probation being ended, it would in common with the bodies of Enoch and Elijah, and the saints who shall be alive at the second coming of the Lord (1 Cor. xv. 51, and following verses: with 1 Thess. iv. 17), have passed at once through that "change" which would constitute it "incorruptible," and have been exalted along with its sinless inhabitants to a higher sphere of existence, *without seeing death*.

As this ground may be new to Dr. Tregelles, I may be permitted to refer him, for the illustration and confirmation of the views which I have expressed, to a paper by Dr. Pye Smith, at the end of the first number of this Journal, on "Death as connected with the Fall;" and to the work of that distinguished scholar and divine on the *Relation between Scripture and Geology*.

What the "mortality of angels," which Dr. Tregelles somewhat sarcastically says he expects next to hear of, has to do with this subject, I am at a loss to comprehend, except on one of two suppositions; either that angels have bodies of flesh and blood like our own, or that Adam had not. Whatever be Dr. Tregelles' opinion, I need scarcely say that both hypotheses are alike unscriptural and directly opposed to the sentiments which I have expressed.

Dr. Tregelles next refers to an alleged discrepancy between my first and second letters, in reference to the esteem in which the books of the New Testament were held by the primitive Christians.

In my first letter, I asserted that "it was not until they were collected into one that a belief in their verbal inspiration equally with the Old Testament scriptures began to be entertained." This assertion, as already mentioned, was made on an authority which I consider at least as good as that of Dr. Tregelles himself, but of which he takes no notice, viz.,

that of Hagenbach, in his *History of Doctrines*.^j I added, that "this cannot be said to have taken place sooner than towards the middle of the third century." To this Dr. Tregelles replied by shewing the veneration with which the New Testament writings were regarded by Irenæus. I answered that the single case of Irenæus could not overturn Professor Hagenbach's proposition, which must be taken *generally*, especially as he himself refers to Irenæus and Tertullian as having "very positive views" on the inspiration of the New Testament; and further "that the New Testament scriptures *were* collected into one codex at the time of Tertullian, with whom Irenæus was cotemporary."

This latter statement is now fixed upon by Dr. Tregelles as negated by my previous assertion on the same subject. As both statements were made on the same authority, and taken from the same place, viz., the Art. "Canon" in the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, it would be rather strange if this should be the case, as the learned writer of that article (Dr. W. L. Alexander) is not likely to be in error on a point of ecclesiastical history, still less to contradict himself in the same sentence. It may be well, therefore, to quote his words. "Tertullian," he says, "*distinctly intimated the existence of the New Testament canon in a complete form in his day*, by calling it *Evangelicum Instrumentum*, by describing the whole Bible as *totum instrumentum utriusque testamenti*, and by distinguishing between the *Scriptura Vetus* and *Novum Testamentum*. Irenæus repeatedly calls the writings of the New Testament 'the Holy Scriptures,' 'the oracles of God,' and in one place he puts the *Evangelical* and *Apostolical* writings on a par with the *Law* and the *Prophets*. 'From these allusions,' Dr. Alexander goes on to say, 'we may justly infer that *before the middle of the third century*, the Scriptures were *generally* known by the Christians in a collected form, and revered as the word of God.'" (*Cyclo. of Bib. Lit.*, Art. "Canon" § 10) The latter proposition, therefore, like that of Professor Hagenbach, is to be understood *generally*; and the case of Tertullian, to which we may add that of Irenæus himself, so far from *conflicting* with that general statement, is, in fact, a step in the process by which we are guided to it as a legitimate conclusion.^k That *individuals* should have possessed the New Testament in a complete form, if not in *one volume*, at least collected together and *regarded as one*, long before this became *general*, will appear in the highest degree probable to any one who reflects upon the difference between the multiplication and dissemination of manuscripts, and the publication of editions of a *printed book*. That this was true in the case of Tertullian and Irenæus, is, I think, satisfactorily proved, (especially in the case of the former) by the citations above adduced from their writings.

It also appears from this, that those who were *first* distinguished for their strict and positive views on the *verbal inspiration* of the New

^j Clarke's *Foreign Theological Library*, vol. iii., p. 77.

^k It is also worthy of notice that the age of Tertullian joins on closely to that assigned for the more *general* possession of the New Testament writings in a collected form, as he is commonly believed to have lived between the years 160 and 220; his last work (that *ad Scapulum*) having been executed so late as the year 216.

Testament writings, were likewise among the *first* who possessed these writings in a collected form; and that the cases of Irenæus and Tertullian, instead of being regarded as *exceptions* to the proposition with which I set out, much less invalidating the statement, go, after all, to confirm and extend it, so that we may say—"that it was just in proportion as the New Testament books were collected into one, that a belief in their verbal inspirations, equally with the Old Testament began (or *came to be*) entertained."

I have purposely *retained*, in order that I might explain, the word "began" of which Dr. Tregelles makes so much, interpreting it in a way in which I never meant it to be understood; nor is the sense at all affected by it, provided both statements are taken, as they were meant to be taken, *generally*. The term, in fact, *does not occur* in the original, Professor Hagenbach's words being—"It was not until the writings of the New Testament had been collected into one codex, that they adopted, concerning the New Testament, those views which had long been entertained concerning the verbal inspiration of the Old Testament." I chose to express this, like the other statements which have been referred to, in my own language; but if, as is very apt to happen, in altering the *words*, I have at the same time altered the *meaning*, my doing so was altogether unintentional, the best proof of which is that I referred to my authority *at the time*.

Notwithstanding what has passed between us, I retain the highest respect for Dr. Tregelles, and look forward with impatience for the appearance of his long-promised edition of the New Testament.

Edinburgh, March 27, 1852.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,

W. SKAE.

[*Not wishing this discussion to be indefinitely extended, we sent the above letter to Dr. Tregelles, that his answer (which here follows) might appear in the same Number with it.—Ed. J. S. L.*]

MY DEAR SIR,—I shall not send you a reply to Mr. W. Skae's letter at the same length in which he has entered on the topics which he has discussed, because, first, my time is better occupied than in profitless controversy; second, because I did not seek this discussion, but only replied to Mr. Skae's questions, without imagining what use would be made of my reply, and how an endeavour would be made to make me an offender for a word; third, because long controversies are commonly of no interest except to the parties themselves; fourth, because it is impossible to follow the ideas of so extremely diffuse a writer without requoteing his words to endeavour to give their meaning concisely, (for it is *diffuseness* which makes Mr. Skae obscure, and not, as he supposes, *conciseness*;) and fifth, because of reasons connected with the use of words, which will presently appear.

I therefore touch on a few points only, and leave the matter.

I. *Variations of Statement.* I suppose that a writer in all discussions ought to admit the force of his own words: all however are liable to mistake, and thus when an error is pointed out, it should be admitted to be

such : when this is done, it will only be fair to accept the writer's correction of what he had said. In pointing out Mr. Skae's discrepancy of statement as to the *time* of the collection of the New Testament books, I did it in the supposition that Mr. Skae would at once *see* the manner in which he had contradicted himself. I now put the two statements side by side :—

MR. SKAE, *January*, 1851.

"It was not until they [the New Testament books] were collected into one, that a belief in their verbal inspiration equally with the old Testament Scriptures began to be entertained; and this cannot be said to have taken place sooner than towards the middle of the third century."

MR. SKAE, *October*, 1851.

"The New Testament Scriptures were collected into one Codex in the time of Tertullian, with whom Irenæus was contemporary."

The question is not on what *authority* either or both of these statements rest, but simply whether they are not discrepant. I had to do not with Professor Hagenbach, but with Mr. Skae. The *time* stated as that of the collection of the New Testament books is changed materially in the two passages. The reader will see this at a glance: the one statement is "towards the middle of the third century;" the other is "the time of Tertullian, with whom Irenæus was contemporary." We might as well speak of the *time of Sir Isaac Newton* and *the middle of the eighteenth century* as equivalent terms. The force too of "*began* to be entertained," does not depend on *authority*, but on the meaning of words; the statement that such a thing *began* to be held at such a date, is negatived the moment that it is shewn that any one held it previously. If it be said that "*began*" is used for "*generally held*," it only shews a laxity in the use of words, which misleads any one who is accustomed to use them as signs of ideas. I do not make any one an offender for a word, as so I give Mr. Skae the opportunity of correcting his mistake. The consequence is that the error is *defended*, and I am censured for questioning what Hagenbach says. *But does Hagenbach say this?* Mr. Skae refers me to his *History of Doctrines*, i., 77, (English translation;) there, however, I find a very different statement, which Mr. Skae has *now* quoted. This shews, as I said, how entirely the question lay between Mr. Skae and me, and not between Hagenbach and me. I pointed out these discrepancies in no consorious spirit, and if *truth* be the object and not a seeming victory, then a disputant will never object to be put right as to such things; but how can *truth* be elicited in any inquiry, when the form of statements is varied, the alleged facts transmuted, and yet the discussor so little apprehends the force of *his own words* as not to know that when they embody two opposite assertions, they must in one case at least be incorrect?

II. *Greek Subjunctives*. If Mr. Skae does not apprehend the force of words which he himself uses, I have but little cause to complain when

he misunderstands or misstates what I have said. I shall not go into the question of the use of Greek subjunctives in principal sentences. Let it be fully owned that the reference to Mr. Green's treatise was wrong, and that the usage which I pointed out, was that which *answers* to such enquiries; still this was no reason for turning "ought" (which Mr. Skae owns *may* be used) into *obligation* in its *strict* and *absolute* sense, and then making *this* the basis of ironical comment. Whether I am "ignorant of an idiom common to the Greek and Latin languages" I will not now discuss, nor shall I be expected to do so by any who do not charge me with saying, what I never said, that this was "A DISCOVERY of Mr. Green's." Such misstatements preclude all *argument*, but Mr. Skae has not treated my words worse than he has done his own; so that I must not complain.

III. *Internal Evidence.* On this subject Mr. Skae has expressed *his* opinions pretty fully. I too, have stated mine, and that I believe with sufficient clearness to be understood by readers in general; I have pointed out the primary importance of *authorities*, and how I would use them: if I return to the subject at any time it will be in an independent statement apart from present discussions; meanwhile I leave the subject, fully believing that I do not write so ambiguously as to be misunderstood by ordinary readers, so that I must protest against Mr. Skae's being considered an exposition of my views of internal evidence, or of those of Griesbach either.

IV. *Our Lord's Person.* I shall not enter into a theological discussion on points which are settled in the minds of orthodox Christians. If Mr. Skae chooses to find fault with my use of the word "Person" as applied to our Lord in opposition to "body," he may. Mr. Skae said that our Lord's body "had from the first a *heavenly origin*." He now comments on my words, "*our Lord's person* was from heaven, but his *body* was human," by asking "Was not his body then a *part* of his person?" A question thus asked does not settle the propriety or the contrary of theological terms. The Godhead of our Lord was from eternity; *his person* was thus ever existent before his body began to be. *After* he came from heaven and took flesh in the womb of the virgin Mary and of her substance, he had a human body, and not before. If any one sees fit to use theological terms in new senses as to the Godhead or manhood of Christ, he has little cause to complain if he is misunderstood. I only wished to suggest to Mr. Skae caution in the use of terms, not supposing that he could *defend* the statement that our Lord's body was of heavenly origin. Whether he is correct in saying "in ordinary discourse, Is not 'the person' 'the body' itself, as opposed to the *mind*?" must depend wholly on the kind of expression which the discourses adopt. I am glad to find that Mr. Skae does *not* believe (what some *have held*, as is known by all who are familiar with such discussions,) "that the *matter* of our Lord's body was brought down from heaven." Some have thought that Mr. Skae implied this.

V. *Adam's body.* If Mr. Skae uses peculiar expressions as to our Lord's person, it is not surprising that he should speak in a similar manner of Adam's body; terms are so applied that they can only be ex-

plained by taking them in new senses. I shall not follow him through his remarks which speak sufficiently for themselves; "mortal" and "immortal" mean on such subjects "capable of dying" and "incapable of dying;" the latter of these was Adam's physical condition prior to the fall by which that condition was changed.

I now withdraw from a discussion on a multiplicity of points, which I never intended to enter on when courteously replying to courteous and intelligent inquiries on subjects of textual criticism.

Yours faithfully,

S. P. TREGELLES.

Plymouth, May 24, 1852.

DEAR SIR,—In reply to the strictures of Dr. Tregelles on my paper on "*The Relative Authority of the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures of the Old Testament*," allow me to say, that I sincerely regret the mistake which I have made as to the quotation from Isa. xxix. 13.

With regard to Psalm xvi., it must, I think, remain a matter of opinion as to whether the Jews altered the text inadvertently or by design.

I am unwilling to trespass further on your valuable space; and will therefore merely add, that I am of opinion, that the reading of the Samaritan Pentateuch in Gen. ii. 24, originally formed a part of the Hebrew text, I should render the words, "And of them two there shall be one flesh."

I remain, &c.,

K. L.

April 15th, 1852.

ON THE NUMBER OF THE ISRAELITES AS GIVEN EXODUS XII. 37, ETC.

DEAR SIR,—The reasonings of Mr. Beldam, quoted pp. 146—149 of your last, and the suggestions thrown out in connection therewith, induce me to send the following notes bearing upon the subject.

I. *The period of Israel's sojourn in Egypt.*

In Gen. xv. 13, and Act. vii. 6, it is given at 400 years; Gal. iii. 17, gives 430 years, in which it agrees with Ex. xii. 40, 41, (Heb.) This difference of 30 years is accounted for by regarding 400 as a *general* statement, expressing the period in 'round numbers;' and 430 as the *exact* period. Josephus, *In Antiq.* ii. 9, 1, says 400 years.

But the evidence derived from a collation of facts proves that Israel could not have been in Egypt above "210 or 215 years," as Mr. Beldam says. To the explanation of this difficulty the LXX and the Samaritan Pentateuch lend their aid. While in Ex. xii. 40, 41, the Hebrew reads as in our version, the LXX and Samaritan read, "now the sojourning of the children of Israel which they sojourned in the land of Egypt, *and in the land of Canaan*, was 430 years." Gal. iii. 17, agrees with this, for the *giving of the law* is placed 430 years after *the promises to Abraham*.

Besides, Josephus, in *Antiq.* ii. 15, 2, says it was 430 years after Abraham came to Canaan, but 215 years after Israel came into Egypt.

The case is clear: Stephen in Acts vii. 6, regarded the promise in Gen. xv. 13, and gave its number as that of Israel's sojourn; Paul, however, looks at the facts, and gives the correct computation. Probably, through error of transcription, a clause was early omitted in the Hebrew of Ex. xii. 40, 41. The actual stay of Israel in Egypt we place at "210 or 215" years.

II. The number who went into Egypt.

In Acts vii. 14, it is given at 75, which agrees with the LXX of Gen. xli. 27, "now the sons of Joseph which were in Egypt were 9 souls: all the souls of Jacob's house which came into Egypt with Jacob were 75 souls." The Hebrew here gives the respective numbers as 2 and 70. Without discussing this difference we may assume the number to be 70, including Joseph and his sons. These may be classified, and always should have been. Thus:—

Sons of Jacob.....	12
Grandsons	51
Great-Grandsons	4
Daughter (Out ?).....	1
Son's wife (Tamar)	1
Grand-daughter	1
	—
	70
	—

It will appear from this table that there was a remarkable inequality in the numbers of the sexes:—67 males and 3 females, including Dinah and Tamar, neither of whom in all probability married again. Where did the 67 find wives and the one a husband? Many were already married, (Gen. xli. 5,) and the wives are not included, it is almost certain also from Gen. xli. 7, that there were other sons' daughters than Serah, (called Sarah, Num. xxvi. 46.) Still we shall find it difficult to say how many of the men obtained wives after arriving in Egypt, unless we believe that they imitated Joseph's example. If we admit this we may calculate that very soon after their arrival in Egypt there were no less than 60 married couples. Hence—

III. The *problem* is to shew that upwards of 2,000,000 persons *could* at the end of 210 or 215 years, claim to descend from these 60 pairs, or 120 individuals.

That this is the problem I cannot doubt, when I compare the terms of the promise to Abraham with Paul's reasoning in Gal. iii. I feel required to regard the census recorded in Num. i. as limited to the lineal descendants of Jacob. Then in Ex. xii. 38, and Num. xi. 4, the "mixed multitude" so carefully distinguished from Israel seems to include all who were not of Israel. There seems to be no reason why the retainers, etc., of Israel should be enumerated in the census, Num. i., and not in that of Gen. xli. The comparative smallness of Levi's family is to be accounted for by remembering that God's providence as much superintends the nu-

merical increase of nations as their personal concerns, and therefore we may expect Levi to be just as numerous as the requirements of his peculiar position rendered necessary. Such was the fact, and it accounts for the discrepancy between Levi and his brethren in this respect.

[One is surprised to find Jahn, *Hebrew Commonwealth*, i. 6, calling the period of Israel's sojourn in Egypt 430 years, and still more so to find in ii. 17, a note accounting by an ingenious calculation, for the great increase in 430 years, from 70 persons to the probably large aggregate of 2,400,000.]

IV. How can we account for the phenomena of so large an increase?

The fact is plainly declared, but many have received it purely by an act of faith without seeing how reasonably it may be explained. If we can find cases on a smaller scale analogous, we have presumptive proof, which in this instance is greatly corroborated by repeated promises, by remarkable interpositions of Providence, and the concurrent testimony of various witnesses; to all which add the fact that a rapid and abundant increase was needful, that Israel in due time should become the independent occupant of such a land as Canaan, and the safe depository of such inestimable blessings as were in store for the world.

I will present for consideration an actual fact, and a few calculations based thereupon.

About 60 years ago, a gentleman married. His wife and himself have died within 10 years, leaving children who survive out of a somewhat numerous family. Those who claim direct lineal descent from them now amount to rather over 80 souls. That is, in 60 years, *two* have increased to 80, or *forty times*. In 150 years from this time, or 210 years from their marriage, the actual descendants of these two persons might, at the same rate, amount to no fewer than 2,560,000, which leaves far behind the ratio of increase in the case of the Israelites. For in this we have not 2 but $2 \times 60 = 120$ persons; and the possible number of surviving descendants in that case, at the expiration of 210 years, would be $2,560,000 \times 60$, or no less than 153,600,000. A calculation of some value perhaps in reference to the early peopling of the world, and its re-peopling after the deluge.

The highest calculation would scarcely make the number of Israelites at the Exodus, 2,560,000, which would be about 42,666 for each two persons at the commencement of the sojourn in Egypt. In other words, instead of the descendants of each two persons amounting to 80, at the close of 60 years, they need but be about 28 $\frac{1}{2}$, say 28, (or *fourteen times* instead of 40;) and if the descendants of each pair numbered 28 at the expiration of the first 60 years, at the same rate, at the end of 210 years, they would reckon just 2,204,960, which was about the actual number whom we believe to have left Egypt.

Thus the mystery is dispelled, and the miracle ceases. Nor do I think any fair exception can be taken to such an argument. Especially since we believe that in the case of the Israelites there was a particular providence whereby all their interests were guarded and advanced. If a certain rate of increase *now* may obtain for a certain period, say 60 years, and in one case, why not *then* for three times and a half that period, and in 60 cases?

I confess my ignorance of any reason why it should not be so. Though I think there are plausible reasons why it should. To uphold the previous calculation it is not necessary to suppose that the Israelites to any extent took wives of the Egyptians, *except at first*, and no theory can afford to dispense with that assumption.

Hoping this may serve to throw light on a *questio vexata*,
I remain, dear Sir, &c.,

London, April 17th, 1852.

B. H. C.

QUERIES.

Hebrew Translation of Dante.

SIR,—In looking over a file of the *Times* newspaper, I found, in the copy for Thursday, August 27, 1849, the following article, headed *Padua* :—

“The Senate of the University of Padua is at present preparing for publication two curious works, of which the manuscripts are in the library of that establishment. One is a translation in Hebrew verse of the *Divina Commedia* of DANTE, by Samuel Rieti, Grand Rabbi at Padua in the sixteenth century. The second is a translation of *Ovid's Metamorphoses*, likewise in Hebrew, in stanzas of eighteen verses, of a very complicated metre, from the pen of the Rabbi Sabbati Mari, the successor of Rieti, who was celebrated as a philosopher and a physician. He died in the year 1680, in the ninety-fourth year of his age.”

On turning to Number X. of your Journal, for the quarter of a year ending April 1, 1850, p. 389, in an article *On the Hebrew Poetry of the Middle Ages*, I find that,—

“Professor Lozati says, that accident placed in his possession several ancient manuscripts, collected at Leghorn. Among them he found, to his great surprise, an epic poem, called ספר תהיכל (*sepher tehikel*) *The Book of the Temple*, by Rabbi MOSES DE RIETI. On perusing it, Professor Lozati was astonished to find the work replete with poetic beauty and merit. The more he read the more was he struck with the resemblance between this poem and the *Divina Commedia*; not only with respect to the purity and elegance of the language, and the depth of thought, but also of the subject, which is identically the same as the *Paridiso* of Dante. Rieti's style, like that of the Father of Italian Poetry, is often obscure, so much so, at times, as to convey to the mind a meaning beyond that which meets the eye.”

The writer then describes the poem, and adds, that “Unlike the great Florentine, who confines himself to the great men of his own generation, he sings of departed saints and sages, of the souls of good and virtuous men, who in their blissful abodes pass before him and acquaint him with their deeds, their sufferings, and their rewards.”

From these extracts, I think, it appears, that the first-named manuscript, which the Senate of the Padua University have proposed to publish, is the same which is alluded to in your journal; but it cannot be a translation, although it may be an imitation of the *Divina Commedia*, from the circumstance mentioned in the preceding quotation, of the Hebrew poet extending the celebrated personages in his Paradise, from mere contemporaries, as in that of Dante, to saints and sages of every age.

Can you or any of your correspondents give any account of the pro-

posed Paduan publication? Or procure from the Senate of that University, or from any Hebrew scholar in Florence, the copy of a few stanzas of the Hebrew hexameters, in which this poem is composed? Perhaps my friend Count Consiglio of Florence, to whom I was introduced by the late eminent Italian poet, Sorelli, the translator of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, may assist me, if he be still living and in Florence?

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours with great respect,

Holmesdale, Lewisham,
June 4, 1852.

JAMES ELMES.

On the Interpretation of Acts vii. 18.

SIR,—Ought not the words in Acts vii. 18, which are in the authorized version translated "*till another king arose*" to be rendered "*during which another king arose*." The Greek is ἀρχὴς οὗ ἀνέστη βασιλεὺς ἕτερος, our version does not state truly the historical fact, for the Israelites did not increase *till* another king arose, but they continued to increase after he arose. Neither does our versions translate οὗ, surely that means something?

Is there not a difference between ἀρχὴς and ἀρχίς? I think there is. The former implies that the thing ceased, just what our English word "*till*" conveys.

"*Until* the day that Noah entered into the ark," ἀρχίς. (Matt. xxiv. 38.)

"*Until* that day that these things shall be performed," ἀρχίς. (Luke i. 20.)

"*Departed from Him for a season*," ἀρχίς. (Luke iv. 13.)

"*Not seeing the sun for a season*," ἀρχίς. (Acts xiii. 11.)

Now look at ἀρχίς.

"*It came even to me*," (Acts x. 5,) and the passage in chap. vii. 18, on which I am commenting.

There is another passage which is against my theory, chap. ii. 5, "*Unto Paphos*," which has ἀρχίς, where, if my theory is right, it ought to be ἀρχίς. Might we conjecture that there is an accidental omission of a sigma? Ἀρχίς, I think, means simply "*at*," and ἀρχίς οὗ, means "*at which*" or "*during which* (time) another king arose."

Can any of your readers say if this distinction occurs in classical writers, and if any manuscripts has ἀρχίς at Acts xi. 5?

R. B. B.

London, June 15th, 1852.

Could the Apostles forgive Sins?

SIR,—I take the liberty of wishing that either yourself or some one connected with your valuable Journal, would explain those passages in the New Testament where Christ apparently bestows the power of the forgiveness of sins on the apostles, viz., Matt. xvi. 19; John xx. 23, etc., etc. Are we to suppose that the apostles did forgive sins? or that the expressions are merely declaratory of God's forgiveness, as in the Church of England *Prayer Book*? or that there is some defect in the translation of

the verses? so that they can easily be reconciled with our Protestant notions that God alone can forgive sins. I have consulted several commentaries, and cannot find a satisfactory explanation.

If you would be so kind as answer the above in your Journal, you would much oblige.

A SINCERE ENQUIRER.

[We insert the above notes not only for the purpose of inviting answers from any contributor or reader who may be disposed to furnish them, but as specimens of such as we should be at all times happy to insert. In the case of such queries, answers are in the first instance requested from any readers who may feel themselves able or willing to supply them; but if no reply is thus obtained, it will devolve on the Editor to provide the required solutions.]

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D. LL.D. By his son-in-law, the Rev. WILLIAM HANNA, LL.D. Volumes III. and IV. 1851-2.

THESE volumes complete the Life of Chalmers, the *facile princeps* of Scottish preachers. This Life will be studied with deep interest, and, we doubt not, much profit, long after the present generation has passed away and most of his compeers are forgotten in the dust. Of the four volumes over which the Memoirs extend, the third is the one which possesses the greatest amount of interest to the student of sacred literature, as it gives an account of his labours as Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrew's, and afterwards as Professor of Divinity in the University of the Scottish metropolis. In 1823, he left Glasgow for St. Andrew's, amid the universal regrets of a community over which his eloquence as a preacher gave him a commanding influence. There were many who blamed the step he had taken, and were strongly of opinion that his proper sphere was the pulpit; but the results of his subsequent labours in the chair were his complete vindication. Thus eloquently did he allude to this point in his speech at the farewell dinner in Glasgow:—

“I have not words to express the high rate at which I appreciate the work of the Christian minister. I must adequately feel the worth of an imperishable soul; I must send my imagination onwards to that awful eternity over which it is doomed to expatiate; I must compute the arithmetic of our short-lived generations, and rivet upon my thoughts how surely and how speedily it is they roll over us; I must realize the agonies of the coming death, and the solemnities of the coming judgment, ere I can calculate aright its awful superiority over the occupations of other men. If the work of a Christian minister be second in importance to any, it can only be to the work of him who deals in embryo with the Christian ministers of the next generation, on whose

labours in the academic chair is suspended the future welfare of many parishes, who even now may be securing an influence that is afterwards to evangelize the pulpits of this land, and may thus be providing a pure and wholesome aliment for the immortal spirits of children who are yet unborn, who may have reason to bless his labours and rejoice in the light that he leaves behind him, when we all are sleeping in the dust; and I shall regard it as above all Greek and all Roman fame, if the mere elementary lessons I am called to deliver shall be found to harmonize with the lessons of a sound and a Scriptural theology, if from the first principles of that earlier stage which I am called to occupy in the course of education, a few young and aspiring disciples shall go on to perfection in the school of Christ; or if within my humble sphere I shall be able to ward off that deadly infidel poison from the well-springs of philosophy, under the operation of which so many have passed onward to the studies of the sacred profession, and brought a deleterious mixture into the very fountain head of inspiration."—Vol. II., p. 549.

Most enthusiastic was the reception of his introductory lecture in the University of St. Andrew's, on which occasion a number of friends from Glasgow were present. His first session was one of unparalleled action and excitement within the walls of the University:—

"The crowded benches of the class-room (says his biographer) exhibited many an amateur spectator, amongst whom one or other of his brother professors might not unfrequently be seen. In that brilliant series of expositions, the listener, familiar with the lessons of the science, was often at a loss whether most to admire the subtlety of the analysis or the splendour of the illustration. With his youthful auditors the impassioned fervour and high philosophic enthusiasm of their professor became contagious. The repose of the class-room was broken up. Quickened by new impulses, the juvenile spirit burst the bonds of collegiate decorum, greeting the eloquent passages of the lecturer by rounds of applause."

Near the close of the season, it was proposed by his students that a piece of plate should be presented to Dr. Chalmers; but this was an unseemly and unacademic step, and he immediately checked it. Before the Royal Commissioners appointed to visit the Universities of Scotland, he gave the following excellent account and vindication of the subjects and order of his course of lectures:

"In regard to the topics of my lectures, I do not proceed on the very extended sense which has been given to the word *moral*. The academic sense of this word in Scotland is *mental*. The moral world is the world of mind, in contradistinction to the world of matter. This has given rise, I think to an unwarranted extension of our subject, and I have endeavoured to reduce it within its primitive and what I hold to be its proper boundaries. Moral philosophy is with me the philosophy of morals—the philosophy of duty. My course is purely an ethical one, and I draw upon the doctrines of mental philosophy, only when I judge them to be subservient to the establishment and the illustration of ethical principles. In regard to the particular order of the course, I divide it into two general parts, *first*, the moralities which reciprocate between man and man on earth; and *secondly*, the moralities which connect earth with heaven. In the first of these divisions I take occasion to discuss the elementary questions of morals, the different theories which have been propounded upon virtue; and I conclude with what may be regarded as the most arduous discussion in the course, but in which I am supported by the intelligent sympathy of my pupils as much as in any other part of it. I endeavour to demonstrate that even were the doctrine of Necessity admitted, the distinctions of morality would not be overturned by it. I pass over from the first to the second division, I think, about the beginning of March. I here endeavour to elucidate the distinction between the ethics of the science and the objects of the science; the ethics being the moral properties which belong to certain relations, whether there are actually existing beings to exemplify these relations or

not; the objects, again, of the science are the actually existing beings who stand in those relations to which the question of ethical propriety is applicable. There is no difficulty in regard to the objects in our first division: the beings who exemplify the relations are palpable to the senses—they are our fellow men. There is a difficulty in regard to the second, because the beings who stand in the relations which call forth the moralities that connect earth with heaven are invisible; and upon that, therefore, I claim it to be within my department to demonstrate the existence and the character of a God, so far as the light of nature will carry me—in other words, I give a course of natural theology. I beg leave to state here, however, that I consider it the most important service which a professor of moral philosophy can render to his students, to make palpable demonstration of the insufficiency of natural religion, so as to save them from the delusion that he has conducted them to a landing-place in which they might enjoy all the repose and the complacency of a finished speculation. Instead of which I endeavour to impress upon them that I have only conducted them to a post of observation, whence they have to look most anxiously and earnestly forward to the ulterior region of the Christian theology.”—Vol. III. pp. 54—56.

The influence of such a course of lectures, by so able and philosophic a divine, must have been immense. In 1827 a proposal was made to him tantamount to an offer of the chair of Moral Philosophy in the London University; but, after some correspondence and deliberation, he remained at St. Andrew's, till he was removed to the chair of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh in 1828. Of the 300 students who passed through his class at St. Andrew's, many now fill posts of honour and usefulness in the church at home; but the most remarkable spiritual product of these five years was the number who became missionaries to the heathen. Messrs. Nesbit, Adam, Duff, Mackay, and Ewart devoted themselves to the evangelization of India; “and had heaven not claimed its own so soon, John Urquhart would have been beside his fellow-students and fellow-missionaries in the East.” There was “more than one missionary for each college session—two out of every hundred students. What other university record can present a parallel?”

In the chair of theology, Dr. Chalmers had a theme still more congenial to him, and a higher sphere of usefulness. His introductory lecture was delivered at Edinburgh on Monday the 10th of November, 1828. The morning of that day was singularly unpropitious, showers of snow and hail sweeping through the college courts; yet two hours before the time of meeting, those who had secured that privilege, were passing by a private entrance into the class-room, while so great a crowd besieged the outer door, that a strong body of police found it difficult to restrain the tumult:—

“The lecture,” says Dr. Hanna, “was delivered amid rapturous applause; and with scarcely any sensible abatement, the excitement of that first meeting was sustained throughout the whole of the succeeding session. Dr. Chalmers was upon favourite and familiar ground—natural theology and the evidences of Christianity. An opportunity was now afforded him of presenting in an elaborate form the results of prolonged and matured reflection. He had much to animate him in the audience he addressed,—an audience altogether unique within the walls of the university, embracing, in addition to his own regular students, distinguished members of the various professions, and many of the most intelligent citizens of Edinburgh.”

He now occupied a position of the highest responsibility and influence, and, we doubt not, contributed mightily to elevate the standard of literature and piety among the ministers of the Scottish Establishment. Of

the character of his lectures the public have the means of judging from his published *Institutes of Theology*, of which we have already expressed our opinion.^a He took a prominent part in the more important discussions of the Church Courts, and he was the main originator and promoter of those measures which resulted in the disruption of the Church of Scotland. The concluding volume of the *Memoirs* is largely occupied with a narrative of the disruption—much too largely, as we think, for a biography which will be eagerly read by Christians of all denominations. The Voluntaries will not be gratified by sundry hints thrown out with reference to them, and the adherents of the Establishment will feel that a heavy blow has been inflicted on their system. This discussion, as an ecclesiastical question lies beyond the sphere of this Journal. But this much we may say, that Dr. Hanna has ably executed this part, like all the rest of his work; but we think he might have done ample justice to the life of Chalmers with a less detailed account of ecclesiastical controversies.

It was in 1838 that Dr. Chalmers delivered his celebrated lectures in London, on Church Establishments. The first lecture was given in the most auspicious circumstances, and received with the highest applause. A member of the royal family—the Duke of Cambridge—honoured the occasion by his presence. He is said to have been a great fidget, but his attention was fixed for once. Speaking of the lecturer afterwards to Dr. Begg, his Royal Highness asked, "What does he teach?" Dr. Begg replied that he taught theology. "Monstrous clever man," resumed the Duke, "he could teach anything." "I had heard Dr. Chalmers on many great occasions," says Dr. Begg, "but probably his London Lectures afforded the most remarkable illustrations of his extraordinary power, and must be ranked among the most signal triumphs of oratory in any age." The interest increased as the course proceeded. Dukes, marquises, earls, viscounts, barons, baronets, bishops, and members of Parliament, were to be seen in every direction. At the concluding lecture, the tide that had been rising and swelling each succeeding day, burst all bounds. "Carried away by the impassioned utterance of the speaker, long ere the close of some of his finest passages was reached, the voice of the lecturer was drowned in the applause, the audience rising from their seats, waving their hats above their heads, and breaking out into tumultuous approbation."

Throughout these volumes there is the most unquestionable evidence of profound piety, which neither needed nor received the sanction of a death-bed utterance. On the morning of the last day of May, 1847, Dr. Chalmers was longer than usual in leaving his bedroom. The house-keeper, who had been long in the family, entered,—

"And drew aside the curtains of the bed. He sat there half erect, his head reclining gently on the pillow; the expression of his countenance that of fixed and majestic repose. She took his hand—she touched his brow; he had been dead for hours: very shortly after that parting salute to his family, he had entered the eternal world. It must have been wholly without pain or conflict. The expression of the face undisturbed by a single trace of suffering, the position of the body so easy that

^a *Journal of Sacred Literature*, Vol. v., pp. 235—238, First Series.

the least struggle would have disturbed it, the very posture of arms and hands and fingers known to his family, as that into which they fell naturally in the moments of entire repose, conspired to shew, that, saved all strife with the last enemy, his spirit had passed to its place of blessedness and glory in the heavens.

‘ Servant of God, well done !
 Rest from thy loved employ ;
 The battle o’er, the victory won,
 Enter thy Master’s joy.
 ‘ The cry at midnight came,
 He started up to hear ;
 A mortal arrow pierced his frame,
 He fell, but felt no fear.
 ‘ His spirit with a bound
 Left its encumbering clay ;
 His tent at sunrise on the ground
 A darken’d ruin lay.’ ”

The conclusion of the *Memoir* is abrupt, but impressive. Dr. Hanna is entitled to the cordial thanks of the public for the admirable manner in which he has performed his task. With such a life, and such a biographer, great expectations were formed; and the result has been highly satisfactory. We wonder not at the extraordinary popularity of the work; it is second to none of those noble contributions which of late years Scotland has made to biographies of really permanent value.

Sermons on National Subjects, preached in a Village Church. By CHARLES KINGSLEY, Canon of Middleham, Yorkshire, and Rector of Eversley, Hants. London: J. J. Griffin and Co. 1852.

No one can take up this unpretending volume, and penetrate far into its contents, without being struck with its earnest simplicity of style, its force of expression, and to a certain extent, the varied knowledge of Scripture which is employed. Mr. Kingsley seems to have a heart yearning for the good of his fellow-man, and devotes the energies of soul and body to the enunciation of the truth that Christianity must be the instrument of the world’s amelioration. And this is a great truth; yea, to the religious man, a self-evident one, for if we profess the only doctrine which proclaims peace on earth and good-will towards men, and labours to displace every other doctrinal or ritual system which is not based on faith in him who was born in Bethlehem, we cannot with shew of consistency look for blessing on man or his measures from any other source. Mr. Kingsley rightly complains that there is an atheistic tendency in the present day to sever between things sacred and secular, as though God’s world could to be taken apart from the moral and social laws which he has vouchsafed for its government. But more than this, we rejoice that Mr. Kingsley discerns in the language of *prophecy* the augury of a brighter future.

“ Jesus always spoke of his own kingdom,” says Mr. Kingsley, “ as a thing which was to grow and increase by laws of its own: men knew not how, but he knew. Like seed cast into the ground, his kingdom was, he said, at first the smallest of all seeds ;

but it was to grow, and take root, and spread into a mighty tree, he said; till the very birds in the air lodged in the branches of it; and David's words should be fulfilled, 'Thou, Lord, shalt save both man and beast.' And does not St. Paul speak of his kingdom in the same way, as a kingdom which should grow? that he was to reign till he had put all enemies under his feet? that he would deliver at last the whole creation? the earth on which we stand, the dumb animals around us? For, as St. Paul says, the whole creation is groaning in labour-pangs, waiting to be raised into a higher state,—and it shall be raised. The whole creation shall be set free into the glorious liberty of the children of God."—p. 27.

The question however arises in what way shall these prophecies be fulfilled. Mr. Kingsley, says:—

"They are coming true now, and will keep on coming true, time after time, in their proper place and order, and whensoever the times are fit for them even to the end of the world."

We can indeed rejoice that the prophecies are in accordance with the everlasting principles of right, which do struggle at all times to bring peace amid the general disorder. The miracles of our Lord served as first-fruits of a promised millennium. The sick were healed, the dead were raised, and (most gracious display of Divine power) the poor were *evangelized*. That was the brief dispensation of our Lord's personal ministry, and a dispensation succeeds, which though differing in its external manifestations of divine grace, must still be in close relation with that which went before, and the gospel preached to every creature is the same. That the kingly office of Jesus will yet be realized in all its blessed results of a regenerated earth, and the wolf lying down with the lamb, we firmly believe; but we are reminded that now we see *not yet* all things put under him. He has not yet established his own throne on the holy hill of Sion. "To him that overcometh will I grant to sit with me in my throne, even as I also overcame and am set down with my Father in his throne." Mr. Kingsley, however, refuses to see in our dispensation that which is inconsistent with the full establishment of the kingdom in the sense intended by the words of prophecy. In his application of the language of Scripture to men in general, without reference to their believing or unbelieving condition, there is something vague if not fallacious.

Is he the kind of king you like? Make up your minds, my friends—make up your minds! For whether you like him or not, your king he was, your king he is, your king he will be, blessed be God, for ever. Blessed be God, indeed! If he were not our king; if any one in heaven or earth was Lord of us, except the Man of sorrows, the Prince of sufferers, what hope, what comfort would there be? What a horrible, black, fathomless riddle, this sad, diseased, moaning world would be! No king will suit us, but the Prince of sufferers,—Jesus, who has borne all this world's griefs, and carried all its sorrows,—Jesus, who has himself smarted under pain and hunger, oppression and insult, treachery and desertion, who knows them all, feels for them all, and will right them all in his own good time."—p. 77.

We say that this language is in some degree vague. Indeed, we find it difficult to ascertain, from a series of eloquent affectionate addresses in which truth is brought forward, many original suggestions thrown out, many valuable precepts enforced; we find it difficult, we say, to obtain a clear image of what Mr. Kingsley has in view. As a volume of practical or devotional discourses, we might dispose of the result of Mr. Kingsley's

labours in a few words, but it is evident that under the guise of a pulpit discourse, he embodies new principles of political economy. Mr. Kingsley is a social reformer, and his peculiar mode of proceeding is to enunciate his theories of social progress in the phraseology of the Bible. "The kingdom from which are driven out all things that offend," is society reformed according to the new views. A generation "made perfect by sufferings as their Saviour was before them," in the phases in which the struggling classes are to be viewed. "This people is to be led into a land good and large, a land of wheat and wine, of milk and honey." Jesus is the "king of the poor," and the labourer's Saviour. Sometimes we are led to apprehend a disposition to set class against class, and to suggest that the admitted woes of society are the result of the rich man's oppression. Nay, is it not too easy for the village labourer of "Eversley, Hants" or any other rural parish to take a wrong-headed view of his rector's rhetoric, and imagine that "the mammon's prison-house in which he sits toiling and pining" is his unrighteous lot, that he has as good a right to wealth and luxury as the farmer who pays him his scanty wages, or the squire who owns the estate on which his humble cottage stands! What else can we gather from the following eloquent paragraph addressed, be it observed, to a village congregation?

"Ay, if the worst should come; when neither the laws of your country nor the benevolence of the few righteous are strong enough to defend you; when one charitable plan after another is failing, and the labour-market is getting fuller and fuller, and poverty is spreading wider and wider, and crime and misery are breeding faster, and still faster every year than education and religion; when all hope for the poor seems gone and lost, and they are ready to believe the men who tell them that the land is over-peopled—that there are too many of us, too many industrious hands, too many cunning brains, too many immortal souls, too many of God's children upon God's earth, which God the Father made and God the Son redeemed, and God the Holy Spirit teaches; then the Lord the Prince of sufferers, he who knows your every grief, and weeps with you tear for tear, he shall come out of his place to smite the haughty ones, and confound the cunning ones, and silence the loud ones, and empty the full ones; to judge with righteousness for the meek of the earth, to hearken to the prayer of the poor, whose heart he has been preparing, and to help the fatherless and needy to their right, that the man of the world may be no more exalted against them."—p. 83.

That the kingdom of Christ is to produce social amelioration we fully believe, but that this result will be fully seen before that kingdom comes we deny. The politico-social views of Mr. Kingsley borrow a respectability from the reverence he pays to Christianity, which in the absence of this devout spirit would be seen frequently to coincide with the theories of men who deny revelation altogether. We are accustomed to be told by such men that the laws of the universe are given to man, that by asserting his own dignity and using his own prerogatives, the lord of creation might extinguish social ills, fling sickness from him as a thing alien to him, and make this world a paradise. Mr. Kingsley sees in the Great Exhibition (p. 143) "a sign that God was claiming all the world as his own," and in the mighty results of human industry and skill that were there displayed, he discerns that "God had sent down a Pentecost, that he had poured out a spirit among them which would convert them in the

course of ages, gradually, but most surely and really from a pandemonium of conquerors and conquered, devourers and devoured, into a family of fellow-helping brothers, until the kingdoms of the world became the kingdoms of God and of his Christ."

The remembrance of God's spirit poured on Bezaleel and Aholiab, forbids us too severely to criticize these applications of Christian ideas; but, as we have said, we are too well aware that there are men who are willing to adopt the same phraseology, and invent a religion of gifts instead of graces, meanwhile denying revelation altogether.

The perusal of these simple yet able discourses, has suggested to our minds one or two thoughts which certainly were far enough from the mind of the writer. The kingdom of Christ is one *inter alia* of social amelioration—most certainly! and the kingdom of Antichrist is "the abomination that maketh desolate," *βδελύγμα ἐρημώσεως*. How painfully do Italy, Spain, France, and Austria, contrast with Holland or England. Compare barren Scotland with fertile Ireland, and yet the former is a fruitful field, the latter is a wilderness. Can we build no social theories in such a contemplation? "*Righteousness exalteth the nation.*"

We would add another thought, one that is too much held in the back ground in the volume we have read: that religion is an individual matter. Except a *man* (ἐὰν μὴ τις) be born again he cannot see the kingdom of God. The reformation of society must commence with the individual, and we believe that Mr. Kingsley will never realize his philanthropic views until the spirit is poured upon us from on high, and true religion widely embraced by the hearts of our people. The meek shall inherit the earth, and shall delight themselves in the abundance of peace.

Remains of Thomas Byrth, D.D., F.A.S., Rector of Wallasey. With a Memoir of his Life. By the Rev. E. R. MONCREIFF, M.A. London: Hatchard. 1851.

DR. BYRTH was a sufficiently remarkable man to entitle his memory to the record Mr. Moncreiff has here supplied. He was born at Plymouth-Dock, now called Devonport, the son of a grocer, a member of the Society of Friends. This "Friend," who claimed to be of a good family in Ireland, led his son to look upon himself as "the heir of the glories of an unfathomed Irish pedigree;" and to this Dr. Byrth (in the autobiographical memorials incorporated in the volume) ascribes no small influence on his own character:—

"These notions of our respectability, and indeed superiority, prevented my looking with envy upon persons whose real station in life was higher than ours. They at the same time taught me habits of personal self-respect; so that I despised what was low and vulgar, and even as a child I was remarked for possessing a gentlemanly demeanour, and somewhat dignified manner. This state of mind kept me from many injurious associations, and rendered me inaccessible to many temptations. It was, however, in regard to the future that its operation was most beneficial. I formed early, and followed out systematically, and at last, as my children will perceive, successfully, the determination to raise myself to something like the position originally occupied by my

ancestors. And in the formation of my intellectual tastes and pursuits, my father's ever-recurring boast of our relationship to Oliver Goldsmith contributed powerfully to direct my attention to books and literature."

This is a curious self-disclosure ; and there are more of the kind, as when he ascribes "a strong tendency to think too little of others," and "a want of steady persevering application," to the ease with which he was enabled to keep himself as the head boy in the unsatisfactory school in which he received the first part of an education intended to be liberal. Among his grievances, were those of a probably congenital distortion of sight, and smallness of stature, with regard to which he feels "compelled to bear the testimony of his observation and experience to the mournful truth, that man is so much the creature of external things, that the best of men treat with painful condescension, or consideration almost as humiliating, those who are any way below the average graduation of physical completeness." He qualifies this, however, by adding: "If there be an exception, it will be found in the case of deformity so decided, or privation so entire, as to bury every other feeling in that of commiseration, or in such triumphant sublimity of mental endowment as extorts from the unwilling worshipper the confession that the shrine is nothing, the presiding spirit is all."

Eventually the youth secured a better education than is usually given to one not designed for a learned profession, and who is put at a comparatively early age to business. Somewhat short of the age of seventeen, young Byrth was apprenticed to a chemist at Plymouth. Here he devoted himself to scientific pursuits with ardour ; but meeting with a rebuff from his employer, his proud and irascible spirit was mortally offended, and he abjured chemistry for ever, and, falling upon his school-box of classical books, formed the resolution to devote himself to literature instead of science. From that time he pursued the study of ancient literature with singular zeal, devoting to it all the time which the duties now become irksome to him allowed. His attainments soon became known in Plymouth, secured him friends, and made his name known in literary circles. *Distinction* became the object of his worship, and to make for himself a name became the real object of his life. Hence, naturally, religion for a time lost its hold upon his mind, though he never became an unbeliever, and in profession and feeling he was still a Quaker, and his walk in life was unexceptionable.

We cannot pursue even in outline this scholar's career. From 1814 to 1823, we find him as a schoolmaster and tutor, extending his attainments, and still elevating [locally] his reputation as a man of rare parts. During this time the Quakers rejected his claim to full membership ; and believing their decision to be unjust, he relinquished all further connexion with that body of Christians, and determined to become a member of the Church of England. We soon after find him entered at Oxford with a view to a degree, and eventually to entering the church. This was accomplished in 1823, when he obtained a curacy near Totness, and was ordained.

This curacy he soon relinquished, with the view of uniting tutorship with clerical duty at Oxford, where, after an interval, he obtained the

curacy of St. Clements, but almost immediately after the incumbency of St. James, Latchford, near Warrington. He then married; and in 1834, received from the present Archbishop of Canterbury, then Bishop of Chester, the more important appointment to the Rectory of Wallasey, in which he remained until his death in 1849, with the interval of a visit to the continent in 1848, for the benefit of his health.

These few facts comprise in substance the external history of Dr. Byrth.

In the exercise of his ministerial functions, his spiritual character rapidly mellowed, and keeping in strong check and subjection the natural temperament of the man, qualified him to become in his latter days an able minister of the New Testament, exemplary and devoted in all the relations in which he stood to the people entrusted to his charge. The indications of inordinate self-esteem and disdain of others, still occasionally appear as before men, while his soul lies humbly in the dust before God; and the incapacity for steady application still follows him, and virtually frustrates the aspirations of his youth, the purposes of his manhood, and the high expectations that others had entertained for him. He has passed away—leaving no sign of the great capacities ascribed to him, beyond a name of some local celebrity, which already sinks as the companions of his prime depart. He seems at times to imply that the *position* he had attained, and the discharge of his ministerial duties in an obscure place, was his adequate success; and his biographer, naturally enough, while virtually acknowledging that his life was a failure, rests upon the same ground of ministerial usefulness, although he admits that his sermons were suited only to his more refined and educated auditors, in a district where such were few. What, in fact, is there left of a career from which so much was expected, but, as embodied in these *Remains*, a few notes of sermons and of a continental tour, a few scattered criticisms, and a few fragments of unfinished undertakings. Nothing ought to deter us from pointing out from the instance before us the stern moral, that no parts, however shining; no attainments, however high; no capacities, however great, avail anything before God or man without that diligent and persevering application, the want of which has made waste of so many lives that might have been rich in fruit. It is clear to us that one of these two things is inevitable: either Dr. Byrth's friends formed an exaggerated opinion of his gifts, concerning which our only evidence is theirs and his own; or that possessing such gifts, he utterly failed to make that full and proper use of them, which the honour of the Giver, and the comfort of the possessor—comfort in the consciousness of accomplished duty—urgently demanded.

Whether taken as a warning or an instruction, the book is curious and interesting; and Mr. Moncrieff has executed with ability and good sense the task he has undertaken; and which properly devolved on him as one who had been the curate, and an ardent, but not indiscriminating admirer of the deceased.

ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΑΝΕΙΑ. *The Doctrine of the Manifestations of the Son of God under the Economy of the Old Testament.* By the late Rev. GEORGE BALDERSTONE KIDD, of Scarborough. Edited by ORLANDO T. DOBBIN, LL.D., M.R.I.A. London: Ward and Co. 1852.

THE editor informs in his preface, that the subject of which this work treats had engaged the attention of the author for a period of twenty or thirty years, and that the sheets were printed piecemeal *as written*, so that he had the greater part of the work in its permanent form in his possession a considerable time prior to his decease. The completion of the volume was finished only a few weeks before his death; and as he expended upon it his last cares, and left it in a state of singular completeness, nothing remained for the editor to do but to revise the few last sheets as they came from the press, and to furnish the preface and the brief memoir which are prefixed. To him, also, the work owes its title of *Christophany*. The author meant to entitle it "Christology," but Dr. Dobbin felt that at once to distinguish it from other works bearing the more common title, and for greater correctness, the term he has chosen would be preferable.

It appears that the printing of the book began in 1837, and has been continued at intervals up to this time. This plan is singular, and although suited to the convenience of the author, had its disadvantages. Especially, it excluded the earlier portions of this large volume from the benefits of the author's latest information and reflections, which they would have obtained had those parts remained in manuscript until the work was completed; and it must be supposed that during so long a time, much must have occurred in his thought and reading to confirm, modify, or illustrate what had been already advanced.

The running title of the work agrees with the title the author *intended* to give it—and, with all respect to Dr. Dobbin, we take that title to be more correctly descriptive of the contents than the one he has supplied. It was to have been called, *Christology; or, an Essay concerning the word 'Christ,' and some other titles of the Redeemer, shewing the steps by which the Disciples learned his Divinity.* The question treated of in this work, the pre-incarnate manifestations of the Son of God under the economy of the Old Covenant, is one of confessedly great, though not of vital importance in the scheme of Christian doctrine. Dr. Dobbin remarks "the intimate connexion of the personage called the Christ, or the Messiah, with the Old Testament Church, not merely in its expectations, but in its actual experience, is, in the belief of most Christians, a matter of history rather than inquiry or speculation. No idea is more prevalent in the Christian church than this, although it may be shadowy in its texture, and lack breadth of detail and sharpness of outline. It is an acknowledged truth appearing with more or less of decision in the works of theologians, commentators, and homilists; but almost all of them, it must be added, have shrunk from the labour, perhaps from the hazard of defining how far the connexion of the Messiah with the old dispensation extended. But our author was deterred by no difficulties. He felt deeply the truth he was urged to propound, and he braved difficulties in the execution of his purpose which would have made a man less in earnest, and of a less enthu-

siastic temperament falter. There was the scanty library to be encountered, the secluded position, the pastoral duty, and a hundred other items which go to make up the round of daily calls and cares in a clerical life. There was the very unusualness of the inquiry itself, its seeming unimportance in the eyes of many estimable and learned persons, and a consequent visible disproportion between the author's devotion to his theme, and the results to be expected from it. These were so many stumbling blocks in his way, but 'none of these things' moved him. He looked upon his task as of high and solemn moment, so that any opinion of others, in disparagement of the topic upon which he was labouring, had no power to withdraw his mind from the absorbing investigation. With him the study was a duty which he owed to truth and to his own convictions, and it concerned him little whether men smiled or frowned. In this spirit of untiring devotion, to what many would call a barren or unprofitable theme, he prosecuted his labours to the close of life."

With this enthusiastic devotement of Mr. Kidd to the subject he had chosen for his life's labour we happen to be cognizant, as several papers were at one time contributed by him to this Journal, and the correspondence connected with them disclosed to us the facts now stated to the public. We must "candidly avow," with Mr. Dobbin, though the avowal sounds strangely from *him*, that we "do not attach all the importance the lamented author did to the processes and results of his work," but with him, also, we conceive the author "entitled to a fair hearing on every ground, but especially on that of his most generous and liberal spirit." We concur with him also in the conclusion, that whatever opinion the world may pronounce upon this product of the author's long toil, "either upon the general theory it unfolds, the incidental topics upon which it may touch, or the arguments it may occasionally employ, no intelligent reader will deny the great industry and remarkable singleness of purpose it displays. In it he sounds the depths of his subject, and we venture to affirm that his work will yet be referred to as an exhaustive authority on the point. To professed theologians it will be of especial value, as comprising within the limits of a single volume, a multifarious farrago of learning in support of his hypothesis."

We would not abate a word of this praise. Indeed, singular as it may seem, we think more highly of the work in some respects than its editor appears to do. Our literature affords few examples of an idea so elaborately, so perseveringly, and so ingeniously worked out, and so steadily pursued; and we have no hesitation in declaring this one of the not numerous works which ought to find a place in the collections of theological students. Indeed, it is impossible that such a man, as we know Mr. Kidd to have been, should have devoted so many years of his life to the production of a work which would not be well worth our having.

A Commentary on the Proverbs. By MOSES STUART. London: Delf and Trübner. 1852.

THIS volume offers an important and valuable contribution to a class of works of which there are considerably too few in the English language,

but the progressive though slow increase of which is full of promise for our Biblical literature.

The work is primarily designed for the use of ministers; and Professor Stuart appears to have here seized the true idea of the form of commentary best suited for them—one which does not attempt to supply the practical and hortatory matter which they ought to be able to furnish from their own resources, but which should afford them all needful aid in eliminating the real sense of the text—the true meaning of the sacred writer. This being furnished, they have the materials with which to work in the exercise of their own proper faculties and functions.

To the beginners in Hebrew study, “for whose use it is specially adapted, the present work will be of great value, from the peculiarly idiomatic character of the book of Proverbs, and from the great pains which the commentator has taken to supply adequate materials for the minute and careful solution of all that is *abnormal* either in the form, idiom, or syntax.” In this point of view the work will be a most essential help to the now happily numerous and rapidly increasing body of students who aspire to a sound critical acquaintance with the Hebrew language. Considering the prominence given to this purpose of the work, it may be wished that the Hebrew text of the book had been given with the translation,—but to this the increase of bulk and cost to the volume probably formed an objection.

The work with which the present comes most immediately into comparison is the *Attempt* of the Rev. George Holden. With this performance Professor Stuart does not seem to have been acquainted, and it has now become scarce and dear. It is an excellent work—the best we have till now had. But it does not cover the ground taken by the present volume. The translation wants much of the strength which in the one before us arises from the precision of the terms employed, and the distinctness of meaning thus conveyed. For instance: Holden’s, “Let us lay snares for the innocent in vain,” (Prov. i. 10,) suggests that the snares are to be laid consciously in vain; but Stuart at once presents the real meaning by little more than a different collocation of nearly the same words: “Let us lurk for him who in vain is innocent.” Holden’s notes though in a great measure philological, are seldom grammatical, and therefore do not afford the special aid to the Hebrew student which professor Stuart contemplated, and has so ably supplied. Besides, the great progress made in the science of sacred criticism during the last thirty years, has accumulated large materials for the philological illustration of the book of Proverbs; all which lay under the hand of Professor Stuart, but none of which was available to the author of a work published in 1819.

To us, the closing paragraph of the author’s preface with its introduction of purposes of future labour, becomes a solemn interest in the fact that these lines were penned in what proved to be his death-bed; and that, in a few weeks more, the head stored with a life’s accumulation of valuable knowledge, and the hand so fruitful in dispensing its treasures, were at rest in the grave. The correction of the proof sheets of the volume before us, was, in the providence of God, destined to be the last of the

many labours by which this eminent scholar and ever ready scribe has enriched the sacred literature of the English language.

A Commentary on the Book altogether adapted to common readers, was the further work he had in view, when called to retire from his labours. This purpose is remarkable when taken in connexion with his declining to furnish a practical commentary for the aid of ministers. He does aid *them* in the present work, where he thought help was needed; but he would not consent to speak through them to their congregations—composed chiefly of the “common readers” to whom he refers. *These* he would himself address; and it is much to be lamented that he was not allowed to execute this purpose; for apart from the intrinsic value which such a work, from his able and easy pen, must have possessed—we should have had an exemplification of his notion of a species of commentary hitherto rarely attempted, and never well executed, but greatly to be desired; and which Professor Stuart has such peculiar qualifications for producing as must have rendered the work a model of its kind. This we must still be content to want; for although there are many who could imitate such a commentary in application to other books of scripture, there are very few on either side of the Atlantic who could originate it.

Horæ Evangelicæ; or, the Internal Evidence of the Gospel History. Being an Enquiry into the Structure and Origin of the Four Gospels, their Historical Consistency, and the Characteristic Design of each narrative. By the Rev. T. R. BIRKS, M.A. London: Seeleys. 1852.

THIS work is, as the author himself explains, prepared with a double object in view. It is designed as a contribution to the historical evidence of Christianity; but still more to throw a fuller light on the mutual relations of the four gospels, the special design and origin of each narrative, and their spiritual features as a divine revelation. The idea of such a treatise was first suggested by the *Horæ Paulinæ* of Paley. In preparing the extensive supplement to that work, which has been lately published with the title of *Horæ Apostolicæ*, Mr. Birks conceived the desire of extending the principle from the Acts and Epistles of St. Paul to the four gospels. But a little examination proved that these required a different mode of treatment to secure a result equally valuable. The principle of undesigned coincidence, which Paley so beautifully unfolds, must here be replaced by another of hardly inferior importance, and which may be called the principle of reconcilable variation. To apply it, however, with real success, it was needful to enter fully into those difficult questions, which have been so long debated and variously solved, with regard to the origin, the mutual connexion or independence, and the historical harmony of the gospel narratives. The notoriety of Dr. Strauss' work, its wide influence abroad, and its partial circulation in this country, gave a further importance to this inquiry, the rather as several of the answers by foreign writers—including even those contained in Neander's *Life of Jesus*, are based on a lax view of the gospels, both in their inspiration and historical accuracy.

In working out his theme, Mr. Birks has arranged it in four parts, or books. The first inquires into the mutual relations of the four gospels, so as to establish their order of succession and historical connexion by the external evidence alone. The second investigates the chronology of the book of Acts, the probable date of the gospels, and the evidence of their authenticity. The third inquires into the contradictions alleged to exist between them, and shews that these constitute, for the most part, a deeper evidence of their common veracity. The fourth and last enters into a higher field, and briefly treats of the gospels in their true ideal, as a divine revelation, with especial reference to their miraculous character, the alleged fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies, and the great and glorious doctrines of the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the Resurrection of the Son of God.

The task Mr. Birks proposed to himself was one more easily conceived than executed, but it has been executed with signal ability and success. He has shrunk from no labour, and has been appalled by no difficulty, and has hence been enabled to present us with a work which must go far to establish a wavering faith, and to leave unbelief without excuse. It were difficult to find anything essential to his purpose that he has overlooked; and while there is much that is absolutely new, he has succeeded in infusing fresh strength into many old arguments. The two last books will probably be deemed the most generally attractive; but in the two first, although at the first view, experienced readers may think there is little for them, they will find much new, ingenious, and convincing illustration and argument. Mr. Birks seems to have fused up his reading with the results of his own reflections, so as to be scarcely distinguishable to himself. This has its disadvantages, especially in the absence of references, in what is strictly a scientific enquiry; but it has the great advantage of giving the whole the uniform aspect of being freshly excogitated by one mind and spirit. Taken as it stands, and as a whole, this is undoubtedly the best and most original work of its class that we possess; and the public has cause to be thankful to the author for a contribution of enduring value to the maintenance of Scripture truth in the land.

A book like this ought to have a table of contents, an index, and a list of texts. All these are wanting, but the deficiency will, we trust, be supplied in future editions.

A New Translation, Exposition, and Chronological Arrangement of the Book of Psalms. With Critical Notes on the Hebrew Text. By BENJAMIN WEISS, Missionary to the Jews, Algiers. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons. 1852.

THE author of this work is a converted Jew, Missionary designate to Algiers. The work is a very complete one, and contains, in a goodly octavo volume, a large body of closely printed matter. It will, on various accounts, be more acceptable to students than many other works on the Psalms that have of late years been produced, though not very well adapted to general circulation, for which, indeed, it does not seem to have

been designed. The "translation" is open to exceptions, the "exposition" is one the value of which much depends upon the "chronological arrangement," and this must always be a matter of opinion, and the criticisms, though often sensible, are not often profound. When we add to this, that the author is very inconclusive in his reasonings; and that the results of his achievements will be taken at a somewhat lower valuation than that at which he rates them, we may be thought to have registered a sentence of condemnation against this book. But this is not the case. We are more disposed to recommend it, as a work from which, with all these drawbacks, much valuable matter may be gathered.

To an arrangement of the Psalms with reference to the life of David, we may be expected to be favourable. This is the arrangement adopted by Mr. Weiss, in fact the whole book is arranged under the running title of the *History of David*, and the reader may be startled to find himself required to begin with the 23rd Psalm, and proceed next to the 138th. Such an arrangement must be founded chiefly on internal evidence, when the titles afford no clue to the position which the Psalm should occupy. We have said, and we say, that this internal evidence goes much further than many would suppose, and will afford better means for fixing the place of a Psalm than has commonly been imagined. Yet it has this liability to error; that a Psalm may look back to a past set of feelings and circumstances, or may look forward to an anticipated future, and is therefore, no sure index to a present state of feeling; and were it such, we may still be wrong in the attempt to connect the state of feeling with the known circumstances of the writer's life. What is known of any man is but a small part of the life he lives, and the train of thought in the Psalms may often have been connected with incidents of which we have no knowledge.

Again, many of the Psalms were *not* written by David. This every one allows. But Mr. Weiss arranges all the Psalms under the History of David. He allows, indeed, that *all* were not written by David, but he contends, we think justly, that many of the Psalms ascribed to others belong to him; and the desire to comprehend them within his plan has had its influence in creating an indisposition to recognize any of the Psalms as bearing the comparatively later date which are usually assigned to them. Even the famous psalm (cxxxvi.) of the captivity Mr. Weiss is disposed to claim for David. It is to be regretted how rare it is to find a man hitting just the right point. He is for ever going too far, or stopping too short—for ever doing too much, or too little,

"Overdone, underdone, undone is he."

The translation seems to us generally correct, but the modernized style will not be relished by those accustomed to the authorized version. It should be observed, however, that the old version is preserved so far as it appears to Mr. Weiss to convey the right meaning, and this being the case, the different style of the parts newly translated, and interpolated with the old version, often gives a patchwork appearance to the psalm, and, in the reading, strike discordantly upon a discerning ear. The same sense is, indeed, so generally conveyed, even where the style is different, as to bear most satisfactory evidence to the essential accuracy of

the current version: and such being the case, with the further advantage of an unapproachably venerable, and expressive style, the question may well arise, what need is there of new versions, unless for the critical or expository matters that may be connected with them? The great merit of the work lies in the gift which the author possesses of seizing and illustrating the general purport and object of the Psalm which engages his attention—a gift, the possession of which probably led him to set forth the Psalms in this point of view. On this ground alone the volume would be well entitled to commendation, but it has other merits besides these which well entitle it to a place on the Psalm shelf of a Biblical student's library.

The Emphatic New Testament, according to the authorized version, compared with the various readings of the Vatican Manuscript. The Four Gospels. Edited, with an Introductory Essay on Greek Emphasis, by JOHN TAYLOR. London: Taylor, Walton, and Maberly. 1852.

THE editor of this work is the same person whose name is at the head of the house which issues it, and who enjoys the reputation of being the most learned publisher in London.

In the *Emphatic New Testament* the object of the editor is “to represent to the English reader certain peculiarities of expression in the Greek text, which are of too much importance to be left unnoticed, though the reason of their insertion may be the subject of some difference of opinion.” In this edition of the authorized version, different kinds of type are introduced to represent these peculiarities, in which the version “as it has been hitherto printed, fails to give the reader a full conception of the meaning designed to be conveyed by the Greek original.” It is further explained that this meaning falls short, 1. In regard to those words which are connected with the Greek article; 2. To those pronouns substantive which are intended to carry in themselves a peculiar emphasis; and, 3. To those adjectives and pronouns which obtain a comparative importance by reason of the position which they occupy in the Greek text with reference to some other words. To remedy these deficiencies in the English authorized version, Mr. Taylor has adopted the following system of notation in this *Emphatic New Testament*.

1. Those words, which in the original are rendered *positively* emphatic by the presence of the *Greek article*, are in the English translation printed in small capitals, as “JOSEPH, the HUSBAND of Mary.”

2. Those pronouns substantive, which in the Greek are intended to be *positively* emphatic, are printed in the English in black letter: as, “YE are the SALT of the EARTH.”

3. Those adjectives and pronouns, which in the Greek are *comparatively* emphatic, such quality being indicated by their position in respect to some other words in the same clause or sentence, are printed with an initial capital letter: as, “thy Whole BODY.” “For we *being* MANY, are One Bread, and One Body.” “For who maketh Thee to differ.”

4. All Greek substantives, as being of more importance than other

words, are also commenced with a capital letter. Those substantives that are not so distinguished are found only in the English version, and are introduced there to complete the sense of Greek verbs, participles, adverbs, etc., etc.

The grounds on which the editor proceeds are fully developed in the learned and elaborate "Observations on the Greek Emphasis," prefixed to the volumes. It will be seen from what has been stated, that the object of the work is to put the English reader as far as possible in the same position with that of the reader of the original Greek. This, of course, cannot be fully accomplished; but any step in that direction is important, and the attempt most praiseworthy; and although the advantages afforded over those which we already possessed, are perhaps less signal than the editor supposes; we bear willing testimony to the value of his labours, and to the care and skill with which he has executed the task he proposed to himself. It cannot be questioned that his application of the rules for the conversion of the Greek emphasis, especially as connected with the various uses of the Greek article, throws light upon many obscure passages, and generally brings out the full meaning of the sacred writers with greater clearness. We sincerely trust that the public will evince such desire for the completion of the work, as will justify the editor in going to press with it; for we apprehend that in the Epistles still more than in the Gospels will the essential value of the rules on which he has proceeded appear.

In only remains to add, that *all* the various readings of the Vatican manuscript, are given in foot notes, the editor having, for the reader's benefit, forbore to exercise any discretion in selection. The text is also divided into the same sections as in that manuscript; and, in fact, the editor seems to have lost sight of nothing that might tend to render his work a real help to the careful student of the New Testament.

A Lecture on the Historic Evidence of the Authorship and Transmission of the Books of the New Testament. Delivered before the Plymouth Young Men's Christian Association. By S. P. TREGELLES, LL.D. London: Bagster and Sons. 1852.

THE object of this lecture is to present, in an intelligible and popular form, an accurate statement of the historic evidence which enables us to speak with certainty as to the authorship of the books of the New Testament, and also to describe the channels through which they have been transmitted to us; these channels of transmission themselves bearing an important testimony to the books handed down. In the compass of a lecture, any more than an outline of some parts of the subject was possible. Dr. Tregelles has therefore stated very briefly those points about which no question is raised, and thus, in such parts he has rather pointed out the evidence than given it in detail; on those subjects, however, which are most controverted, the evidence has been given with considerable minuteness.

This is the author's own account of his work, and we have to add

our earnest commendation of the singular tact and ability which has enabled him to compress, without any appearance of meagreness, so much valuable matter within the compass of a single lecture; and it is most refreshing to see a man of his high rank in Biblical scholarship, striving to make these high matters interesting and intelligible to a congregation of young men, formed, we presume, from the imperfectly and partially educated classes. The lecture, with its adjuncts, forms, however, an essay valuable to any readers, especially to those whose means or leisure preclude them from large investigations, while they desire essential results. We know no work in which these results are so satisfactorily exhibited within so small a space; nor can we name any other that we should be so readily disposed to put into the hands of a young man whom we might desire to possess a sound elementary knowledge of the important matters of which it treats.

This small book has the material advantage of being by no means dull or heavy, notwithstanding the closeness of the compression; and in the latter portion, including the appendix, there is a good deal of interesting matter that will be fresh to many old readers in this branch of Biblical literature. We wish it were in our power to ensure the reading of this lecture to every Young Men's Christian Association, that it might share, as far as possible, the advantage which the one at Plymouth has enjoyed. We have not seen a more striking illustration of the advantages that may be afforded to such associations by real masters in the several branches of Biblical and other science, and not mere compilers and amateurs, being invited to furnish such lectures. The strength, nerve, and decision, of an original thinker and explorer irresistibly commands attention, even in things that are or ought to be familiar, where the second-hand man can get but a feeble hold upon the mind of the reader or auditor. We should like to see this work printed as a tract for general distribution among the members of the Young Men's Christian Associations, and the Working Men's Associations, which form so auspicious a feature in the social history of the times.

Sermons and Sacramental Addresses. By the late Rev. JAMES HAY, D.D. With a Memoir of the Author, by the Rev. W. MACKELVIE, D.D. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons. 1851.

THIS is one of the volumes frequent in Scottish religious literature—a memoir of a distinguished minister, with specimens of his sermons or other productions. This combination of materials renders these books very interesting and profitable to the general religious reader, although they originate chiefly in the desire to furnish a memorial of the deceased to his numerous friends.

Dr. Hay was an eminent and influential member of the United Secession Church, which position he attained by his long standing, his high character, and his ministerial gifts. A career of eighty years, more than fifty of which were spent in the ministry, could not but afford adequate materials for such a volume as this. These materials, however, existed

only in Dr. Hay's short hand, with the cipher of which the editor was unacquainted, so that the diary and other manuscripts were "a sealed book" to him. The author's daughter was, however, at the trouble to learn the cipher, for the purpose of translating it, and thus furnished Dr. Mackelvie with such portions of her father's diary as she considered necessary for the development of his history and the illustration of his character. The same service, in regard to the Sermons and Addresses, which compose the greater part of the volume, was performed by the Rev. A. R. Johnstone. The astonishing completeness of the original notes rendered this task easier than had been anticipated; so that the discourses furnished have been deciphered and transcribed *verbatim*, and in no instance has a single expression been supplied. Apart from the intrinsic merit of the very few discourses thus deciphered, a more honourable testimony to the fidelity and constancy in labour of the deceased cannot be conceived than the fact, that in each of the thirty-two octavo note books, the transcriber found an average of fifty-two discourses, making in all about 1728, which were fully written, even to the application, with scrupulous care. The discourses were, however, not selected, selection being, in the circumstances, simply impossible. This is, upon the whole, a striking illustration of the disadvantage of writing in short hand, whereby, in this instance, a large body of materials has been lost to all but the current use. This is not, indeed, in general of much consequence, as few preachers contemplate any further use for their discourses; but the very excellent quality of the sermons here presented, unselected as they are, creates a sense of waste, and awakens a feeling of regret for what is virtually lost. They are plain, spiritual, practical discourses, replete with heart and solid thought, but without glitter or convulsion. We are assured, however, that these sermons are scarcely to be taken as a fair specimen of Dr. Hay's style of preaching; for although he wrote his sermons carefully, he did not commit them to memory, but trusted to his readiness of speech and thorough acquaintance with the subject, for suitable words and additional thoughts in the delivery of them—acquiring pathos and fervour from his own excitement, and the attention of his audience, as he proceeded. It was thus that some of his best and brightest thoughts were produced, but which have been lost for want of some one to catch and record them.

Beauties of the Bible. An Argument for Inspiration. In Ten Lectures.
By WILLIAM LEASK. London: Partridge and Okey. 1852.

THE circumstances in which this volume originated are interesting. The author tells us, that:—

"Impressed with the unquestionable spread, on the one hand, of what he cannot but consider a system of secular tyranny and anti-christian error, whose head-quarters, in England, lie very near the scene of his pastoral labours; and, on the other, with the evident favour shewn by an increasing number of the people to infidel literature and infidel teachers; the thought occurred to him that, under the Divine blessing, some good might be accomplished if the literary attractions of the sacred volume, interwoven with the internal argument for its inspiration, were presented in a somewhat new and popular form. In accordance with this idea, eight of the lectures found in this volume

were prepared, and delivered in a public hall in Kennington, during the months of November and December, 1851. The expediency of selecting such a place for such a purpose is obvious. Many of the persons for whose benefit this labour was undertaken, would have refused to enter a place of Christian worship. And it was also desirable to leave no room for the supposition that anything sectarian or denominational was intended.

"The result more than justified the hope which gave birth to the enterprise. The attendance was good, and the attention earnest, from the beginning to the end of the series. Clergymen of the Church of England, and Ministers of different denominations—sympathizing with the object contemplated—honoured the lecturer with their presence, and, without pre-arrangement, kindly occupied the chair in succession. On the common ground of attachment to the inestimable volume which contains their common faith, Christians belonging to different sections of the Church met in harmony, and separated, there is reason to believe, with increased mutual respect. It is also known that some persons who attend no place of religious instruction were present on several occasions. Whether any favourable impression towards the Word of God was produced on their minds, 'the day will declare.'"

The Lectures on the Structure of the Bible, Poetry of the Bible, Dreams of the Bible, Biography of the Bible, Morality of the Bible, Parables of the Bible, Predictions of the Bible, Miracles of the Bible, Design of the Bible, Destiny of the Bible; of which, however, those on the Parables and Miracles were not delivered in the original course.

The conception, it will be seen from this, was admirable, the selection of subjects good, and, we have to add, that the execution is excellent, and altogether suited to the audience in view, and the objects contemplated. Matters of the greatest and most striking interest, handled with much grasp of thought, and power of realization, are set forth in a style so animated and picturesque, as could not fail to command attention in the oral utterance, and will be read with pleasure and advantage. We feel a gratification to recommend this beautiful, thoughtful, and eloquent book to the attention of our readers, and we shall greatly rejoice if the success of Mr. Leask's experiment should encourage similar undertakings in other quarters. The time for strenuous and varied action has come, and if those whose welfare, temporal and spiritual, must be an object of solicitude to every earnest mind, will not *come* to hear, we must *go* to speak. We thank Mr. Leask for the example, and for the book.

Voices of the Dead. By the Rev. JOHN CUMMING, D.D. Third Thousand. London: J. F. Shaw. 1852.

A WORK that comes to us for the first time in its "third thousand," is almost beyond any other notice than that of registration. The public, at least the religious public, does not patronize bad or dull books; and therefore "third thousand" is a good certificate of merit. *This* public, however, is faithful in its attachments, and often patronizes the bad books of good authors. That none of Dr. Cumming's pretty numerous works do not owe part of their success to this feeling, is more than we should like to say; for although we do not suppose that he is incapable of producing a bad book, that is, one not eminently good; it is far from impossible that he should on some occasions under-write himself. It is indeed very pos-

sible; and we think that we could point to some instances in which he has done so. But this is not one of them.

Dr. Cumming is remarkable for the picturesque titles he gives to his works. In this there is a charm, although they sometimes fail in distinctive significance. The *Voices of the Dead* might mean many things. It does mean the voices drawn from the examples of ancient days, and "from the lives of faithful and sainted men—especially those recorded in the eleventh chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews." "They overcame through faith, and entered into their rest. The records of their biographers remain for our study and profit. Their acts and sufferings, and words of consolation, are still reverberating in the church of Christ."

The volume exhibits all that racy vigour, and all those flashes of original thought and strong conception which characterize the compositions of this author, whether for the pulpit or the press, and with his pointed allusions to the topics of the day, and to matters of personal or literary observation and experience, secure for him attentive hearers and gratified readers. There are also examples of his habit of stating as positive facts, matters that have only been conjectured, or that have not been adequately proved. Thus, for instance, in the case of Rahab, whose case is illustrated under the "picturesque" but not very appropriate title of *The Trampled Flower*, it is stated absolutely that she was seventeen years old when she received the spies,—a point certainly not stated in Scripture, and for which no adequate authority is given, or could be found.

The mainly biographical character of the materials is well suited to Dr. Cumming's style of writing and habits of thought; and we doubt not that many of the "three thousand" will regard this as the most interesting and profitable of the author's numerous books. To them its practical living interest will give it a special value; while the stirring allusions to present facts, which the author so skilfully brings in, will constitute a powerful and pleasing attraction. These appeals to the common and familiar consciousness, relieve and quicken the attention, and constitute one of the secrets of the writer's strength; while the frequent force of thought and dashing originality of suggestion, engage the sympathizing approbation of cultivated readers. We could point to examples of this, but must forbear.

Notes and Reflections on the Epistle to the Romans. By ARTHUR PRIDHAM.
Bath: Binns and Goodwin. 1852.

THE writer of this volume declares his aim to have been, "not so much a minute exegesis of the text of the epistle as a general exposition of the divine doctrine it contains." Hence, "Many passages have been passed over with but little notice; while others more apparently serving as leading expressions of doctrine, have received a much fuller examination."

The author uses in the epistle three great divisions. The first of these is comprised in the first eight chapters, and is essentially *doctrinal* in its character, though containing much also of a practical kind. The second, which begins at the ninth chapter and closes with the eleventh, may be termed *dispensational*, its subject being the mystery of the divine wisdom

in the dealings of God with the nation of Israel. The *third*, which commences at the twelfth chapter and concludes the epistle, is more directly practical than the preceding parts; but while abounding in exhortation, and addressing itself on the doctrinal grounds previously laid to the heart and conscience of the believer, it contains a large addition of doctrinal matter on subjects not treated in the earlier chapters of the book.

A commentary on the Epistle to the Romans is nothing if it be not doctrinal. We therefore do not complain that Mr. Pridham has given so much pre-eminence to the doctrinal matter it contains. Indeed, as it is, "The dilution of sound doctrine which is daily taking place, and the practical looseness with which the Word of God is held, even by Christians, through the largely prevalent influence of the neological element in the growing mind of the day," which have drawn forth this publication, the book could not be otherwise than it is. The author goes through the book, not verse by verse, but paragraph by paragraph, stating in a kind of expository paraphrase the doctrine set forth therein. The name of the author is unknown to us in sacred literature: but he is evidently competent to the task he has undertaken, which he executes in an earnest and thoughtful spirit, and with more of substantial learning than he cares to shew. His views of doctrine are what people call *high*; the sense, as he gathers it, is set forth with much clearness and precision, and, taken altogether, as a work of edification, will reward the attention to which it is entitled. There is often a pregnancy of meaning in the author's sentences, which reminds us of the old divines, of whose writings we guess that he has been an earnest student.

Notes and Reflections on the Epistle to the Hebrews. By ARTHUR PRIDHAM.
Bath: Binns and Goodwin. 1852.

THE work on the Epistle to the Hebrews takes the same form, and exhibits the same characteristics, as that on the Epistle to the Romans. The *dispensational* character of the epistle, induces the author, in an Introductory Essay on the Dispensations, to enunciate his views on the earlier dispensations, and respecting the nature and results of the existing dispensation, which, in respect of the latter, he apprehends to be materially at variance with those commonly entertained. His statement on the subject is to the effect, that under all the varieties of form which distinguish the earlier dispensations from each other, one common feature attaches to them all. "*The reclaimableness of fallen humanity is there assumed as the ostensible^a basis of God's dealings with man.*"

The death of Jesus closed the hitherto ostensibly open question respecting the reality of man's natural condition in the sight of God. And now God takes a ground which, though it always had been recognized by the faith of his elect, had not till now been publicly assumed in the

^a "I say 'the ostensible basis,' because from the very beginning the secret of man's total ruin, morally as well as physically, has been the possession of saving faith."

dispensational administration of divine truth. This basis of the gospel testimony is the declared ruin and irreclaimable condition of fallen man as such. It is to those who are *dead* in trespasses and sins that life is offered as the gift of God through Jesus Christ. *Salvation* is the promise of the gospel. No longer demanding self-justification as a condition of acceptance with him, God now calls upon man for an acknowledgment of sin, of righteousness, and of judgment, according to the conviction of the spirit of truth.

Such, in a few words, is the view of the author; and the influence of which, of course, appears in his "Notes and Reflections," but not to any degree which should deter those who dissent from it, from availing himself of the spiritual wisdom which they embody. We do think, however, and the author, if he has bestowed a thought on the subject, is probably of the same opinion, that this work is not in all respects equal to its predecessor.

Lights and Shadows of the Life of Faith. By the Rev. W. K. TWEEDIE.
Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1852.

THE title of this book well describes its contents. It is, as the author describes it in the closing paragraph, an attempt "to trace, at least in outline, the soul's history, from its condition of death in sin, through the vicissitudes of the spiritual life, to its perfection in glory, its full enjoyment of God in Christ for ever." As such it is an admirable, instructive, and awakening book, for which extensive usefulness and acceptance may be safely predicted. It is deep in Christian experience—not only such experience as a man realizes in himself, but such as grows upon him who is bound to watch over the souls of others, as one who is to render an account of them. It is also rich in such experience as can be gathered from books, Mr. Tweedie having evidently made even his reading subservient to this spiritual study; so that he has been enabled to enrich his work with illustrative facts and anecdotes, which will add very materially to the attractive usefulness of a work which we have no hesitation in pronouncing the best of its kind, and there is no better kind, which has appeared for many years.

To trace the way by which God leads his people, that the Lord may be glorified and the believer encouraged, is the main object of the author; and he is careful to guard against the common errors of turning man's thoughts inwards, for the sources of comfort, or rest, or joy, that are to be sought only in Christ; and of substituting the Holy Spirit's *within* the soul for Christ's work *for it*. Indeed the keen discrimination of one learned in the things that belong to man's spiritual life, and his resolute purpose to know "none but Christ," and to recognize him in the fulness of all his offices, renders Mr. Tweedie a safe counsellor and friend in all the doubts, trials, and difficulties, which perplex the inner life. As such we recommend his work, believing that it were well for young and old that their minds should be replenished and strengthened by the wise, faithful, and refreshing counsels which a master in Israel here presents to them.

Romanism at Home. Being Letters addressed to the Hon. Roger B. Taney, Chief Justice of the United States. By KIRWAN. Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter. 1852.

THE judge to whom these letters are addressed, is, it seems, a Roman Catholic—and are written ostensibly to instruct him as to the real character “at home”—that is in Roman Catholic states, and especially at Rome—of the religion he professes.

The book might be taken as a supplement to the article on “*Romanism as it is*,” in our last number. *There* the existing state of Romish opinion “at home” is accurately developed. *Here* the author says, “Fatal to popery as are the objections drawn from its doctrines, yet more fatal are those drawn from its external arrangements, its government, its despotism, its spirit, its legends, its relics, and its influence on the moral, social, and political interest of the world.” It is to these points, therefore, that the author chiefly devotes his attention.

The letters are mainly founded upon observations made during a residence in Italy; but the author seems to have also been in Germany, France, and Ireland. The information given is curious and instructive; the remarks which the author connects with his facts and illustrations, are usually pointed and sensible; and the book is altogether a graphic and timely *exposé* of the aspects in which Romanism is seen “at home,” unrestrained by that regard for appearances, which the close observation of Protestants imposes in the United States, in Great Britain, and even in Ireland. We therefore hail books like this with pleasure; for the time is come when it is no longer allowable or safe to remain ignorant of what popery, in this our day, actually is; and every one who contributes to our enlightenment in this great matter, and affords fresh motives for resistance to that dark sway which Rome seeks to establish in all lands, deserves to be regarded as a public benefactor.

The book is very readable, and being inexpensive, will probably obtain the large circulation to which it is well entitled.

Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and Thessalonians. By HERMAN OLSHAUSEN, D.D. Translated from the German by a Member of the Church of England. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clarke. 1851.

Biblical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistles to the Philippians, to Titus, and the First to Timothy. By LIC. AUGUST WIESINGER. Translated from the German by the Rev. JOHN FULTON, A.M. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1852.

THESE are two volumes of the Messrs. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. The second is a continuation of Olshausen's Commentary, and the Introduction to the Epistle to the Philippians, and a long and valuable Introduction to the Pastoral Epistles, are from his own pen; both having been left by him in a state of complete readiness for the press. The character of Olshausen's Commentaries is now well understood in this

country by means of the previous volumes published in the same series. The volume which bears the name of Wiesinger seems to be mainly the work of that person, but with the use of such materials as Olshausen left behind him for the continuation of his great work, the Licentiate has executed his task exceedingly well, and has caught so much of the spirit and manner of his distinguished predecessor, that it would require great critical acumen to discover in what other manner it would have been done by Olshausen himself.

These, like the preceding volumes, are translated by different hands, a plan which has its advantages when the translators are all equally competent. This has hardly been the case with the translators of Olshausen; but we shall have a future opportunity of entering fully into the merits of Olshausen's Commentary, and of the translation into English; and for this reason we are content merely to register the appearance of these two further volumes.

The Law of Moses; its Character and Design. By DAVID DUNCAN.
Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons. 1851.

THIS is a book very much to our taste in its design; and that design being very ably executed,—embodying the results of perfect knowledge of the subject, and of careful thought upon it, we may safely recommend the work as an excellent and trustworthy guide to those who desire to make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the principles and objects of the Mosaic legislation. We do not know of any book in the English language which precisely meets the want this book supplies; and it seems to us that the kind of information it furnishes, is so essential to every complete biblical education, that we desire in the most pointed manner to direct attention to it.

The object contemplated in this work, is, first, to exhibit the excellence of the Mosaic precepts and institutions, received simply as a system of law, and vindicate them from the objections that may arise in the mind of the reader, or that have been and are commonly urged by the enemies of Revelation: and, secondly, to give such a view of the design of the law as a whole, as may serve not only to account for the peculiar form in which it was imposed upon the Israelites, but also to illustrate the perpetually recurring references to it, which are found in the writings of the apostles, and especially in the Epistles to the Romans, the Galatians, and the Hebrews; and in this way to aid in conveying a correct apprehension of the truth with respect to the plan of redemption and the privileges of Christians. This is an object of the highest importance, for, as the author remarks, "These epistles cannot be fully understood, and may be rendered in some things inconsistent with each other, by those who do not possess a familiar acquaintance with the various aspects in which the Mosaic law may be contemplated, and with the erroneous sentiments that were held by many of the Jews respecting it."

Daily Bible Illustrations. By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. Evening Series: Isaiah and the Prophets. Edinburgh: Oliphant and Sons. 1852.

THE present volume completes the series of Illustrations of the Old Testament. It will be found, like the preceding volumes, to possess a distinctive character of its own, reflected from the no less distinctive character of the Books which it illustrates. The number and variety of these Books imparts a more miscellaneous character to this volume than belongs to any of its predecessors.

The fulfilment of prophecy has not been altogether overlooked, but the author has regarded this as rather beyond the scope of his undertaking. In this department, attention has chiefly been given to such prophecies as have been fulfilled by historical facts or recent circumstances, or which have obtained recent corroboration from ancient monuments. To Cyrus, and the remarkable prophecies foreshadowing his career, considerable prominence has been given, not only on account of the singular interest that belongs to them, but as affording means for diversifying the volume with historical materials. The recent discoveries at Nineveh have also been made largely available for the illustration of the prophecies which refer to Nineveh and Assyria, and cuts from the sculptures have been profusely introduced to complete the illustrations derived from this source.

Two more volumes, on the New Testament, to be furnished in the course of the year, will complete this work.

Lectures on the Typical Character of the Jewish Tabernacle, Priesthood, and Sacrifices. Preached during Lent, 1852. By F. G. SIMPSON, B.A., Curate of Ickworth, Suffolk. London: T. D. Thomson, 1852.

SINCE the law was a shadow of good things to come, it is profitable and interesting, now that the good things are come—the good things of Christ and his Gospel, to look back and trace how accurately the Mosaic ritual foreshadows him and his blessed truths. It is on this view that Mr. Simpson has prepared these lectures. He believed that “the Mosaic ritual, as typical of Christ, is full of heavenly truth,—truth to enlighten, refresh, sanctify, and save souls;” and apprehending that Christians, generally, were not sufficiently alive to its value as a means of instruction in righteousness, he prepared this course of lectures in which he has confined himself to main principles, and has avoided noticing uncertain and fanciful analogies. The author has executed his task judiciously, and the work will be useful in leading many to regard more attentively the ritual of the Mosaic law in its relation to the Gospel, and it is suited to be of special service in setting plain people upon the right track in this really interesting and important matter. It is eminently a *practical* book.

Female Scripture Biography; preceded by an Essay on what Christianity has done for Women. By F. A. Cox., D.D., LL.D. Second Edition. London; John Snow, 1852.

THIS is a republication in a cheaper and more compact form of a work

that appeared many years since in two 8vo. volumes. Of a work so long before the public, and now reproduced without alteration, it may seem needless to speak; but for the benefit of those of our readers who may not have had the opportunity of becoming acquainted with a work which made its first appearance so long ago as 1817, we may indicate it as one of the very best books of its kind, written in an elegant and attractive style, with much discrimination of character and power of practical application. Now that it has been revived, this will probably remain the most permanently useful and popular of Dr. Cox's writings. The prefixed Essay is able and interesting. It embodies a curious collection of facts from all quarters in illustration of its subject, and will be read with much interest by those not previously acquainted with it. The public will owe much obligation to the Rev. J. A. James, to whose urgency with the author we owe the re-appearance of a work of so much merit, which had long been out of print.

Lectures on the Character of Our Lord's Apostles, and especially their Conduct at the time of His Apprehension and Trial. By a Country Pastor. London: John W. Parker.

THESE short lectures are mainly *explanatory* of circumstances in the Scripture history of the Apostles, in which special attention is given to the clearing up of matters of doubt or difficulty, in a plain and unpretending way, yet so as to indicate rather than shew, the man who has studied and reflected well. It is one of a class of books which we much like, and which has never wanted such commendation and encouragement as it has been in our power to give. As one thinking for himself, or as deeming the current view of particular circumstances unsatisfactory, the author puts some of them in points of view from which results interesting from their freshness, and edifying from their applications, are obtained. This is one of the books which have the rare fault of being too short.

The Battles of the Bible. By a Clergyman's Daughter. Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie. 1852.

IN this book the authoress sets forth all the circumstances connected with the principal military actions recorded in Scripture, in the form of familiar conversations between a grandfather and his grand-children. There might be some demur as to the choice of subjects, thus culled from the history in which they are involved for separate consideration. We cannot regard with disfavour, however, any attempt to render any portion of Scripture more intelligible and interesting to young capacities; and "the Clergyman's Daughter" has certainly executed her task in an engaging manner, and has evinced much tact in anticipating the objections and remarks likely to occur to the minds of young people. It is a good juvenile book.

INTELLIGENCE.

BIBLICAL.

The Rev. O. E. Vidal, D.D., incumbent of Upper Dicker, Horsebridge, Sussex, was on Whit-Sunday consecrated in Lambeth Palace Chapel as Bishop of Sierra Leone. The Archbishop of Canterbury was assisted on the occasion by the Bishops of London, Chichester, Oxford, and Cape Town. The sermon was preached by the Bishop of London, from Acts xvii. 24, 26, 27. In the course of his sermon, his lordship reviewed the various efforts which had been made for the benefit of Western Africa, in the suppression of the slave trade, and the establishment of Christian missions along the coast; the constancy of the female converts of Abbeokuta under a severe persecution, recalling the Blandinas and Perpetuas of the second century. He had himself witnessed proofs of the African's capability for moral elevation, as he had ordained no less than three persons of negro blood, presented to him for ordination by the Church Missionary Society, one of whom had written during his examination a paper on the evidences of Christianity, which would have been no discredit to any English student; he also alluded to the fact that twelve catechists would be presented upon his arrival to the Bishop of Sierra Leone for admission to the ministry of the Church there, and to the wide opening for the employment of his philological talents in the translation and adaptation of the Liturgy of the Church of England into the languages of Africa. He hoped that the time would come when that continent would have its own Cyprians and Augustines again; but at present the fostering care of an European bishop and the zeal and energy of a band of English clergy were needed in order to establish Christianity in that region. The Right Rev. prelate also mentioned the missionary plans of the West Indian Episcopate on behalf of the mother country of so large a portion of their flocks. The diocese of Sierra Leone comprises the coast between 20 deg. of North and 20 deg. of South latitude, specifying the colonies of the Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast.

At the Ethnological Society, March 17th, a communication from W. Burckhardt Barker, Esq., to the Honorary Secretary, on the discovery of certain terra cottas at Tarsus in Cilicia, was read. Mr. Barker discovered, during his residence at Tarsus, a large number of terra cotta images, many of which are the lares and penates of the ancient Cilicians. These images are in a mutilated and fragmentary condition. It is difficult to conceive anything more beautiful than the modelling of some of the pieces. There are heads without trunks, trunks without heads and limbs, and limbs, both upper and lower extremities, of perfect form and exquisite workmanship. There are between two and three thousand lamps, several hundred of which are quite perfect, and amongst the heads are some which are remarkable for their ugliness. The whole height of the figures restored would vary from about eight inches to eighteen. The lamps are the size of the ancient Roman hand-lamps. Mr. Barker thinks these were destroyed and buried by the Cilicians on their conversion to Christianity, and that they were the collection of centuries before that epoch. Mr. Barker has termed the ugly-featured images representations of Huns; but he believes the real name to be Khita (Hittites of Scripture?) a people of Asia Minor, whose chiefs were taken captive by Rameses III. In Rosellini's great work on Egyptian Antiquities, we find a representation of four kneeling figures with their arms tied behind them. Each has a line of hieroglyphics stating who he is, and under the first is, "This is the vile slave from *Tarsus* of the sea." The features, however, of this are unfortunately imperfect. Under another captive in the same plate is, in hieroglyphics, Phoor Khasi em Khita in Sacca eub," i. e. "The chief of the Khita as a living captive." Two of Mr. Barker's terra cotta heads might be supposed to be the heads which are copied in Rosellini's work. The great likeness struck Mr. Birch, who on

seeing the terra at once referred to the plate in Rosellini. A few specimens of the terra cotta were placed on the table to illustrate Mr. Barker's views, and the present communication is only the precursor of an elaborate paper on the subject.

At the Asiatic Society, June 5th, there was read an interesting paper just received from Nineveh, containing an outline of Assyrian history, by Colonel Rawlinson. The paper commenced with some preliminary observations on the site of the Assyrian Empire in the earliest times, and proceeded to communicate some geographical details and several identifications of considerable importance. The Assyrian Pantheon was then described, and a list of the gods furnished, together with an account of their attributes, and a note of their analogy to the gods of the Greeks and Romans. Colonel Rawlinson then entered upon the historical branch of the subject, and gave in a connected narrative the names, acts, and succession of the monarchs of Assyria, from the period when the empire was founded down to the capture of Nineveh. The latter portion of the paper detailed the events of the reign of Sennacherib year by year, until his death, dwelling especially upon the Assyrian notices of that monarch's expedition against Hezekiah king of Judah, the importance of which cannot be overstated. At the conclusion of the reading some observations were made by Mr. Layard which he was requested to furnish in writing for the purpose of being appended to the outline of Assyrian History, which the Society is about to publish.

The Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society report, May, 1852, that during the past year considerable progress has been made in perfecting and completing several important translations of the Scriptures. In Bengali, Mr. Wenger, assisted by Mr. Lewis, has carried through the press a new edition of the Old Testament, of which 2000 copies have been taken by the Calcutta Auxiliary Bible Society. The New Testament has been revised in manuscript to the end of Peter, and printed off to the 5th of Romans; and a further portion is in type as far as the 2nd Corinthians. The alterations in this edition are numerous, but such as will add to its elegance and accuracy. The Sanscrit version has been somewhat delayed by the printing of the Bengali, but the new edition of the New Testament revised and with great labour improved, was finished in October, 1851, and some little progress made in the Old Testament. The Hindustani New Testament, likewise, has left the press, as also a reprint of the Persian New Testament, under Mr. Lewis's editorial care, aided by Mr. Thomas. Other editions are in the press, or in contemplation, especially a small Bengali Testament, which, by its cheapness and portability, may be brought more within the means of the native Christians.

A letter recently received from an officer on the staff of the commander-in-chief in India, furnishes the following intelligence, which strongly confirms the opinion of the Israelitish origin of the Affghans. It is dated from Head-quarters, Camp, Munikiala, 20th January, 1852,—“Having just been through a part of Affghanistan Proper, although now a part of our dominions, I cannot help writing to tell you how I was struck with the Jewishness of the people the moment we crossed the Indus; and not only their appearance, but every possible circumstance tends to convince one that they are the descendants of the ten tribes. They call themselves *Bunnie-Israel*, *Bunnie* being exactly synonymous with “*Mac*” in Scotland, and “*Fitz*” in England, and are *proud* of it, whereas to *all* other Mahometans a more severe term of abuse cannot be applied than *Yahooder*, or Jew. One of the tribes that at present are giving us a good deal of trouble, is called the “*Yousufryes*,” or tribe of Joseph, and next to them are the “*Isaksie*,” or tribe of Isaac; *Ishmael* is a very common name among them.

Mr. Bayard Taylor, at the date of his last travelling letter in the New York Tribune, Dec. 7th, was in Upper Egypt, giving a very pleasant narrative account of sight-seeing in that region. He seems not altogether satisfied with some of the recent exploits of Lepsius.

The burial-vault, where Belzoni found the alabaster sarcophagus of the monarch, is a noble hall, 30 feet long by nearly 20 in breadth and height, with four massive

pillars forming a corridor on one side. In addition to the light of our torches, the Arabs kindled a large bonfire in the centre, which brought in strong relief the sepulchral figures on the ceiling, painted in white on a ground of intense blue. The pillars and walls of the vault glowed with the vivid variety of these colours, and the general effect was unspeakably rich and gorgeous. This tomb has already fallen a prey to worse plunderers than the Medes and Persians. Belzoni carried off the sarcophagus; Champollion cut away the splendid jambs and architrave of the entrance to the lower chambers; and Lepsius has finished by splitting the pillars, and appropriating their beautiful paintings for the Museum of Berlin. At one spot, where the latter has totally ruined a fine doorway, some indignant Frenchman has written in red chalk: "*Meurtre commis par Lepsius.*" In all the tombs of Thebes wherever you see the most flagrant and shameless spoliations, the guide says, "*Lepsius.*" Who can blame the Arabs for wantonly defacing these precious monuments, when such an example is set them by the vanity of European antiquarians?—*Literary Gazette*, June 5th.

At the Asiatic Society, May 11th, Mr. Sharpe read a paper by the Rev. John Kenrick to shew that the people of Phares mentioned in Ezekiel as mercenaries in the service of Tyre were not Persians but the Arab tribe the Pharusii from Mauritania.

Mr. Sharpe remarked that they might have brought their name with them from the Persian Gulf as Herodotus says that the Phœnicians came originally from Muscat.

Dr. Camps read a paper by Dr. Grotefend "On the Mythology of Assyria according to the sculptures of the palace at Nimrûd," translated by Mr. Sauerwein.

At the next meeting, June 8th, Mr. Sharpe read a letter from Mr. Harris of Alexandria, with an account of the French excavations in the neighbourhood of Memphis. There had been a gallery tunnelled into the hills 2000 feet long, with cells on each side, each cell containing a huge granite sarcophagus of one of the sacred bulls. There were thirty of these. Mr. Sharpe also gave an account of Mr. Harris' new work on the *Standards of the Egyptian Towns*, containing the curious discovery of the list of towns contributing to the cost of each temple. Some of the standards Mr. Harris has been able to identify with the names of the towns. They are all arranged in geographical order, from Nubia to Memphis, and Sais in the Delta.—*Literary Gazette*, January 19th. •

Mr. Ainsworth read a paper by Dr. Grotefend, on the plan and destination of the edifices of Nimrûd, according to the specification in Mr. Layard's work. Dr. Grotefend's two papers entered largely into detail concerning the destination of the edifices and apartments of Nimrûd, and developed the Mythology of the Assyrians, from a primeval worship of the starry hosts with their golden chariots and their leaders, to Baal—the leader of the most perfect chariot—imaged in the well-known circles, which are so variously modified. The Doctor there distinguished six tutelar deities,—that of the nation, *Nit* or *Nisroch*; that of the country, *Astarte*; that of the king, *Nerig* or *Nergal*; that of the palace, *Ani Ana Meleck*; that of the town, Dayyad, the hunter, the Assyrian Hercules at Sandok; and that of the provinces, Aitenk. These, Dr. Grotefend described at length in their relations to Scripture, and to historical references, as well as to the explanation of the various emblems by which their sculptured figures are accompanied. Allusion was also made to the fish god Dagon, which occurs only once, to various other inferior deities and religious emblems, and to the introduction of fire worship at a later period. These papers are to be followed by a further memoir, in which the mythology of the Assyrians as thus developed is to be shewn in its explanation of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings.—*Literary Gazette*, June 19th.

At the Royal Society of Literature, May 26th, Mr. Osburn read a paper on that portion of the ancient history of Egypt, commonly called the period of the Shepherd Kings, in which he stated his belief that little reliance was to be placed on the Turin papyrus, except where distinctly confirmed by the monuments; adding that the

records of that period were rare, and that the name interpreted Shepherd had only been discovered in the vaults at Alsiut and on the tombs of Al Mokattam.

Mr. Hogg read a paper on the Sinaic inscriptions, with a *resumé* of what had been done towards their interpretation during the last four years. Mr. Hogg mentioned the labours of Dr. Beer, Mr. Forster, Dr. Lepsius, and M. De la Salle, and expressed some doubts how far Mr. Forster had succeeded in the interpretation he had proposed.

Mr. Vaux called the attention of the Society to a new publication entitled the "Journal Asiatique de Constantinople," which promises to be a valuable work to those interested in the literature of the East.—*Literary Gazette*, June 5th.

In South Africa, the French Evangelical Missionary Society have 18 missionaries employed among the Bechuana. The population collected together about the stations is about 25,000; the whole country contains about 40,000. At each station, of which there are 13, there is a church, several schools, and a manse. The missionaries after having gone through a special course of study of the Sechuana (or Sessonto) language, have translated and printed several portions of the Scriptures, by means of a printing press belonging to the mission; amongst others, the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Psalms; also catechisms, collections of hymns, and a great number of reading books and religious tracts. One of them has written a remarkable work on the Sechuana language, and another has written an account of a journey of discovery amongst the tribes to the north-east of Cape Colony.

Letters have been received by M. de Longperier, conservator of the antiquities of the Louvre, from M. Fresnil and his companions, who were sent on the scientific expedition to the East by the French government. At Aleppo, M. Oppert copied a fine inscription from Palmyra, and took impressions of many stones from various places. The expedition reached Diarbekir on the 13th February, and Mosul on the 4th March. Casts were taken of the finest of the sculptures at the palace of Koyunjik. On the 17th they left for Bahgdad, the furthest point which they have charge to explore. M. Victor Place, successor to M. Botta as consul, arrived at Mosul early in January, and the excavations round Khorsabad have been continued vigorously with new discoveries, and operations have been commenced at Karakosck and Karemles.

The Report of the Asiatic Society, which was read at the annual meeting, May 15th, gave a sketch of the continued progress of cuneiform investigation during the past year, especially noting, on the continent, the memoir published by Oppert in the *Journal Asiatique*, and at home the Commentary on the Assyrian and Babylonian Inscriptions, by Colonel Rawlinson, printed with the society's journals. Mention was also made of the valuable additions which were due to the labours of Dr. Hincks. It was stated that the so-called Median inscription of Behistun was in the hands of the lithographer, and that a memoir on the language and character of that inscription, by Mr. Norris, was in course of preparation, and would appear together with the inscription itself in an early number.

At the Royal Society of Literature, March 7th, Mr. Birch addressed the meeting in elucidation of the wars and diplomatic intercourse between the Egyptians and the remarkable people, the Khita, so frequently mentioned on the monuments. In the early stages of Egyptian discovery the Khita were supposed to be the same as the Abyssinians; more recent researches, however, shew that they are to be looked for near Egypt. According to Osburn, Bunsen, and Rawlinson, they were the Hittites of Scripture, inhabiting the north of the land of Canaan. Ashtaroth or Astarte was a deity of the Khita.—*Athenæum*, March 17th.

At the Royal Society of Literature, April 14th, M. Vaux read a paper in which he gave an account of Colonel Rawlinson's last discoveries in the interpretation of the Assyrian inscriptions. M. Vaux also mentioned Colonel Rawlinson's intention of continuing the excavations at Nimrúd and Koyunjik in person during the month of March; and that Mr. Loftus had commenced the excavations into the great mound at Susa.

The Rev. C. H. Blumhardt has completed and carried through the press a new edition of the Amharic New Testament for the use of the Abyssinians. There are at present no missionaries in Abyssinia who can distribute the Word of God among the people, but there are many in that country truly anxious to possess that treasure, and we trust that the Lord will soon open a door again to that benighted land.

Dr. Bettelheim has made great progress in a dictionary and grammar of the Loo Choo language, and has translated a considerable portion of the Scriptures. Loo Choo stands at the threshold of Japan, and the language is similar.—*Evangelical Christendom*, June, 1852.

LITERARY AND EDUCATIONAL.

The secret of the sources of the Nile is attempting to be discovered by a few persons, missionaries in Central Africa. Dr. Knoblecher advances from the north, coming up the Nile, and Drs. Krapf and Rebmann push over the unknown lands to the south of the supposed Mountains of the Moon, northward toward the river. The table land of Eastern Africa is a high land of very variable surface which gradually recedes toward the valley of the Nile. At Khartoum the two branches of the Nile coming from the unexplored south unite, and form the single stream whose shores are Egypt. These two branches are called the Bahr-el-Abiad and the Bahr-el-Azreck. This latter branch, the Blue Nile rises from two fountains near Geesh in Golan, in Abyssinia, 10,000 feet above the sea. The Bahr-el-Abiad, or White Nile, is little known beyond Khartoum, but from its greater breadth and general importance is considered the Nile of Herodotus. Up this branch, the last expedition of Mehemet Ali proceeded to $4^{\circ} 42' 42''$ north, and was there stopped by a cataract, and returned. In January, 1850, Dr. Knoblecher passed the same cataract, and pushed up the river to a point beyond that reached by any preceding traveller— $4^{\circ} 9'$ north. He here climbed a mountain, and saw the Nile stretching southward until it was lost between two lofty mountains. Beyond these, the negroes assured him the river came straight from the north. The river at the point Dr. Knoblecher reached, was more than 600 feet broad, and 8 or 9 feet deep. The Doctor concluded that the sources of the river lay beyond the equator, and determined to prosecute his search the present season, and he was about to depart upon the expedition in the latter part of last January.—*New York Tribune*.

The Temple of Serapis, recently discovered by the French savant, M. Mariette, in the neighbourhood of the Pyramids of Saccaroli, is approached by an avenue of sphynxes, more than 1,000 feet in length. On the left of this, M. Mariette laid open a semicircle of statues larger than life, of common limestone, and much weathered, some represented sitting, others on foot. One of them bore a huge lyre, another had the head of Saturn, &c., and on a third was engraved the name of Plato. Many Greek inscriptions and numerous hieroglyphics, proving that this really was Serapeum, have come to light; but the remains are evidently not of the best epoch of art, and cannot be referred to a date earlier than the end of the empire of the Ptolemies. A little to the west of the semicircle, about twenty feet below the surface, a whole row of cocks, peacocks with outspread tails, and lions with children riding on their backs, were disinterred. At the end of the row of statues, M. Mariette came upon the remains of a temple of Greek architecture, in front of which stood a statue of the bull Apis, in limestone, as large as life, with the horns sawn off and laid at the feet of the statue. M. Mariette is continuing his excavations, and hopes to reach the grave of Apis before long.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, April.

At Trieste there is a projected sale of a valuable Hebrew library, which belonged to the late Leon V. Saraval of that city, whose enormous wealth enabled him to collect rare books and MSS. without regard to expense. The library includes rabbinical and Chaldaic dictionaries, archæological works, and apocryphal Bibles in

almost every language, biblical commentaries, concordances, and biblical dictionaries, cabalistic works, Hebrew books and pamphlets of the fifteenth century, Hebrew correspondence, the works of Jewish geographers and natural philosophers, Hebrew grammars, dictionaries, liturgies, manuscripts, commentaries, and translations of the Mishna and the Talmud, Hebrew and Samaritan pentateuchs, sermons by Hebrew divines, poetry, law-books, and general literature of the Jews. There are a great many *éditiones principes*, and MSS. of which no other copies are extant; rare works, such as the Polyglot of Brian Walton, the works of Jacob Leon, Lambrose's Bible, Venice, 1639; a Spanish Bible, Ferrara, 1553; and works by Abarbanel, Aramah, Frissol and Kimchi.

The Paris Geographical Society have presented a gold medal to Drs. Krapf and Rebmann for their discovery of the Kenia, a high mountain within one degree south of the equator, and in which neighbourhood it is now conjectured the White Nile takes its rise. In 1848, Dr. Rebmann discovered the snow mountains of Kilimandjaro, whose existence had been denied in Europe. In 1849, Dr. Krapf proceeded to a point 240 geographical miles to the north-west of Mombas, where he gained an elevation of several thousand feet,—probably the highest surface of the East Africa table lands. Upon this journey he reached the plain of Yata, whence the mountainous panorama was so grand and beautiful that he declares, had he been a mere traveller, the weariness and vexations of the journey were amply compensated. He here discovered another snow mountain, not inferior to Kilimandjaro, of which his description recalls the character of Alpine scenery. The mountainous mass rose like a gigantic wall, and upon its summit were two *horns* or peaks, giving an air of majesty to the whole. The summit of the Kilimandjaro is domed, but that of the Kenia is roof-like. The old enthusiasm of African travel glowed in his heart as he contemplated it. "For," says he exultingly, "I could not doubt that the streams flowing northward from the Kenia pour into the White Nile."

Somewhere in this region must be the source of the Nile, and there can be little doubt that these summits are the half-fabulous mountains of the Moon. We may therefore expect shortly to have determined one of the most famous and interesting problems of ancient or modern times.

Mr. Ralph Griffith, modern Sanskrit scholar of the University of Oxford, has translated from the original Sanskrit into English verse some specimens of old Indian poetry. Few are likely, for the sake of literary pleasure, to undertake the labour of studying Sanskrit, in spite of the saying of Sir William Jones as to its wonderful structure—more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, and more excellently refined than either. Professor Wilson and Dean Milman have given, since Sir William Jones's time, various specimens of the beauties of Indian literature. In Germany, by Schlegel, Bopp, and others, much has been done to advance the pursuit of oriental scholarship. In the present poetical collection, Mr. Griffith aims not so much to advance the study of Sanskrit as to give English readers some idea of the beauties to be found in the Indian poetry. From works, some of which are of huge size, as the *Mahābhārata* an epic of 100,000 stanzas, it would be strange if many fine passages could not be gathered, some of which are given with correctness and spirit in an English version.

The correspondent of the *New York Observer*, writing from Rome, March 23rd, says, "I went to the Forum. Its locality is certain, though its extent has been a subject of dispute. The original pavement is covered, where it has not been excavated, to a depth of 20 feet. A considerable portion of it has been removed, and excavations are now in progress. From the Forum, I went to the Tarpeian Rock. The earth has probably accumulated about its base to the depth of 20 or 30 feet. It stands in relation to the Capitoline Mount and the Forum just where the classic writers say it did in their day. I next went to the Cloaca Maxima. This was constructed by Tarquinius Priscus out of rude and immense stones hewn out of the Tarpeian Rock, placed on each other so as to form the arch without the aid of cement. It enters the Tiber not far from the Pons Senatorius.

At the anniversary of the Asiatic Society, May 15th, Professor Wilson delivered the opening lecture on the "Present state of the Cultivation of Oriental Literature," and Dr. Bird, in a lecture on the best method of studying ethnology, gave a review of the various divisions of mankind in Europe and Asia, and shewed that language, paleography, and architecture, were better tests of the affinity of races than the physiological character. The Report of the Committee of the Oriental Translation Fund was read, by which it appeared that the resources of the Fund during the past year had been devoted principally to the completion of the great Bibliographical Dictionary of Haji Khalfa, edited and translated by Professor Flugel. The printing of the sixth volume was nearly completed, and the seventh and last would be published before the close of 1853.—*Athenæum*, May 29th.

At the Geographical Society, April 26th, Mr. Francis Galton, on his return from South-Western Africa, read a summary of his explorations. He had traversed the large portion of country extending from the farthest point reached by Sir James Alexander, nearly up to the Nourse river on the north, and towards the east as far as the 21st degree of longitude, or within a short distance from *this side* of Lake N'gami. Mr. Andersson, a Swede, who accompanied Mr. Galton, has remained in Africa, and intends exploring still farther the country to the north and east. He believes that *two* rivers issue from the western side of Lake N'gami, one of which is but of comparatively small dimensions, but the other, or the most northerly one, is of the first magnitude, and is probably the feeder of the great river which forms the southern boundary of the Portuguese settlements at Benguila, and which receives as one of its branches the Cuanené.—*Athenæum*, May 15th.

The *Journal des Debats* announces a discovery which, for the present at least, seems to set a long agitated literary question at rest. As many of our readers know, the authorship of the famous work commonly ascribed to Thomas à Kempis, *De Imitatione Christi*, has been disputed for nearly four centuries. Recently M. Malou, Bishop of Bruges, has found a MS. in the library at Brussels, which bears the name of Thomas à Kempis; and M. Muller, Bishop of Munster, has also found a MSS. bearing his name. Thus the poor recluse of the 15th century, Master Thomas of Mount St. Agnes, Canon of Utrecht, called Thomas à Kempis, from Kempen the place of his birth, is now re-established as the true author of this celebrated work.

The language of Calabar called Efik has never been written or printed; it does not seem to have been yet mastered by any white man. The people of Calabar are a colony of the Eboe race, and it is not unlikely that the tribes who inhabit the great palm-oil producing countries which lie between the Cross River and the Niger speak also the Efik. The missionaries of the United Presbyterian Church have performed several trips both up the Old Calabar and the Cross Rivers. The rivers flow in nearly parallel lines, and as you ascend the country becomes more elevated, generally undulating, with frequent ranges of hills. The town of Omun, 100 miles inland, has a very fine appearance. The great Eboe country, extending from the Cross River to the Niger, whence the Calabar people come, and where the great oil markets are, remains to be explored.—*Missionary Record*, June, 1852.

On March 21st, Dr. James Bird delivered a lecture on the best method of pursuing ethnological researches in illustration of the history of the human race. In opposition to Kames, Voltaire, Rousseau and Agassiz, Dr. Bird, on the broad basis of analogy, that permanence of character, whether in the physical or moral development of races, is not the physiological law of organization, drew the inference that mankind were of monogenetic origin. Many striking facts in support of this opinion from the different races of animals were brought forward, and also from an analytical comparison of the languages spoken by the four great races of men in Asia and Europe, the Indo-European, Ilgro-Tartarian, Indo-Chinese, and Syro-Arabian.

There is an intention entertained by members of the Edinburgh sub-division of the Evangelical Alliance, to prepare for publication an edition of the Scriptures with a corrected text, a new collection of marginal references, and other improvements.

It is intended that the work shall be under the charge of Dr. Brown, Dr. Cunningham, Dr. Alexander, and Mr. Goold, they being answerable jointly for it. That a person shall be employed by them under them, who shall devote his whole time to the work, and who shall labour under their direction, each of them revising every part of the work, and also obtaining the assistance, so far as they see right, of learned men in different parts of the island.—*Evangelical Christendom*, May, 1851.

The forty-eighth anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society was held on Wednesday, May 2nd. The issues of the Holy Scriptures during the year were stated to amount to 1,154,642 copies, being 805,181 from depôts at home, and 349,461 from depôts abroad. The expenditure of the year was £103,930, the receipts £108,449, nearly half of which was by sale of Bibles and Testaments. The number of versions in whole or in part hitherto completed is 175, of which 121 were never before printed. The Society has promoted the distribution, printing, or translation of the Bible in 148 languages or dialects.—*Literary Gazette*, May 8th.

Mr. Fairbank, American Missionary, Bombay, writes, "The Tract and Book Society are publishing some poetical works. The Hindoos are extremely fond of poetry, so that almost all their favourite religious books are in verse. A metrical version of an extended work, called the "Glory of Christ," is in the course of preparation, under our supervision and direction, by a pundit in the employ of the mission. More than 700 stanzas of this work have been completed in the Dnyanodga, and have attracted much attention. The poetry is considered uncommonly good, and the author adheres closely to the Scripture narrative.—*Missionary Herald*, Feb. 1852.

On the 7th of June the chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh, vacant by the resignation of Professor Wilson was filled up by the election of Mr. Patrick Macdougall, Professor of Ethics, New College, Edinburgh. Mr. Macdougall has already obtained a high reputation in Edinburgh, and his friends anticipate that under his professorship the chair will retain the eminence conferred on it by his distinguished predecessors, Ferguson, Stewart, Brown, Wilson.—*Athenæum*, June 12th.

Mr. Samuel Rogers, the poet, has recently given to the British Museum the original manuscript agreement between Milton and Samuel Symon, printer, for the publication of *Paradise Lost*. It is dated April 27th, 1667, and Milton was to receive £5 down, £5 after the sale of 1,300 copies of each of the first, second, and third editions, making in all £20, supposing 3,900 copies sold. A final receipt by his widow shews £13 to have been received, exclusive of the £5 down.

The supervision of the Chinese Repository has occupied much of the time of Mr. Williams of the American Mission, Canton, and will continue to do so for a few months to come, when the work will cease. A general index of all the matters contained in the entire work is about all that remains to be done.—*American Missionary Herald*, March.

The late Professor C. Lachmann's library has been sold at Berlin. The catalogue mentioned 5979 works, chiefly valuable editions of the classics, and works in the ancient German, Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, Romanic and Provençal languages.

The London Missionary Society have granted to the Rev. David Livingston leave of absence during two years more, to extend his exploration into the interior of Africa to the north of the lately discovered Lake of Ngami.—*Athenæum*, April 24th.

The Newdigate prize for English poetry at Oxford has this year been awarded to Edwin Arnott of University College, the subject being the Feast of Belshazzar.—*Literary Gazette*, June 12th.

ANNOUNCEMENTS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

The works of Stephen Olin, D.D., LL.D., the late President of the Wesleyan University, are just issued in New York. They are in two volumes and comprise a

series of sermons in the usual range of pulpit topics, marked by a fulness and clearness of tone which must have proved effective in the delivery; together with a collection of Lectures and Essays of general interest as connected with the permanent standard topics of education in the United States. These academic discourses disclose a well-trained mind, seeking constantly for the principle to test the fact, and insisting upon the grand development of mental discipline before the mere accumulation of knowledge, which is the leading distinction between the good and bad education of the day. Dr. Olin records his evidence that the Manual Labour Schools, in which a union of manly exercise with study was attempted, have failed from being impracticable. So have the High Schools, from their being overstocked with masters, and from the watchful, excessive, and incessant supervision exercised over the pupils. As to popular lectures, Dr. Olin thinks "that if it is kept in mind that the diffusion of useful knowledge in this way, though it may be greatly desirable and beneficial, is not and cannot be education nor a tolerable substitute for it: the diffusion of such knowledge, so far as it goes, is a valuable contribution to the intelligence as well as to the enjoyment of the community." Dr. Olin speaks as follows of classical learning, "While the classical student secures in an eminent degree, the most valuable ends of education, in the discipline of his intellectual faculties, his labours are amply rewarded by the acquisition of valuable knowledge. It is not true, as is often asserted, that the classics impart nothing to the mind but a dry vocabulary of obsolete words and idioms, utterly useless for all the purposes of speech and reason. Language, as well as mind and matter, has its philosophy, not formed to suit particular cases, but applicable with few modifications to the dialects of all ages and nations. The regularity, the copiousness, the elegant refinement, and the profound logic of the Greek and Roman tongues, give facilities for the investigation of these universal laws unknown to the defective and anomalous languages of modern times."—*New York Literary World*, May 22nd.

Messrs. Bagster have in the press a new edition of Dr. Tregelles' *Remarks on the Prophetic Visions in the Book of Daniel*, which has been for some time out of print. The author has now revised and considerably enlarged it. The note on the "Year-day System" in the former editions has now been expanded into a dissertation on the whole subject; taking in a distinct consideration of the grounds on which this theory has been supposed to rest, an examination of the passages to which it has been applied, and (what the author considers to be) the Scripture evidence that the theory is a groundless addition to the Word of God, formed by *Protestant tradition*. Extensive remarks have been added on the connexion or non-connexion of Popery with prophetic statements; and to the volume there will be appended a *vindication of the authenticity of the book of Daniel*, in which the whole question will be fully discussed, as meeting the assertions made by foreign critics, and also more recently (through the statements of the late Dr. Arnold) in this country.

Messrs. Seeley have been some time making arrangements for the publication of a Standard Series of the Original Church Histories of England, and the prospectus thereof is now ready: the plan of publication is similar to that pursued by the Parker and other Societies, and promises to subscribers a delivery of three half-volumes of 400 pages each, *per annum*, for five or six years, for an annual subscription of twenty shillings. This will comprehend the completion of the "Church Historians, from Bede to Foxe," and form a valuable antecedent to their standard edition of "The Acts and Monuments," completed in 1848, in 8 volumes; and together, under the editorship of the Rev. John Stevenson, the two series will combine everything that can be known of the Church of England, from Saxon times down to the time of Archbishop Parker and the settlement of the Church on its present basis.

In the press, a Manual of Moral Philosophy. By the late Archibald Alexander, D.D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton. In one vol. 12mo. This is the substance of those lectures on the principles of moral science, which are remembered by the numerous pupils of the lamented author, as among the most remarkable of his instructions. The work is suited to be a class-book in colleges

and schools, and to be consulted in the course of legal studies. Among the topics treated are, Conscience, Duty, Relation of Morals to the Divine Nature, Freedom the Self-determining Power, Motives, Habits, Nature of Virtue, &c. It is thus a treatise rather on the philosophy of ethics than on its details, and may be compared with the "Evidences of Christianity."

The Lectures by Niebuhr on Ancient History, translated from the German, with additions and corrections by Dr. L. Schmitz, once a pupil of the historian, are now published. The work consists of three volumes, comprising the history of all the nations of antiquity, with the exception of that of Rome. In his account of the Asiatic empires and of Egypt, Niebuhr has foretold, more than twenty years ago, the splendid discoveries which have been made in our own days by Mr. Layard and others. By far the greater portion of the work is devoted to the history of the Greeks and Macedonians.

Mr. George Wigand, a Leipsic publisher, is about to bring out a new work of considerable interest. It is to be called Schnor's Bible, and will consist of between two hundred and three hundred illustrations by Schnor, cut in wood by Burkner and Gaber; it will appear in numbers each containing 8 woodcuts, at the price of about one shilling English money. It is expected that the cheapness of the work, coupled with the celebrity of Schnor as an artist, and the acknowledged talent of the engravers, will procure for it an extraordinary sale. About 150 of the drawings are already in an advanced state, and the first number will probably appear in the course of a few weeks.—*Literary Gazette*, May 15th.

Messrs. Lane and Scott, of New York, are about to publish a New Harmony and Exposition of the Gospels, consisting of a combined and parallel arrangement, on a new plan, of the narratives of the four evangelists, according to the authorised translation; and a continuous commentary, with brief notes subjoined. With a Supplement containing extended Chronological and Topographical Dissertations, and a complete Analytical Index. Illustrated by Maps and Engravings. By James Strong, M.A.—*Methodist Quarterly Review*, July.

John de Wycliffe; including an account of the Wycliffe MSS. in the British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, Lambeth Palace, and Trinity College, Dublin; with a Portrait of the Reformer from the original Picture by Sir Antonio More, now an heirloom in the Rectory of Wycliffe, and a series of illustrations from drawings taken at Wycliffe and Lutterworth. By Robert Vaughan, D.D. 1 vol. small 4to. This volume will embrace all the more valuable matter in a work published by the author more than twenty years ago; but in the present publication, the whole subject has been re-cast, and every part re-written, under the light supplied by much subsequent study and research.

Sir Roderic Murchison has a work in the press entitled, "The Earliest Forms of Life as disclosed in the Older Rocks," in which it is intended to give a popular account of the earliest recognisable inhabitants of the surface of the globe, and of the revolutions which the strata have undergone in which they are imbedded as developed in the Silurian rocks.

Dr. Davidson's *Treatise on Biblical Criticism*, in two volumes, is in the press, and will be published by Messrs. Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh, at the commencement of next winter. It is not a new edition of the work (*Lectures on Biblical Criticism*) published thirteen years ago, but an entirely new production.

Dissertation on the Origin and Connexion of the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; with a Synopsis of the Parallel Passages in Greek and English, and Critical Notes, by James Smith, Esq., of Jordanhill, author of the *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*.

The Targums of Onkelos and Jonathan Ben Uziel on the Book of Genesis, and the extant fragments of the Jerusalem Targums on the same Book. Translated from the Chaldee, and preceded by an Introduction to Rabbinical Literature in general. By the Rev. Dr. Etheridge.

In the press, a new issue of the Congregational Lectures, by subscription. The first four volumes, which are expected to be ready by the autumn, will consist of Wardlaw's Christian Ethics, Vaughan on the Causes of the Corruptions of Christianity, Gilbert on the Christian Atonement, and Henderson on Divine Inspiration.

A Biography of the Rev. W. Kirby, the Entomologist, and author of one of the Bridgewater Treatises. Its value will be enhanced by a sketch from the pen of Mr. Spence of their forty-five years' friendship, and the origin and progress of their united work, the "Introduction to Entomology."

There is also in preparation a Memoir of Archibald Alexander, D.D., First Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J., by James W. Alexander and Joseph Addison Alexander.—*New York Literary World*, May 22nd.

A Memoir of the late Dr. Pye Smith is in preparation; and also his course of Lectures on Christian Theology. They have undergone revision, and will be edited by the Rev. W. Farrer, and may be expected soon.

Papers on Philosophical and Literary Subjects, contributed to the "Presbyterian," and "North British Reviews." By P. C. Mac Dougall, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh.

The Miscellaneous Works of the late Dr. Thomas Young, F.R.S.; now first collected and edited, with a Memoir of his Life. By the Very Rev. George Peacock, D.D., Dean of Ely.

Dr. Roget has been some time engaged in classifying and arranging a Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases, with the view of facilitating the expression and aiding literary composition. [Now published.]

Letters on the Church of Rome, addressed to the Rev. Emmanuel Farant, D.D., LL.D., Chaplain to the King of Sardinia, and Italian Missionary to England. By the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A. Fcp. 8vo.

The library of Dr. Neander of Berlin, which was noted for its rich collection of theological works, has been purchased for the senate of the university of Rochester, in the state of New York.

In the press, the second volume of the Rev. Henry Alford's edition of the Greek Testament, with Marginal References, Various Readings, and Copious English Notes.

The Lands of the Messiah, Mahomet, and the Pope, as visited in 1851. By John Aiton, D.D., Minister of Dolphinton. One volume 8vo. with Illustrations.

Mr. M. W. Dodd, of New York, will shortly publish an octavo entitled, "A Vindication of the Pentateuch against the Objections of Modern Scepticism." By W. T. Hamilton, D.D.

Lectures and Sermons, by the late James Stark, D.D., of Denny Loanhead, with a Memoir of his Life. 8vo.

Nearly ready, The Saints our Example. By the author of "Letters to my Unknown Friends." Fcp. 8vo.

The Theory of Knowing and Being, a Text-book of Metaphysics. By James B. Ferrier, Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of St. Andrews.

M. Ladrangé, of Paris, announces a new work on "The Philosophy of Bossuet, with Inedited Fragments.

In the press, The Light of the Forge. By the Rev. William Harrison, M.A., Rector of Birch, Essex.

In the press, Varieties of Mankind; or, an Account of the Distinctive Characters of the principal Races of Men. By W. B. Carpenter, M.D. With Engravings on Wood.

CONTEMPORARY PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

[Our object in this department of 'The Journal of Sacred Literature' is to report such of the contents of the religious periodicals, an important part of the literature of the day, as may be valuable in a biblical point of view, thinking that we might thus enrich our own Journal, give a wider circulation to whatever is really good, and gratify our readers.]

APRIL.

The CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER for April opens with a long article on *Buddhism*, founded on the remarkable publication of the French Jesuit Missionary, Huc, being in fact a copious abstract of the book, especially in all that relates to the religious system of Tartary and Thibet. We have next an interesting account, from the High Church point of view, of the American Episcopal Church, which is truly described as being in a condition of flourishing growth. It takes the form of a review of Mr. Caswell's *America and the American Church*; and the reviewer notes with a curious eye the development of ecclesiastical self-government, by synodical action in this branch of the Protestant Episcopal Church. The third article is based on the Jesuit Perrone's work on the *Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary*, and furnishes a good and searching history of that eccentric dogma, the settlement of which by the present Pope in a declarative act, is regarded by the reviewer as a measure full of peril to the Romish Church. These are the only articles that bear any relation to Theology.

The ENGLISH REVIEW for April has only two Theological articles, both of them controversial. The first of these, *Dr. Newman and Protestant Prejudices*, is devoted first to an examination of Dr. Newman's recent *Lectures*, vigorously exposing by the way the errors and mis-statements they contain, and then proceeds to inquire, "whether, independently of historical testimony, irrespective of its own internal organization, there have not occurred a number of *facts*, within the last few years, which do altogether of themselves justify Protestants in entertaining that deep-seated suspicion and mistrust of Romanism which most undoubtedly does exist among us." The answer is triumphantly given by reference to the cases of Miss Talbot, Lord Feilding, M. Carré, Mr. Taylor, the Misses M'Carthy—cases, which crowded as they are into the space of a few months, and concurring with "the papal aggression," have been intensely damaging to the growth of Popery in the eyes of an eminently conscientious people, by the disgust they have excited, and the suspicion they have awakened, by shewing that the obligations of high—or even of low, morality, are of small account when the interests of "the Church" are involved. The *English Review* turns these cases to excellent account. The other article is a review of Bonamy Price's reprinted article from the *Edinburgh Review*, on the *Anglo Catholic Theory*, in which sundry positions of the writer are vigorously combatted by our able contemporary from his own "standing point." There seems to us some danger and annoyance in this growing practice of reprinting, with the assumption of individual responsibility, separate articles which have appeared under the broad shield of the leading reviews.

The AMERICAN BIBLIOTHECA SACRA for April opens with an article on *India as a Field for Enquiry and Evangelical Labour*, by the Rev. H. R. Hoisington, one of the Missionaries of the American Board. It is mainly an account of the castes and religious systems of the Hindus—it is so far satisfactory, but we find little or no information or suggestion on the specific subject the title suggests. We have then an account, from the German, of the Grotian Theory of the Atonement. It is shewn that his view is in essential agreement with that of Socinius; and any distinctive peculiarity

in that of Grotius is only to be found in the idea of penal example, which he transferred to the death of Christ, though even in this respect it cannot be concealed that there is a close affinity between the two theories: for although Grotius chooses to hold fast the idea of satisfaction in a certain sense, it nevertheless amounts to nothing else at last but the idea of a penal example, through which God, for the purpose of maintaining the authority of his law, declares in the language of palpable fact, his hatred and abhorrence of sin. We have three continuative articles on *The Life of Zwingli*, and on the *Writings of Richard Baxter*, followed by an article from the pen of the late Moses Stuart, comprising *Observations on Matt. xxiv.*, verses 29—31, and the parallel places in the other Gospels, with remarks on the double sense of Scripture. It is not completed; but so far as it goes, we find the author contending that, in the literal sense, the passage can only apply to the destruction of Jerusalem, and if it be further extended to the general judgment, it must then be taken in a figurative sense. We have then an article designed to develop the *Practical Element in Christianity*; after which comes a translation from the German, *Remarks on the Idea of Religion*, with special reference to psychological questions,—the article is less attractive than its title. It is very heavy and exceedingly German, and from its length we have not time to extract the pith, nor room in which to display it.

THE AMERICAN METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW opens with a second article on *Faith and Science, Comte's Positive Philosophy*. This Positive Philosophy the reviewer characterizes as "a system of extreme sensationalism, or, more correctly, it proceeds beyond sensationalism in the same direction, by absolutely refusing to entertain any opinion, or tolerate any theory in regard to the origin or validity of human knowledge. It recognizes all the great properties of the human mind, except its religious and metaphysical appetencies, and receives all the primary conclusions of the intellect and perceptions of the senses, purely as phenomena, without taking cognizance of any substance or cause behind the phenomena." And he further declares that "the Positive Philosophy is entirely invalid as a reformation of the intellect of the world, for it excludes the idea of such reformation in those very points in which it is most imperatively required. It is valid merely in reference to strict science; and for its full validity, even in this respect, it requires the cordial recognition and the lively appreciation, at all times, of nearly everything which M. Comte excludes. If received by itself as the gospel of a new era, it perpetuates and increases the very evils which it would redress or avert, for it falsifies science into a mere instrument of human passions, instead of rendering it the obedient instrument for the better fulfilment of the duties and destinies of man. Passing by an article on *Roger Williams, the Founder of the State of Rhode Island*; and another on the recent editions of the *Antigone of Sophocles*, we come to a short article on *Pascal*, in which Dr. M'Crie's translation is described as "executed with tolerable accuracy, though not with elegance. It is a model, however, when compared with its London rival. Indeed, it is hardly too much to say of Mr. Pearce's book, once for all, that it is travesty of the Provincials." The most interesting part of this article is that which notes the plagiarisms from *The Thoughts*, made by many of our English classics. The most theological article of this number is one on the *Intermediate State and the Punishment of the Wicked*. It is levelled at certain theories now exciting attention in America—and argues for the distinct existence of the soul—that the soul is conscious between death and the resurrection—and that the souls of both the righteous and the wicked will exist for ever. In short, the article vindicates the received belief from the assaults to which it has been exposed.

THE AMERICAN BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, opens with a review of Goold's edition of *Owen*. Then we have articles on *Early Christianity in the British Isles*; *National Literature, the Exponent of National Character*, in which the writer expresses his satisfaction that the tone of the British press in regard to American literature, as well as everything else connected with that country, has greatly improved of late. *The Prophet Obadiah Expounded*, is a very valuable paper, translated from Charles Paul Caspari. The article on the *Jews at K'ae-fung-foo*, reports in fuller detail the facts already known to our readers. The best article of the number, to our taste, takes the shape of a review of *Lectures on the*

Evidences of Christianity, delivered at the University of Virginia. This is altogether a clear and masterly exposition of the great controversies with the philosophies of men in which Christianity has found and still finds itself engaged. Then follows a review of a work published by an American, who studied for five years at Trinity College, Cambridge—which is, we should suppose, a rare circumstance. The reviewer is highly dissatisfied at Mr. Bristed's estimate of the comparative merits of the English and American collegiate systems—and shews first that no fair comparison can be— and next that the results are over-rated in the former case and under-rated in the latter, and that the undeniable advantages of the English system are chiefly owing to extrinsic influences. He quotes very high authority indeed, for the fact that there is really no system in our case: "What is your *system* of instruction?" said an American gentleman, a few years ago, to Mr. Carns, Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge "We have no *system* in the proper sense of the word," he replied: "the University exercises no supervision over the instruction of the students, and even the particular Colleges, of which they are immediately members, leave them very much to themselves; there is indeed a certain amount of attainment necessary to get a degree, but the rich prizes proposed in the shape of scholarships, fellowships, etc., awaken the most earnest competition, and do for us more than could be effected by any mere system." The reviewer speaks respectfully of Cambridge scholarship; and knows enough of the University "to be aware that her leading men are very hard and very laborious students, and we heartily wish that the mass of our American collegians were imbued with their zeal." An article on *Christian and Ministerial Freedom of Speech*, closes this capital number of an excellent publication.

The CHRISTIAN OBSERVER for April has for its first article, one entitled *Has Evangelical Religion any Affinity with Romanism?* from which we extract the following, "We can conceive that the children of evangelical families may in some respects be exposed to greater danger than others. They have been, we will suppose, awakened, to some sense of the value of religion. They have looked with scorn at the dull formality of the religion of their neighbours, and they may have heard and felt something of a longing for life more spiritual, more seraphic, than anything they see around them. They may thus have been disgusted by the selfishness and frivolity of the world, and may have conceived, that if certain external changes could be effected, if certain ties which now bind them could be broken, their course would be clear and their way to heaven plain. Ignorant of their own state by nature, unconscious of the evil they bear about within them, they ascribe to circumstances the difficulties under which they groan; and think, that if they had but wings like a dove, they would fly away from the cares and temptations of the world and be at peace. In the mean time, delicacy of feeling, a morbid impatience of labour, makes them averse from the daily cross, as borne in the daily trials of domestic life; and they wish to hear of some more excellent way—some easier mode of reaching to the blessedness they long for. To young persons in this frame of mind, the convent and its unbroken tranquillity, the monastery with its ceaseless acts of service, even the cell of the hermit with its continual succession of meditation and prayer have charms: and the offers of the priest or the sister find a mind so well prepared to yield, that they are but too frequently successful."

The EVANGELICAL CHRISTENDOM for April is more than ordinarily interesting. There is no publication from which so much information as to the state of Europe, civil as well as religious, may be derived.

The UNITED PRESBYTERIAN MAGAZINE for April contains the second portion of *Christianity suited to Man*, in which the writer shews its suitableness, in "man's delight in the assurance of immortality, in his deep conviction of his own sinfulness;" and "in his presentiment of the final judgment."

The BIBLE AND THE PEOPLE for April continues the valuable papers, entitled, *The Battle of Life, and how to win it*. The subject is passion and principle. "The first trial (of our Lord) will appear to involve, fundamentally, the regulating of bodily appetites and passions; and to draw a distinction between their legitimate and impro-

per gratifications. The temptations of Christ were suited to his circumstances as Messiah, and our temptations arise out of our passions, principles, and circumstances, and we have to resist the devil in these. The temptations of Christ are a specimen of ours, this first being the regulation of our bodily appetites and passions, by the light of conscience and God's Word; that eating and other gratifications are not sinful in themselves, but from their being out of place, and involving dishonour to God and degradation to ourselves, this first temptation of Christ is the *one* trial of Adam, whose sin (like ours) brought shame, hypocrisy, alienation from God, and a train of other evils: whilst this one first kind of offence, condemned Adam and all who had followed him in it; we have gone further into other sins; but the free gift of pardon by Christ, covers many offences, all sorts of sin; therefore whilst the first Adam or model man failed, the second Adam has succeeded, and seeks to frame mankind after another pattern, not of the earth earthy, like our first parent; but of the heaven heavenly, like our God and Saviour," and the whole is thus summed up: "The first trial, is pleasure against duty, convenience against conscience, passion against principle. The second idea involved in this first trial, is that of poverty or necessity. The great battle of human life is to turn stones into bread. Think what a different world this would be if we did not require to eat! Where would be trade, enterprize, anxiety? What are men engaged in from Monday morning to Saturday night? providing for themselves and their families. Now here is the great probation, involving *industry, principle, forethought*; the true education of work, and accompanied by the *great danger of thinking only of this*. In this occurs the great struggle between sense and faith, between living for the body and this world, and for the soul and God, which introduces the great doctrine of faith in God's *Providence* as a victory over man's trials, of necessity and confidence in God's word, that is, in God's promises, his provisions, or providence; which includes, 1st. as to bodily necessities in general, that as a usual thing, we shall not want for these. 2nd. That God will bless us by trials, if we know how to use them. 3rd. The spiritual food which Christ gives so that our souls are provided for and they cannot starve." The fifth paper is entitled *The Soul: its Brightest Hope*. After an interesting examination of the nature of the soul, and exhorting us to cling to responsibility as to our better and proper self, and to educate all its susceptibilities with the most scrupulous attention, the writer remarks "on the reluctance with which men begin to think and act in harmony with the requirements of their immortality. Alive to every little earthly comfort, concerned about the wealth and honours of time, troubled on the approach of sickness, and filled with dismay at the power of fortune, it is passing strange that every little incident telling upon the weal or woe of the immortal spirit, does not command an all-absorbing attention. . . . It must argue great obtuseness of intellect, or great depravity of heart, when aspirants to all the honours and bliss of immortal life are comparatively few, and true heroism in their pursuit is a very rare phenomenon."

MAY.

The BIBLE AND THE PEOPLE for May continues the very able papers on our Lord's Temptation; subject, *The Machinery of the Second Scene more fully examined*. After explaining that the reasons why the imagery employed to describe the coming of Christ to overthrow Jerusalem is transferred to his coming to judge the world, namely, because *the destruction of that system was his ascent to power, appearing in the heavens*, the writer proceeds to draw this conclusion, "since the temptations of Christ are such as arose from his actual condition (giving historical fidelity to the narrative) so our temptation is not something strange and extraordinary, to be separated from our real circumstances, and resolved into Satan's exclusive, direct, and supernatural work; but it is through our passions and circumstances that we are tempted, from which no metaphysical theory will free us, by any denial of Satan's personality: for the dangers are real and the same, however we may regard them." *The Science of Correspondences, or Swedenborgian Methods of interpreting the Scriptures*, may be commended to those who feel any interest in the strange analogies with which the entire works of Swedenborg abound, and with "misappli-

cations and misinterpretations of Scripture as would be tedious to recount." . . . "The whole system is contrary to the simple gospel, and its tendency is to draw us off to curious questions from the serious consideration of our own state." A well written paper, a continuation of a former paper,—*The Soul, its Worth*, confirms the opinions we expressed of the *Bible and the People*, of its suitability for distributing among the intelligent and thinking of our working population.

The BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, No. XXX., for May, contains an able article on *The Old Testament and its Assailants*. After saying that "upon the broad ground of the general reception by the Jewish people, under the circumstances indicated, of these books as sacred, whilst all others were rejected, that the canon, where-soever and by whomsoever made up, must have consisted of books of which the genuineness had been fully authenticated," . . . the writer says, that, "the main battle must be fought with the sceptic on the claims of each separate book. It would be asking too much of him to demand that, without further enquiry, these ancient books should be received as genuine, merely on the ground that they were so held by the Jewish nation," and he adds:—"He is entitled to apply his tests to the books themselves—to enquire specifically of each of them by what evidence it can substantiate its title to the place it holds—and to examine carefully the relation in which its contents stand to its pretensions. To such scrutiny, when fairly conducted, we are far from objecting, only we must in the outset, assert for the fact of the reception of these books as a canonical whole by the Jews, from the period of the cessation of prophets among them, this much of authority, that it creates a preliminary presumption in favour of each one of these books, so strong, that only the most convincing evidence to the contrary can justify any one in rejecting any of them. When books come to us with such a seal upon them, we are entitled to demand of those who would set aside their claims, *reasons* for this of the most distinct and cogent kind. To this demand, De Wette, as the representative of the sceptical school, may be regarded as offering a prompt and willing response. His book is, in fact, little more than a vast collection of reasons for rejecting the Old Testament Scripture as far the most part spurious. These are of all kinds—grammatical, linguistic, æsthetical, chronological, historical, geographical, ethnological, astronomical, geological, metaphysical, ethical, theological, etc. etc. . . . but of the greater part of the objections he has urged, even admitting them to be true in fact, they are not such as would shake the confidence of any sound and vigorous mind, in the genuineness of the books. They are such cavils as one does not wonder to find in Voltaire or Paine, but which no one can, without some loss of patience and temper, peruse in the pages of a learned professor of theology, who professes to be seriously and historically investigating a department of his own profession." The writer adds, and we commend his words to the notice of our readers:—"We cannot refrain from expressing a wish that some competent scholar would take up and thoroughly discuss the whole subject of the Old Testament canon. We should like to see the various questions which such a discussion would embrace, handled by a mind which, though familiar with German theological literature, had not become tinged with a German mania, but would look at the subject from a genuine English point of view, and discuss it after the fashion of one who had been disciplined in the school of Bacon, and Butler, and Paley, to the scrutiny of questions of evidence, and the proper management of hypotheses."

The JEWISH INTELLIGENCE for May contains an interesting memoir of Dr. Chr. Immanuel Fromman, an eminent and gifted Israelite. He made a Hebrew version of the Gospel of St. Luke, and also wrote an introduction, which was never published, but, from all that can be gathered, must have been a most important work. In 1731 he received a handsome subscription from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the letter which informed him of it, says, "your Hebrew version of the Gospel of St. Luke, with Rabbinnical Notes, has been highly spoken of by the Bishop of ——— in a letter to the Committee."

The CHRISTIAN OBSERVER for May contains a short, pleasing paper entitled the *True Treasures of the Church*, which we would commend to those who may despondingly think that any efforts of theirs to do good have failed in their aim, and to have been thrown away, producing no adequate results. "Who can contemplate,"

says the writer, "without a profound satisfaction and delight, this mutual relation and combined influence of the separate lives and particular actions which have displayed the power of the Spirit of God? Various in their circumstances, and scattered far apart amid the confused scenes of human life, they are yet one in origin and in their end. One Spirit is their Author, and their influences blend into one mighty force, their achievements enrich the store of one great treasury. . . . Christian principles and motives of all kinds, in all their various manifestations, work together with one common action, and make upon the world one great impression; and the works of faith and labours of love, small as they may often seem in themselves, are so many real additions to the general stock of Gospel fruits which form the riches of the Church, which cheer the hopes of the solitary servant of God, and prompt him to larger labours of holiness and love."

To an interesting review of *Forsyth's History of Trial by Jury*, is appended the following observations:—"It is a singular fact, in reference to the verdict of twelve men thus required in the most advanced system of human legislation, that this is the mode which it has pleased the Supreme Legislator to choose for deciding the highest and most influential of all controversies. To twelve men, especially, was assigned the task of considering all the facts connected with the birth, the life, and the death of the Lord and the Saviour of the World, and of pronouncing their verdict to the assembled world. Now in ordinary, and even in the least complicated cases, it does not happen that the jury is unanimous. And especially is this concurrence rare, where the question in dispute is largely interwoven with the passions and prejudices of the parties concerned. In Ireland, for example, it is difficult to find any jury to whom an important question can be trusted. But to the facts and truths of Christianity, an assembled jury of twelve plain men—for, in the end, Judas gave in his concurrence—promiscuously assembled, yield their unanimous verdict, and this so unhesitatingly, as rather to die than disown it. Lord Erskine is reported to have said, that the evidence for the truth of the resurrection of Christ was stronger than that for any fact he had been called to establish in a Court of justice. Certainly, as far as the unanimity and solemnity of the verdict can establish the point, such is the fact. The court was the world, and the apostles the jury; and most of them sealed with their blood the sincerity of their unanimous verdict. Here is a simple argument for the truth of Christianity which it would take a good many German volumes of criticism to disprove."

JUNE.

The THEOLOGICAL CRITIC for June exhibits the usual characteristics of this learned publication, and is altogether an excellent number. The first article is from the able pen of Dr. Maitland, *On the Conduct of the Clergy, with regard to Magic and Sorcery*. It is no light matter to fall into such hands, in regard to any concern of mediæval ecclesiastical history, and the Rev. G. Sandby is shaken severely for some assertions in his work on *Mesmerism and its Opponents*. He shews that the accounts of witches, etc., destroyed, are greatly exaggerated, and that the Church, or rather the clergy, were not particularly active in such persecutions as did take place. We have then *The Lutheran Doctrine of Baptism*, translated from Dr. Martensen, of Copenhagen's *Christliche Dogmatik*, followed by *Lachmann's View of the Three First Gospels*, a very useful paper in aid of the collation of the Gospels. Next there is a continuative article, on *Newman's Lectures to the Brethren of the Oratory*, touching chiefly on the question of miracles, concerning which our readers have lately had sufficient from our own contributors. This, however, includes a very curious and elaborate criticism on the holy coat at Treves, translated from Tholuck's *Ausieger*. The writer greatly exposes the puerility of many of the Romish miracles. In the article, *Need we believe in Clairvoyance?* the editor produces a number of extracts bearing on the most recent pretensions of mesmerism, and which he leaves very much to their own effect in answering negatively the question proposed, though he admits that there is *some truth* in mesmerism. "That there is such a thing as the mesmeric sleep, is proved by irresistible evidence, and it is *analogous* to other known but abnormal states of the human

body." A review of *Israel after the Flesh*; and a Criticism on 2 Corinthians v. 1—3, complete the number.

The WESLEYAN METHODIST MAGAZINE for June contains a full and very interesting account of the late Captain Allen F. Gardiner, R.N., his mission, his companions, and death of the party in Tierra del Fuego.

The EVANGELICAL CHRISTENDOM for June has an interesting paper on the history and present state of Holland, and its intelligence respecting the religious condition of the Continent of Europe, is of a highly interesting character.

The BIBLE AND THE PEOPLE for June has a clearly written paper on *Inspiration*, which concludes thus:—"Peter and John wrote as apostles, and with equal authority, so that we have here the first speakers and writers on Christianity coming forth commissioned messengers of Jesus Christ, as the only authoritative expounders of His Gospel, and laying claim to peculiar guidance, whilst enforcing implicit obedience to whatever they state as messengers of Christ. And now if any modern Christians can prefer a better claim to tell what Christianity is, we are prepared to pass by inspired apostles and listen to the luminaries of reason. Those apostles have not given us *their private opinions*, as apostles they have no private opinions, but teach in their master's name."

Article IV. is an instructive little paper, "*Howbeit Our God turned the Curse into a Blessing*," the subject of which is "*Labour*," that is when a person "is obliged to do things which are not altogether to his taste, or obliged to work at them longer than he feels a decided zest and pleasure in the occupation, and especially when his strength of body and energy are taxed with prolonged or intense exertion, then work becomes *Labour*." We commend the paper to those of our readers who may sometimes despondingly feel that their labour amounts to the more intensified form of *Toil*.

The MONTHLY CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR, which is conducted with much freshness and vigour, contains an elaborate paper, No. II., on *Onesimus, the Fugitive Slave*, which we commend to any of our readers who think that slavery is countenanced by the New Testament. No. III., *Biblical compared with other Ancient Histories*, shews, with much force of illustration, the "very great superiority that must be conceded to the Bible, in the precision and personality of its chronological facts and details.

The *Monthly Christian Spectator* for June maintains its independence of tone, combined with a very fair amount of talent and learning. A few remarks on the *Canon of Scripture* shew no little acquaintance with a subject on which Dr. Tregelles has given us a small but completely satisfactory volume. Article III. is an *Analysis of Heghstenberg on the Book of Revelations*, reprinted from the *Princeton (U.S.) Review* for January, 1852, a Review which we have noticed in another part of our Journal.

The SCOTTISH CONGREGATIONAL MAGAZINE for May and June contains an interesting memoir of Robert Kinniburgh, Esq., late Director of the Deaf and Dumb Asylum at Edinburgh, the prosperity of which institution was mainly owing to his zealous labours for five-and-thirty years.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH.

Adam, History of, Gen. i.—v. Hexaglott edition; with Tables of the Semitic Dialects. 8vo.

Al Adjrumiieh: the Arabic Text with the Vowels, and an English Translation. By the Rev. J. J. S. Perowne, M.A. 8vo. pp. 20.

- Anderdon, W. H.—*Lectures on the Roman Catacombs.* 12mo.
- Ahrens (Dr.)—*An Elementary Greek Reader, from Homer: with Grammatical Introduction, Notes and Glossary.* Edited by the Rev. T. K. Arnold, M.A. 12mo.
- Badger (George Percy).—*The Nestorians and their Rituals: with the Narrative of a Mission to Mesopotamia and Coordistan.* 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1000.
- Bastow (J. A.)—*A Biblical Dictionary.* Vol. II. Post 8vo.
- Beecher (Lyman), D.D.—*Sermons delivered on Various Occasions.* 2 vols. 8vo. Boston, U.S. pp. 872.
- Blackie (B. H.)—*Doctrine and Duties; or, Practical Addresses upon Various Subjects.* 12mo.
- Blunt (J. J.)—*Five Sermons before the University of Cambridge, Nov. 1851.* pp. 110.
- Bonomi (Joseph), F.R.S.L.—*Nineveh and its Palaces: the Discoveries of Botta and Layard applied to the Elucidation of Holy Writ.* 8vo.
- Bungener (L. T.)—*History of the Council of Trent.* Translated from the French with the author's last corrections and Additions.
- Bunn (The Rev. H.)—*A Voice from many Lands; or the Missionary Enterprise* 12mo. pp. 234.
- Bunsen (C. C. J.), D.C.L.—*Hippolytus and his Age, or Doctrine and Practice of the Church of Rome under Commodus and Alexander Severus.* 4 vols. Post 8vo.
- Calvin (John).—*Commentaries on the Epistle of Paul to the Romans.* Translated and edited by the Rev. John Owen. 8vo.
- Catlow (Maria E.)—*Popular Scripture Zoology, containing a familiar History of the Animals mentioned in the Bible.* With 16 colored plates.
- Conquerors (The) of the New World and their Bondsmen: being a Narrative of the principal events which led to Negro Slavery. Vol. 2. Post 8vo.
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- Cooper (Basil H.), B.A.—*The Free Church of Ancient Christendom, and its Subjugation under Constantine.*
- Crowther (The Rev. Samuel).—*Vocabulary of the Yoruba Language: with a Preface by the Bishop of Sierra Leone.* 8vo.
- Cumming (The Rev. John), D.D.—*Voices of the Dead.* Fcp. 8vo.
- Curme (Rev. Thos.)—*Gold tried in the Fire: Memoir of Harriet Stoneman.* 12mo.
- Dell (Robert).—*The Blessed Hope.* 8vo. pp. 372.
- Dewar (Rev. Daniel), D.D.—*The Believer's Charter.* 12mo.
- Dill (Rev. E. M.), A.M.—*The Mystery Solved; or Ireland's Miseries: the Grand Cause and Cure; demonstrating in the clearest manner that Popery is Ireland's Grand Curse.* Fcp. 8vo.
- Dobbin (Rev. O. T.), LL.D.—*Wesley the Worthy and Wesley the Catholic.* Fcp. 8vo.
- Eclipse (The) of Faith; or, a Visit to a Religious Sceptic. Post 8vo.
- Edwards (Rev. W. S.)—*Heroes of the Bible; or Sketches of Scripture Characters.* Post 8vo. pp. 350.
- Enchiridion Theologicum anti Romanum. Tracts on the points at issue between the Churches of England and Rome. Bishop Taylor's Dissuasive from Popery, and his Treatise on the Real Presence and Spiritual, etc.
- Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicæ Demonstrationis Libri Decem, cum versione Latine donati Veronensis. Recensuit Thomas Gaisford, S.T.P. 2 vols. 8vo.

- Eusebii Pamphili contra Hieroclem et Marcellum Libri. 8vo.
- Farini's History of the Roman State, 1815—1850. Translated by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Vol. 3. 8vo.
- Galloway (W. B.), M.A.—An Apocalyptic Chart; presenting on one sheet the Structure of the Prophecy and a condensed Interpretation.
- Griffith (Ralph T. H.), M.A.—Specimens of Old Indian Poetry. Translated from the original Sanscrit into English verse. Post 8vo.
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- Gorrie, P.D.—Episcopal Methodism as it was and is; or, an account of the Origin, Progress, Doctrines, Church Polity, Usages, Institutions, and Statistics of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States. 12mo. Auburn, U.S. pp. 376.
- Haldane (Alexander), Esq.—Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane of Airthrey, and of his brother, James Alexander Haldane; comprising Notices of many of the most Eminent Men, and the most remarkable Religious Movements, from the close of the last century to the present time. 8vo.
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OBITUARY.

M. Eugene Bournouf, the most distinguished Oriental scholar in France, died rather suddenly a few days ago. He was only quite recently elected perpetual secretary of the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences. He was especially versed in the Sanscrit language. Many of the works of Bournouf were very important. Amongst them may be mentioned the publication of the texts of Zoroaster, with a commentary on the old Prussian Book of Prayers, and his translation of the cuneiform inscriptions found at Persepolis and other places; his lectures on the Vedas and on the laws of Menu, his translation of and comments on the Bhagavata Pourana, one of the most remarkable transformations of Brahmanism, and the History of Buddhism, a work of vast research, which was completed only a few months before his death. —*Literary Gazette*, June 12th. A brilliant and intellectual assemblage collected round the grave of the illustrious *savant* untimely snatched away from a future which was rich in promise, but not before the past had fulfilled enough to rally round his bier as mourners all the great spirits of France.—*Athenæum*, June 12th.

At Paris, Feb. 5th, the Marquis de Sancerre, one of the founders of the Protestant Bible Society and the Society for the encouragement of primary instruction among Protestants. He was descended from the renowned Duplessis Mornay, the champion of the Huguenots after the death of Admiral Coligny. He was born in 1757, and after the example of his ancestors, he entered the army, and at the revolution of 1780 he possessed the rank of colonel. Under the government of the First Consul, he was charged to support before the legislative corps the *concordat* concluded with the pope, during which he contributed to obtain for the Protestants equal rights with the Roman Catholics. After the abdication of the Emperor, he filled the offices of Minister of Marine and Minister of Foreign Affairs, and was until his death President of both the Societies above-mentioned, and on more than one occasion addresses delivered by him at the annual meeting shewed that he had the courage to speak the truth.

In April, Mr. Isaac Cullimore, one of our most eminent archæologists. No man has done more for Egyptian antiquities than Mr. Cullimore. To him it was a

most gratifying fact that all the deductions at which he had previously arrived were fully confirmed by modern Egyptian discovery. Many of his most valuable papers were read before the Royal Society of Literature, of which he was an active member so long as health permitted. This society, some years ago, published his restoration of the Tablet of Abydos. The Syro-Egyptian Society owed much to his exertions in its early days. The classification and deciphering of cuneiform writing occupied a large portion of his attention previously to the Ninevite discoveries; and there is little doubt that his observations on this subject, if laid before the public, would be found valuable auxiliaries to further research.—*Athenæum*, April 24th.

From the *New York Literary World* of May 8th, we have learned the decease of Professor B. B. Edwards, late of Andover Theological Seminary, at Athens, Georgia, where he had been residing since last autumn. He was formerly editor of the *Quarterly Register*, the *Biblical Repository*, and the *Bibliotheca Sacra*. He wrote a *Memoir of Cornelius; Self-taught Men*, a series of biographical sketches; edited the *Memoirs of Henry Martyn*; translated from the German Kuhn's *Greek Grammar*; *Selections from German Theological Writings*; *Essays on Greek Literature*; prepared various school books, and contributed a large number of sermons, reviews, essays, &c., to the current publications. At the time of his death he had in progress of preparation several works in biblical literature; amongst which was a *Commentary on 1 Corinthians*, nearly ready for the press.

Drowned in the Ganges, the Rev. G. A. Weideman, Senior Professor of Bishop's College, Calcutta. On April 3rd, he went up in the *College dinghy* to Calcutta and Howrah. After making some inquiries about missionary affairs at Howrah, he left at about six in the evening. In about ten minutes, he had got as far as the middle of the river, when a sudden and violent gale swept across the water and capsized the *dinghy*. He was a man of quiet unostentatious piety, rigid integrity, unbending conscientiousness, and methodical and unwearied industry.—*Colonial Church Chronicle*, June.

In May last the Baron de Walknaer, Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres of Paris. In addition to eminence in what the French call the moral and political sciences, he was a very laborious *homme de lettres*, and has given to the world interesting biographies of La Fontaine and other French writers, together with correct editions of their works. He was a member of the Institute, and was one of the principals of the Bibliothèque National.—*Literary Gazette*, May 8th.

On the 9th of March, at Turin, aged 77, Bernardino Drovetti, Curator of the Archæological department at the Royal Museum, Turin. Drovetti was French consul in Egypt during the Empire, and it was to him that the Museum is indebted for the rich collection of Egyptian antiquities.—*Literary Gazette*, May 20th.

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